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A
BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY
of
ROBERT SOUTHWELL
1561-1595
and his
HISTORICAL and CULTURAL
MILIEU

Volume I - The Text

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A

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BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY

OF

ROBERT SOUTHWELL (1561-1595)

AND

HIS HISTORICAL & CULTURAL

MILIEU

In Two Volumes:- Volume One - Text; Volume Two - Notes and Appendices

VOLUME ONE - TEXT

By

IBRAHIM A. MUMAYIZ, M.A.(Trinity College, Dublin), M.A.(Manchester)

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Trinity College, Dublin - Department of Medieval and Renaissance English.

July 1986

ALPHABETICALLY

OR

ROBERT GOUGHAN (1941-1992)

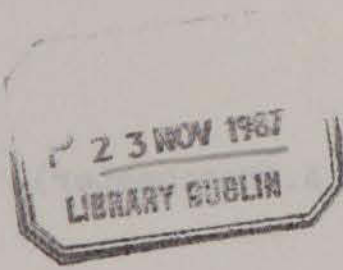
AND

THE HISTORY OF IRELAND

WILSON

In the University of Dublin - Trinity College - Dublin and elsewhere

1992 - 1993



THESIS
1252.1

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Trinity College, Dublin - Department of History and Renaissance Studies

1992

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Acknowledgements

Acknowledgements are due to the Department of Medieval and Renaissance English at Trinity College, Dublin and especially to Ms. Eilean Ni Chuilleanain, Senior Lecturer, for her conscientious supervision of this thesis; to the libraries of Trinity College, King's Inn, Milltown Park, Archbishop Marsh, and the Royal Dublin Society; to the National Library of Ireland, the Central Catholic Library, Dublin and to Norwich Central Library; to the Archives of Stonyhurst College, Lancashire, and the English Jesuit Province, Farm Street, London; the Jesuit Historical Institute, Rome; the Archives of the Venerable English College, Rome; the Department of History, Southampton University; Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; The Norfolk, East Sussex, West Sussex and Hampshire Record Offices; and the College of Arms, London. Acknowledgement is also due to the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington D.C., and to Trinity College; also Washington D.C., and to Arundel Castle Trustees, Ltd, and to the Department of Italian, Trinity College, Dublin, to Dr. Cormac O Cuilleain

Declaration

This thesis has been compiled by its author and is his own work. It has not - nor has any part of it - been submitted as an exercise to any other university. The author, however, has sought Palaeographic assistance when illegible Sixteenth century original documents have had to be transcribed, and such assistance is acknowledged through reference to Palaeographers' names at the end of such transcriptions. Trinity College Library is empowered to lend this thesis, or have parts of it photocopied. This permission covers only single copies made for study purposes and subject to normal conditions of acknowledgment.

Chapter Two: surveys the history of the Southwell family and contains a lengthy account of the career of Southwell's grandfather, Sir Richard Southwell, who being a notable patron in the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI and especially during Mary's Catholic reign, effectively removed his descendants from favour - by virtue of the Southwell's family's staunch Catholicism - during Elizabeth's reign. The effects of such social estrangement and ostracism on Southwell are assessed.

Chapter Three: this is an account of the life of Southwell's father Richard Southwell, and his mother, Bridget Copley Southwell and their formative influence on Southwell.

Chapter Four: is a description of Southwell's birthplace; an incident in his infancy; the political, social and religious situation in Norfolk during his childhood; why his mother had to move to Southern England to live with her relatives.

Chapter Five: is a description of the social, economic and religious

Summary of Contents

Introduction: explains the nature of this biographical study of Southwell, how it differs from previous ones; the contributions it seeks to make; and the general lines along which the biographical narrative proceeds. It also discusses the modern approaches to biography as debated during "The Conference on Modern Biography" held at the University of East Anglia, Norwich, in April 1985.

× Chapter One: surveys certain aspects of Sixteenth century England which affected Southwell's character indirectly. These aspects include economic, social and political factors as well as adverse patterns of behaviour on a personal level; all leading to deteriorating conditions for a depressed minority like the English Catholics. Much space and emphasis is placed here on Elizabethan-Papal relations and how their oscillations were directly reflected in Elizabethan treatment of English Catholics.

× Chapter Two: surveys the history of the Southwell family and contains a lengthy account of the career of Southwell's grandfather, Sir Richard Southwell, who being a notable patentate in the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI and especially during Mary's Catholic reign, effectively removed his descendants from favour - by virtue of the Southwell's family's staunch Catholicism - during Elizabeth's reign. The effects of such social estrangement and ostracism on Southwell are assessed.

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× Chapter Five: is a description of the social, economic and religious

situation in the three Southern counties of Sussex, Surrey and Hampshire, the situation concerning the Catholic gentry and aristocracy, and the centres of power and patronage to which Southwell was attracted.

Chapter Six: is a survey of the social, political and religious situation in Douai, Flanders where Southwell went for Seminary training in 1576, and being the first foreign town he lived in, the effects it had on his character. A brief account of his schooling in Anchin College, and the English College where he boarded, are given.

Chapter Seven: A full account is given of life in a Sixteenth century Jesuit College - Clermont College - which Southwell attended for about six months in 1576/77. The political situation in Paris, Anglo-French relations, are all touched upon, assessing each point's effect on Southwell.

* Chapter Eight: Here, selected aspects of Southwell's sojourn in Rome (1578-1586) are dealt with in depth; - newly discovered material about the English College and its troubles; various educational and literary influences on Southwell; descriptions of Rome and its effects as a city on Southwell; effects of the Martyrdom concept as depicted in frescoes and paintings in Roman Jesuit Colleges; scenes of flagellation; and his departure for England.

Chapter Nine: is a day to day/week by week/month by month - as each case may be of Southwell's sojourn and activities since his secret arrival in England till his trial and execution in 1595.

Abbreviations and Presentation

Centuries are given in capitals, though the word century is not, - viz: Sixteenth century, Seventeenth century. Religious denominations and sects are also given in capitals - viz: Catholics, Protestants, Lutherans, etc... The abbreviation NRG stands for "No Reference Given" and is used when a work is quoted which does not give references for the material being cited in this thesis. Photographs of documents and other illustrations are referred to as "Plates". The maps used are inserted in the back pocket of Volume II - "Notes and Appendices".

All abbreviations follow the initial full title of the work quoted. Thus, "Catholic Record Society Publications", Volume V, is subsequently cited as "C.R.S., V." etc... "Sn" - See Note - signifies that further details are available in the notes.



Plate 1 "Robert Southwell", from a crayon drawing at Stonyhurst College. This was initially made by Charles Weld from a picture at the Jesuit College at Fribourg, Switzerland. (Courtesy of Fr. F.J. Turner, Librarian, Stonyhurst College. See also Pierre Janelle Robert Southwell, the Writer (1935), Bibliography, p. 323).

INTRODUCTION

The main aim of this Biographical Study is to trace and rectify inconsistencies and errors, and to elucidate vague or incomplete accounts made in previous biographical works on Robert Southwell (1561-1595). In the absence of solid biographical facts, carefully formed conjecture within strict frameworks of historical evidence is put forward. Such approximations are the most viable alternatives to those facts about Southwell's life which are non extant. Sixteenth century English Catholic records tend to be scarce. As J.H. Pollen pointed out there was a great break in continuity of Catholic records after the Reformation. For two and a half centuries they kept no marriage or baptismal registers in England, Scotland or Ireland. Southwell's birth is not recorded in any register but the date was worked out through interpolation by Professor Pierre Janelle (See Chapter Four). The dates of birth and marriage of Southwell's parents are also conspicuous by their absence, and rough approximations have had to be made (Chapter Three). Also, as Pollen pointed out, the fear of keeping papers which might be seized by pursuivants, "discouraged or even prevented the rise of well-furnished muniment rooms among the Catholic nobility".¹

Robert Southwell, declared "Blessed" in 1929 and canonized in 1970 (see below), has become part of Catholic religious consciousness, and as a Sixteenth century religious poet, part of English literary consciousness. In both capacities, taken together and compounding one another, interest in his life and works generate a certain measure of enthusiasm for the legendary in his own and in subsequent centuries. Due to this compounded religious and academic interest, and due to the chronological distance separating Southwell from our contemporary world, a modern biographical work on Southwell would give an edge of enthusiasm to any novel view, supposition, conjecture or commentary, let alone to any new fact about Southwell's life. Just as "Arthuriana" has its buffs who would avidly seize upon any new work on the Arthurian theme, "Southwelliana" has its enthusiasts in the academic as well as in the globe-girdling Catholic world. There, Southwell's veneration as a saint would endow a fresh biographical work on him with the clinging enthusiasm of religious fervour. Southwell's dual role as a religious poet to the academic world

and a saint and martyr to the Catholic one also compounds the historical, literary and religious factors in a biography of Southwell. As any crumb of information would be found useful, it might be difficult to assert that any aspects of a biographical study on Southwell is superfluous, irrelevant or not worth the efforts exerted to expound it; that nobody in the Catholic, academic or any other "world" could possibly find an interest or a connective relevance in parts of such a study which one particular reviewer might find irrelevant.

A new biography may lay itself open to the question of whether or not it has discovered new facts about its subject. If the subject lived several centuries ago the odds against spectacular discoveries being made would be quite high, especially with persistent research being carried out in the intervening centuries. Should a new biography of Southwell, Shakespeare or Sir Philip Sidney appear, the casual onlooker, the non-enthusiast, the non-expert, would probably ask "Does this biography claim to have discovered new facts?" The better informed reader, may well ask an entirely different question: "Would this biography tell me more than I already know? Would it widen my horizons and deepen my perceptions of the subject?" In other words, a biography does not necessarily need to rely on new facts to be usefully informative (see below). The expert, the enthusiast, in spite of a realization of the unlikelihood of spectacular biographical finds being made in a fresh work, would not be likely to be deterred from finding out what such new efforts have to say about the subject.

To be candid, the only real biographers of Southwell were his contemporaries or near contemporaries; people who knew him personally. Garnet, Persons, Weston, Gerard, and Verstegan in their correspondence provide valuable factual data on Southwell, especially about his movements and observations. These writings give the most reliable material from which a viable biography of Southwell could be constructed, since such people had less reason than later hagiographers to effuse subjectively about Southwell. However, references to Southwell in the writings of others such as his close friend John Deckers and, to a lesser extent, the Jesuit Historian Henry More may be somewhat less reliable. In Deckers case it was heavily laden with the emotions of a close religious friendship recollected nostalgically and retrospectively. Henry More in

his Historia Missionis Anglicanae Societatis Jesu (1660) (known alternatively as Historia Provinciae Anglicanae Societatis Jesu), devotes sections 12-33 of Book the Fifth to Southwell. Most of this material is not available elsewhere and refers to documents now lost, but the book is riddled with errors (on these errors see below). More, writing more than sixty-odd years after Southwell's death tended to incline towards a hagiographical approach in his attempt to extol Southwell's saintly qualities. The first, and one of the most reliable biographical accounts of Southwell is given in Diego de Yopez, Bishop of Taragona Historia Particular de la Persecucion de Inglaterra (Madrid, 1599) which is based on facts gathered from the Correspondence of Southwell and his acquaintances. The most reliable of subsequent biographies of Southwell draw on facts gathered from such sources, viz, the correspondence of Southwell himself and of Garnet, Weston, Gerard, Persons, Verstegan and others. Everything they knew about Southwell died with them except what they chose to put down on paper. Their writings, compilations and catalogues of Southwelliana have been handed down across the centuries. Almost every other generation since the last quarter of the Nineteenth century has had its biography of Southwell. Each one of such biographies has drawn on the writings of Southwell's contemporaries; tapped their own contemporary writings on Elizabethan Catholic history; undertook original research in the State papers which they then extrapolated with other forms of Southwelliana; and finally packaged everything as a biography of Southwell for their generation. These works, such as Turnbull's, Foley's, Hood's, Janelle's and Devlin's (see Bibliography) made invaluable contributions to Southwelliana. But, if one was to say that none of these biographies contributed any new hard facts unknown to Southwell's Sixteenth century contemporaries, one has to explain what one means by "hard, new facts". If one means the discovery of totally novel material unknown to, and not mentioned by Southwell's own contemporaries, such as Southwell being - hypothetically - say, private chaplain to the Archbishop of Capua, or say, of his embarking with Robert Persons from Naples, landing in Spain, being given an audience by Philip II, and assigned to the Duke of Medina Sidonia as political and religious adviser on the "Enterprise of England" - then no biography has unearthed any hard new facts about Southwell. If, on the other hand, "hard new facts" means

original documentation such as spies' reports in the State papers which shed light on Southwell's associations with Catholic recusant households, then yes, all biographies have collected much in the way of such facts.

This study also seeks to trace those aspects of Southwell's life which have been most inadequately dealt with in previous biographies, and to expand, through historical analysis and deduction, the available material. But, first and foremost, errors in Southwell biography are the highest on this scale of priorities. Such errors have been continuously rectified in this century. Southwell's first biographer, the Jesuit historian Henry More (1586-1661) in his Historia Missionis Anglicanae Societatis Jesu (St. Omer, 1660) made invaluable contributions to Southwell biography. He was the first to relate the incident whereby Southwell was kidnapped by a gypsy as an infant (see Chapter 4). The kidnapping incident was mentioned by More in his Hist. Provinc. Anglic. (Book the Fifth, Section 12). It is not clear whether More had first-hand evidence for this incident, or whether he was relating it second-hand from oral recusant sources on the Continent who were likely to generate such stories. The only evidence that Southwell actually sought his nurse after he became a priest and landed in England, is from Henry More. The kidnapping incident is largely anecdotal and hagiographical and is in line with what we know of such pietistic lore (see also Ch. 4, on this point). Thomas Stapleton The Life of Sir Thomas More (1984 ed.) narrates how More's mother on her wedding night "had a dream in which she saw depicted upon her wedding ring the faces of all the children she was destined to bear". The features of one of her future children (who was to be stillborn) was hardly discernable, but another (Thomas) "shone with splendour far beyond the rest". Stapleton narrates another hagiographical anecdote about Thomas More:

Once when his nurse was crossing a river by a ford, she was nearly carried away by the current and in her confusion, to save the child, she threw him over a hedge ... Afterwards when she came to look for him she was astonished to find him safe and sound quite unhurt and smiling at her. Such portents indicates that this child would one day become great and famous.²

But More certainly made a number of errors. He was in error in sending Southwell to the novitiate in Tournai, since the Jesuits were expelled

from there on June 3rd 1578 and did not return before November 29th 1581.³ Christopher Devlin Life of Robert Southwell/Poet and Martyr (1956); also pointed out that More was wrong in stating that Southwell stayed in Paris for two years. In fact he was there for about six months, from November 1576 to June 1577 (see Chapter 7). In this thesis another error in Southwell's biography has been rectified. Most Southwell biographies and genealogies of the Southwell family mention Southwell's father, Richard Southwell's second wife, Margaret Styles as the daughter of John Styles "a Parson of Ellingham". This is based on G.H. Dashwood Visitation of Norfolk in 1563 by William Harvey (1878) which in turn is presumably derived from Sir Henry Spelman History and Fate of Sacrilege of 1698 (1853 ed.). This is shown to be erroneous. Richard Southwell's second wife, Margaret Styles was either the widow or the daughter (both were called Margaret) of John Styles who was not a Parson of Ellingham but described in the "Bury Hall Manor Court Proceedings of October 9th 29 Elizabeth (1587) as a "gentleman" and a "landowner" (see chapter 3).

Previous Southwell biographies often give vague or only partially accurate accounts about aspects of Southwell's life and of his parents. In this work several attempts have been made to clarify and correct such accounts. For instance, Southwell's mother, Bridget Copley Southwell, had been initially described as "a very learned lady and Latin instructress to the cruel Queen (Elizabeth)".⁴ Henry More was the first to describe Bridget Copley as "a lady from the Queen's court who had once tutored Elizabeth in Latin".⁵ To clarify these statements through elaboration, a conjectural account of Bridget Southwell's Latin education is given in Chapter Three together with a historical analysis of the circumstances in which she and the Princess Elizabeth could have studied Latin together. In the absence of hard fact, this type of analysis provides an explanation of how the two women may well have, in all probability come together to read Latin. Another vague statement in Southwell biography is the reference to Southwell's father, Richard Southwell of Horsham St. Faith, Norfolk, in Christobel Hood The Book of Robert Southwell (1926), as being "employed at court" (see chapter 4). Henry More described him as sympathetic to Catholics, "but he kept away from Catholic services to serve the times instead".⁶ Aside from a full biographical account of Richard Southwell, Chapter Four of this dissertation examines the question

of just how and why Richard Southwell was tolerated at Court and concluded that while it was due mainly to his - and general Catholic - support for Elizabeth's proposed marriage to the Duke of Anjou it also relates to his wife's association with the Queen, and reflects a relatively undiminished social status up to the last decade or so of his life.

Christopher Devlin, as the latest of Southwell's full-scale biographers, resorts to reasonable conjecture supported by marginal fact presented as the next best alternative to the lack of hard evidence. Such reasonable conjecture is necessary to fill the gaps in the biographical narrative. Devlin resorts to such reasonable conjecture mainly with regards to the period c. 1570-1576 in Southwell's life. Devlin suggests that he spent this period in the Southern counties of Surrey, Sussex and Hampshire staying among his mother's relatives. Here, this is examined for verification in the light of writings by and about the Sixteenth-century Catholic community. This point is studied in great detail and an entire chapter, Chapter Five - "Southwell in the Southern Counties" - is devoted to this phase of Southwell's life, and where Devlin's reasoning is studied, verified and augmented by further evidence.

Gaps in Southwell's life and career left undealt with by previous biographers are filled out as much as whatever available evidence or historical analysis allow. This applies mainly to his early life before his departure for seminary training on the Continent. All previous biographies have dealt in a somewhat perfunctory manner with Southwell's background and early years, concentrating more on the later stages of his life, where source material in the form of letters - Southwell's, Henry Garnet's and John Gerard's - to their superiors in Rome, provide much-needed original source material. In this Biographical Study, this trend - for the sake of overall balance in Southwell biography in general - has been reversed, as far as available evidence allows. I have given especial attention to Southwell's background and early life, and in the case of later chapters, concentrated on points undealt with by previous biographers. The last years of Southwell's life, 1586-1595, are dealt with in Chapter Nine. Here a brisk chronological narrative of events during these years is given. Whatever new material had not been unearthed by previous biographies has been grafted and dovetailed into this

biographical narrative which is presented through a strict chronological sequence.

Biographical Presentation and Analysis

Another aim of this thesis is to make a contribution to biographical design, technique and presentation. The Conference on Modern Biography held at the University of East Anglia, Norwich, April 12th-15th 1985, provided some helpful guidelines for biography writing. Every new biography on a subject tells or may tell, something novel; a depiction of the subject from a fresh vantage point. The classic example of this case is the Gospels; being four different biographies of Jesus, each with its own individual contribution to make.⁷

Identifying various strands of character and personality and laying them out for the reader's own information and assessment is the approach followed in this Biographical Study. Considerable attention and detail have been devoted to historical, social, political, economic and religious factors - in varying combinations of emphasis - in each county, province, town, city or country that Southwell spent time in; the impact of each on his character being then assessed. My aim, in bringing in much material of a seemingly distant, marginal nature, is to acquaint the reader with the various environments Southwell lived through; and with the view of helping the reader form an opinion as to what effects such environments had on Southwell.

A biography is a narrative of development on two levels: The outer level of life - birth, domicile, education, employment, achievement, social contacts, and death; and the inner level - inner life. The development of inner life is greatly formed - with the exception of some markedly inherited characteristics - by environment. But though environmental factors were crucial in forming Southwell's inner life, it is the study of the hard facts of Southwell's life that forms the core of this study. The circumstances of Southwell's life were directly - and traumatically - affected by the various forms of upheaval and dislocation in England and (to a lesser extent) European Society. Southwell lived in the very eye of the Sixteenth century storm that uprooted and scattered a considerable part of English Catholicism. To attempt a biographical study of Southwell's life without taking into detailed account the

political, diplomatic, social, religious and educational consequences of this storm would mean an almost total divorce from reality. His whole short life consisted of a series of intense troubles arising from religious, political, social, educational and economic upheaval. Southwell's inner life was largely formed by these troubles. The inner life should attract the biographer's attention as having a unique relevance of its own. As the most slender and least known of writers on Southwell, I.A. Taylor, explained earlier this century: "What he (Southwell) was, his own words tell; nor will it be denied that to possess a guide to a man's nature, to his hopes and fears, aspirations and ambitions, is of incomparably greater importance than to be presented with an accurate itinerary of the traveller's pilgrimage upon earth".⁸ Southwell's hopes, fears aspirations and ambitions were formed within the context of Catholic reaction to the challenge meted out by Elizabethan Protestantism.

This study is illustrated with numerous photographs. The Conference on Modern Biography, recommended that biographical material should be laid out for the reader's own interpretation and appraisal, and photographs are the most representative as well as the most interpretative form such material can take. It can open up unlimited vistas for the reader's sight that the author could not hope to provide. The illustrations, free from the writer's own interpretation which the reader may well have his/her own comments upon, provide complete liberty for the formation of one's own impressions. Having formed such impressions, the reader can then allow them to cross-fertilize with historical material. The most striking example of the effect the illustrations would hopefully have on the reader are the photographs of Cavalieri's engravings of the Pomarancio frescoes depicting traumatic scenes of execution and torture of Catholics which Southwell was exposed to in the English College, Rome. These scenes, being such emotive and subjective concerns, are objectively difficult to depict in a literary fashion. Their rousing nature may stir readers in different ways; and by making different impacts on different readers would hopefully give rise to varying interpretations of their impact on Southwell.

Southwell's life has the nature of a homily. It teaches that adversity and distress, if occasioned by a solid cause, could release energies and potentialities one never imagined one had. It teaches the

now semi-obsolete concept of virtue and freedom from sin which, if assiduously cultivated, could release vast hidden stores of power, and Southwell's own pursuit of virtue and purity is shown in his Spiritual Exercises. Southwell was remembered and honoured by the Catholic Church twice this century. He was declared "Blessed" by Pope Pius XI in 1929.⁹ In October 1970, he was canonized in the Basilica of St. Peter among forty other Catholic martyrs of England and Wales of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries.¹⁰

The canonization of Catholic martyrs of previous centuries remains a somewhat controversial issue and David Forrester in "The Forty Martyrs and their critics" mentions that Anglicans "expressed reservations concerning the canonization, for fear that it might have unfortunate repercussions in the ecumenical field".¹¹ Southwell's canonization and that of the "Forty Martyrs of England and Wales", says Forrester, was aimed at English Catholics: he suggests that the canonization was pressed, most notably by members of the English (Catholic) hierarchy, "in order to combat the growing tendency among English Catholics of thinking and speaking for themselves and of making friends outside the official structures of the Church": And so, to deal with both dangers, "the English martyrs are to be brought into the lime-light. Their devotion to Rome and their aversion for the Anglican Church of their times deserve a special consideration and praise today as a reminder, even if veiled, for wayward Roman Catholics in England".¹²

The significance of Southwell being canonised as one of "the Forty Martyrs", and not as a separate individual is that his life was more or less at one with the others who were canonized with him. Not only is his life very similar to theirs as far as the cause for which they died was concerned, but to the nature of the troubles they had to endure as well. In this sense, the present Biographical Study of Southwell encompasses in its treatment of social and religious background and of Southwell's exile in Douai and Rome the milieu which many Catholic student exiles themselves experienced. Some of these students were also canonised alongside Southwell. Among them were Henry Morse, Henry Walpole, Luke Kirby, and Ralph Sherwin. (See above).

The purpose behind the canonization of these forty English and Welsh Catholic martyrs was to increase the awareness of contemporary English

Catholicism of their own past. To make Catholics aware of how their ancestors or predecessors suffered for the faith was and still is part of the policy directives of the Roman Church. The Pomarancio Frescoes in the English College, Rome, when Southwell was a student there, depicting scenes of torture execution and self-sacrifice for the faith, intended to convey more or less the same message as the 1970 canonizations of Sixteenth century martyrs. These canonizations, as David Forrester explains, were also instituted so "that by a process of association Catholics would ... at least be reminded of the real differences which formerly existed, and in certain areas still continue between themselves and Anglicans".¹³ The Second Vatican Council's "Decree on Ecumenism", whilst stressing the need for candour, dialogue and fraternal relations between Catholics and Anglicans also warned against "a false conciliatory approach", but if the ecumenical movement between Anglicans and Catholics is to be fruitful "it will always be necessary to study in depth the initial and subsequently hardened causes of division".¹⁴ To maintain the momentum of this movement "further progress and understanding will depend on ... what has hampered it in the past": To achieve this, the study of history is essential. A "detached and mature awareness and knowledge of issues which provoked divisions in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries should therefore be welcome". One of the aims of this Biography is to study precisely such divisions that caused distress and dislocation to Catholics in Elizabeth's reign as it did to Protestants in Mary's reign and in the Netherlands of the 1570's when Southwell was in Douai. The canonization of 1970, therefore, by bringing such divisions out of history books, "could be of supreme assistance ... in furthering our understanding of (these) problems".¹⁵

Southwell's canonization as one of a group of forty, and as a bid to cement modern English Catholicism, was essentially one that sought to uphold the historical significance of Southwell, rather than one seeking to pay tribute to any supernatural saintly powers he may have possessed. This study seeks to explore the historical and cultural milieu in an attempt to trace their significance in the formation of Robert Southwell as a "historical" saint; one who represents what those Sixteenth century Catholics that are now being upheld as models for emulation to their present day co-religionists stood for. His canonization, like those of

others throughout history, is basically intended as a model for others to emulate. Sociologically saint-hood could only be studied as it is "recollected by others".¹⁶ In this sense Southwell's canonization was aimed at a particular "audience" so to say, - the contemporary practising English Catholic community. "One is never a saint except for other people", and sainthood "depends on a community's recollection of a dead person's past experience".¹⁷ The Catholic hierarchy had recommended the forty canonizations mentioned above, since "the memory, opinion and pressure of others do not make a saint unless expressed via official juridicial channels".¹⁸ As well as being a martyr, Southwell could be classed among those saints "who were recognised as having experienced so much reverence and achieved such a degree of purity that they had transcended the sinfulness of ordinary existence".¹⁹ Southwell's Spiritual Exercises and his other devotional works testify to his quest for transcending "the sinfulness of ordinary existence", but it is the historical circumstances that initially led to and accentuated such a quest that interested both those who canonised him, and the present Biographical Study of his milieu.

The fact that Southwell was not being canonised for extraordinary powers other than those of unusual fortitude, perseverance, and piety, make this Biographical Study all the more relevant. Had he been endowed with spectacular miraculous powers, such divine gifts would make such a study simply irrelevant. Southwell did possess some miraculous powers, especially of healing as was testified by Ann Dacres, whom Southwell treated, curing a "bigness" in her side. Another of Southwell's miraculous powers is related in Philipppo Alegambe Mortes Illustres et Gesta eorum de Societate Iesu (Rome 1657):

It pertains to the praise of Robert (Southwell) slain thus for hatred of the Faith, and to the Glory of God, to quote what the manuscripts of the English province of about the year 1635 say: There is now alive a sister of the glorious man Fr. Robert Southwell, who prepares medicines for grave illnesses with such success that she outdoes by far the skill of the doctors and the effectiveness of the remedies which they usually prescribe for these complaints. Asked by a familiar friend how she came to have such skill and

how this remedy applied to so many different diseases, she answered that she used very common and available remedies, but she always applied her brother's relics, which were incomparably effective in curing almost all diseases. And this is the more wonderful, in that this woman could have no merit with God, indeed she pretended to be of the protestant religion to please her son, who held public office".²⁰

But whatever miraculous powers Southwell possessed were demonstrated and applied on a strictly personal individual basis, and were not as spectacular as those of say, St Rita or St Genevieve - turning away invading armies or protecting entire cities from the plague. The power to perform outstanding miracles simply sweeps aside biographical rationale, analysis and deduction. Miracles render such efforts superfluous.

The fact that Southwell is clearly out of this category of saints with such sought after powers of intercession adds yet more relevance to a closer examination of his life and his historical and cultural milieu. If Southwell and the "Forty Martyrs" are to succeed in their role as examples for emulation, then his life and milieu have to be more closely examined by would-be disciples for such emulative purposes to succeed.

That, as a citizen, he is at one with others; that, as a man, he is at one with his society in which, for example, a stolid, a lawyer and a herald might remember very different historical points and remember them for different reasons.¹ History was not uniformly regarded as a national level, but according to the perceptions of each of these groups, a loose confederation of which made a society as a whole. Southwell's milieu, the English Catholic gentry, were one such group. They were fond of reminiscing about an undisturbed traditional England; prosperous and peaceful, where everyone knew his place. Thomas More, a Catholic exile in Louvain, wrote during Southwell's early childhood, recalling the condition of England under Elizabeth's rule:

"...after I became acquainted with your wife the present state wherein we now live, with that of our forefathers, not yet fully forty years ago... because if you had for years the miserable fate of your native country, you would be the more flourishing and more wealthy than you are now... The subject is thus said

CHAPTER ONE

A SURVEY OF ROBERT SOUTHWELL'S SIXTEENTH CENTURY BACKGROUND

Robert Southwell was very much the creature of his eventful times. Sixteenth century England endured traumatic social, economic as well as religious upheavals. Southwell's milieu, the Catholic gentry, suffered more from such upheavals than any other segment of England's population. English Catholic deprivation and distress arose mainly from England's break with Rome which grew into a protracted and often very bitter confrontation between Elizabeth and the Papacy. As a result, English Catholics felt gradually isolated as the reign progressed. In one sense, however, their isolation as a community was not unique. Every provincial community, group, guild or association evinced degrees of self-containment which looked back to its own particular past and viewed the present - and future - from its peculiar vantage point. National consciousness had not yet digested fully all these groups, thereby making every Englishman feel that, as a citizen, he is at one with others: Sixteenth century England "was a society in which, for example, a cleric, a lawyer and a herald might remember very different historical pasts and remember them for different reasons".¹ History was not uniformly recollected on a national level, but according to the perceptions of each of these groups, a loose confederation of which made a society as a whole. Southwell's milieu, the English Catholic gentry, were one such group. They were fond of reminiscing about an undisturbed traditional England; prosperous and peaceful, where everyone knew his place. Thomas Dorman, a Catholic exile in Louvain, wrote during Southwell's early childhood, bewailing the condition of England under Elizabeth's rule:

"confer I beseche yow with your selfe the present state wherein we now liue, with that of oure forfathers, not yeat fullie fortie yeares ago... Beholde if yowe can for teares the miserable face of youre natiue countrey, sometimes... to the moste florishing common weale in the whole worlde nothing inferior. The subiect in those daies

loued his prince with feare, and feared him with loue. The vassall was to his lorde loyall, the servant to his master obedient and faithefull. Euerie man helde him content with his vocation, no man was curiouse to meddle in anothers. Charitie, simplicitie, sobrietie, so reigned vniuersallie, that of vs that time might welbe called, the golden age of which the poetes dreamed...^{sn2}

As a Catholic, Dorman attributes the destruction of this golden age to the canker of Protestant heresy:

...after that first Luther and then Caluin had set their feete on English ground, it is a worlde to see howe sodenlie all thiese thinges wer changed and as theie neuer had bene turned vpside downe. The loue that was so loyall of the subiect, turned into seruile feare, and treason as occasion serueth: the faithe of the vassall or tenaunt to his lorde, in to frau-(sic) - and disceite: the obedience of the seruant in to cotempt: the quiet contentation of euerie man with his owne calling, into that busie bodie curiositie in other mennes matters. Finallie, enuie and malice haue taken vp charities place, fraude and sotteltie, simplicities and vice dwelleth where vertue was wont. Yea, euen yet, of this will all men beare me witnesse, if anie sparckle of this good ordre remaine, with them (Catholics) it is to be founde which hate youre doctrine (Protestantism) moste."

So strong was this Catholic nostalgia for this golden past that they looked back to it fondly in the earlier Seventeenth century. Ralph Buckland Seaven Sparkes of the Enkindled Soule (1604,5) wrote that:

"It delighted thee to looke vpon this Realme: and to regard the State thereof. To see howe parents loued their children, more to thee (God) then to the World: more by reason then fond affection. Howe children obeyed their parents, not to the eye only, but from the hart: not for their owne behoofe, but for thy Commandement. Howe Masters

to their seruants, Seruants to their Masters: the Prince to the People, the people to the Prince. Each obserued to other their duty inuiolable. The Clergy to the laity: the laity toward the Clergy. Howe all Superiors to their Inferiors bare themselues vpright: and receiued likewise of them their due. Howe each man had just care of his Soule: and fewe gaue themselues ouer to iniquity. Howe sinners hastened by penance and teares: to reconcile themselues to thy mercifull Majesty. All thinges went in order, and the sweet cofort of the common wealth: was as the harmony of a weltuned instrument.³

Catholics like Dorman and Buckland were lamenting the loss of two cardinal virtues - humility and obedience. Cardinal Reginald Pole (1500-1558), preaching on these virtues, emphasized that insolence, especially that of youth, is to be repressed. The young, he declaimed, should remain as "Babes before God, like Adam and Eve before the Fall"; drawing on the Eden analogy to show the woeful consequence of failure to instil childlike obedience⁴. Dorman and Buckland showed what would happen to a peaceful and ordered society if the two cardinal virtues of humility and obedience were destroyed.

Another virtue which Catholics saw as being done away with during the turmoil following Elizabeth's accession was generosity. There was a tradition in the Sixteenth century both amongst Protestants and Catholics of lamenting the loss of traditional hospitality which both Protestant and Catholic gentry were keen to uphold. Catholics painfully lamented what they saw as its disappearance from personal and national life. Southwell lauded this unique virtue which he found prevalent among the Catholic squirarchy, and which includes hospitality, open handedness, open heartedness, a wholesome simplicity, almsgiving and a readiness to praise extensively. Southwell lauds and describes what he perceives to be the Corpus of Catholic virtues in detail:

Let all historians witness their sincere dealing, plain words, simple attire... unfeigned promises, assured love and amity and most entire and friendly conversation one

with another. Let us consider their large hospitality in housekeeping, their liberality towards the poor, their readiness to all merciful and charitable acts⁵.

The concept of generosity was usually emblazoned on Sixteenth century tombstones. "She releved the poor dealy" (daily), records the tomb of Lady Ann Stanhope at Shelford, Notts. "He was noted for... his charitable Relief of ye Poor" declares the headstone on the grave of John Dutton of Sherbourne, Glos. "They have dispersed abroad... their righteousness remaineth forever."⁶

Some Catholic Religious Practices - Pilgrimage & Saint Veneration

English Catholic practice in the Sixteenth Century was recognisable as a continuation of Medieval religious life. Issues dividing Catholics from their Protestant contemporaries and both from their past included the highly visible practices of Pilgrimage and the venerating cult of saints. Chapter four (below) describes how themes of pilgrimage, imprisonment and delivery by saints impinged on Southwell's mind.

Pilgrimage was a major Catholic religious practice. Even after the Reformation and well into the Elizabethan era when most of the English shrines were obliterated, Catholic writers exhorted their co-religionists to uphold and venerate the practice of pilgrimage. Gregory Martin A treatyse of Christian Peregrination (1583) explains that pilgrimage honours God through visiting the shrines of his saints. Martin refers to the three wise men of the Nativity "that they came in Pilgrimage to Christ". Robert Persons A Treatise of Three Conversions (1603) refers to Pilgrimage in his exposition of Catholic veneration of the ancient martyrs and their tombs. "We keepe ther dayes and feasts... we put them in our ecclesiastical calendar and martyrologe; we keepe their reliques; we honour their tombes; we call vpon them in heaven to pray for us, as rayninge in most high glory with Christ. All which protestants do mislike".⁷

Pilgrimage was a journey of devotion and piety, not a form of religious or cultural tourism: Gregory Martin writes that a pilgrimage to Rome or Jerusalem is indeed a holy journey but "to go to see strange cuntryes, gaye buildinges, prophane antiquities, to learne tongues...

some tyme it is synfull and neuer to be called pilgrimage ... such a wonderfull difference there is betweene a good godly pilgrim and a worldly wicked traueler". God, says Martin, operates through the marvels he works through his saints, "to bestow his gracious gifts upon the poore, the lowe the sicke ... and at the tombes by the verie vertue of his saintes Relikes".⁸

Catholics were seen to have an appetite for "running from shrine to shrine"⁹. It was a local and popular form of piety. There appears to be a connection between pilgrimage and the Catholic urge for self-exile in defence of the faith. Catholic writers described exiles as martyrs for religion. Thomas Hide Consolatorie Epistle (1580) writes that "if this banishment be a punishment yet doth God turne it to our benefite". Protestants saw Catholics as people who assiduously kept up distinctive religious practices which the law did not approve of, practices which included pilgrimage. Gregory Martin explains that heretical abhorrence of Catholic religious practices such as pilgrimage and honouring of relics arose from "Lacke of fayth, and want of deuotion".¹⁰ Martin was very much an Elizabethan Catholic and his views on pilgrimage were germane to current Catholic thought. His own experience, and his letter to his sisters (appended to A treatyse) show that the Catholic idea of pilgrimage may have mutated into the concept of self-exile. Religious beliefs were integral parts of personal dignity and honour which when provocatively challenged by alien heretical views, life becomes unbearable and flight abroad inevitable. Thomas Copley, Southwell's uncle, fled abroad leaving behind his extensive properties to preserve his faith. The troubles of exile as Southwell and others endured were probably made bearable through analogies with the rocky and arduous roads of pilgrimage. Pilgrimages were crucial to the Catholic spiritual ideal, and the notion of going on a great pilgrimage probably helped Southwell withstand the rigours of exile. His entire life since he left England in 1576 had the nature of a quest for spiritual fulfilment and atonement. Pilgrimage was allied to generosity in the sense of giving away one's resources - financial, physical, emotional etc... in return for exercising and purifying one's soul through incurring the cost, danger and hardship of travel to saints' shrines.

Surfeit of piety had to be siphoned off by pilgrimages, and Southwell's

county of Norfolk was thick with such shrines. Walter Rye lists twenty of them, which include:-1. Our Lady of Walsingham; Numerous Kings of England visited this shrine, says Walter Rye, including Henry VIII, who walked the last two miles to it barefoot, and on his deathbed commended his soul to "the protection of that same Lady of Walsingham whose image he had destroyed", 2: The Holy Rood of Bromholm, 3: St. John the Baptist's head at Trimmingham.

Besides these shrines pilgrimages were made to the graves of "worthy but uncanonized bishops, and even to those of their fathers and mothers", as well as to places where relics are housed, viz St. Edmund's Church Norwich where part of St. Edmund's shirt was preserved; to Westacre, where part of St. Andrew's finger is venerated; and to the chapel of St. Mary of Pity in Norwich Cathedral where the virgin's blood is kept.¹¹ Although these shrines were heavily suppressed after the Reformation, there are indications that even in Elizabeth's reign pilgrimages still took place to such sites as sacred wells and other shrines, and even to Canterbury.¹²

Catholic religious practices and devotions formed the basis of a deeply venerated system of religious belief a prominent aspect of which was the veneration of saints, their relics and pilgrimages to their shrines. This veneration of saints and relics in Catholic England was an aspect of mass religion against which the Protestant downgrading of saints was seen as sacrilege; a desecration that generated an outraged counter-reaction which took the form of militant Jesuitism and exiled Catholic activism. Gregory Martin in A treatyse of Christian Peregrination describes the ecstasy of the faithful for having touched or beheld holy relics:

Where marke for your Comfortt and ioy al you good religious and wel disposed persons that carry Crosse or beades, hauing touched glorious Relikes, the better to put you in mynd of such sayntes and to pray the more deuoutly... Marke I say how exceedinglye such deuotion pleaseth God, whereas he confirmed it so long agoe by myracles."¹³

Veneration of Saints was by no means a local or indigenous manifestation peculiar to England, or indeed to Catholic Europe. It is an aspect of mass religion. As Max Weber explains: "With the exception of Judaism and Protestantism, all religions and religious ethics have had to reintroduce

cults of saints, heroes or functional gods in order to accommodate themselves to the needs of the masses".¹⁴ Thus, downgrading or desecrating such symbols of popular piety provided the English Catholic milieu, and Southwell, with an additional source of grievance and abhorrence of the enormities heresy was capable of committing.

Southwell's Views on Saint Veneration

Southwell subscribed fully to this Catholic ethos of saint veneration, referring in his writings to saints as models for emulation. "And whoso considereth the intolerable torments of martyrs" he writes "the extreme austerity and sharp life of holy and religious men, the painful agonies and conflicts of virgins, the rough storms and troubles of God's saints... doth remember... that they undertook them... only for the better bringing... of their soul to an end."¹⁵ He taught the importance of having the saints ever in the mind's eye. "...to help my memory and to avoid confusion it is good" he advised the reader of the Short Rules of a Good Life "to appoint in every room some... pictures to be patterns and examples unto me... in the dining chamber or parlor saints of spare and regular diet, of sober and virtuous conversation; in the bed chamber, saints given to short sleep and watchfulness; ... and so in other rooms".¹⁶ Thus, Southwell reflects the Catholic veneration for saints, (which previously took the form of pilgrimage to their shrines) as being motivated by educational criteria. The emulation of the saint's virtues was achieved through a close physical proximity to the saint's shrine, his picture, or other emblems representing him.

Southwell represents the Catholic veneration of saints as being the link between human and divine. The saint is half-human, half-divine, and in struggling for closeness to saints by emulation, pilgrimage, or mental projection into saintly virtues and character, Southwell as a devout Catholic was struggling for unity with the Godhead as an escape from a world rendered depraved by harrowing upheaval and turmoil. Southwell's incessant cravings for martyrdom could be explained through criteria of attempted unity with the Godhead and by the purpose of assisting one's distressed kith and kin. Martyrs enjoyed a close intimate relationship with God and had the "ability to intercede for and, so to protect their fellow mortals. The Martyr was the 'friend of God'".¹⁷ Southwell writes

copiously about the glories of Martyrdom and how Martyrs enjoy heavenly bliss. In the Eleventh Chapter of his Epistle of Comfort he compares martyrdoms to birthdays "on which those born unto this nursery of man's frailty are suddenly born again unto glory". To Southwell the martyr is the friend of God because, like the truest of friends, he has laid his life for him". "The blood of Martyrs" Southwell writes citing Tertullian "is the very key to Paradise". The Martyr is admitted to Paradise, and is close to God, for quite a simple reason: He has paid the admission price - with his life: "The Kingdom of God" Southwell writes citing Augustine "requireth no other price but thyself. It is worth all thou art; give Thyself and thou shall have it."¹⁸

To Southwell, Martyrdom was a joyful release into bliss: In his poem "Decease release" he describes the joys of release through martyrdom, possibly in reference to the execution of Mary Stuart:

Death was the meane my Kyrnell to renewe,
By loppinge shott I upp to heavenly rest.

Alive a Queene, now dead I am a Sainte,
Once N:[nama, name] called, my name nowe Martyr is
From earthly raigne debarred by restraint,
In lieu whereof I raigne in heavenly blisse.

My skaffold was the bedd where ease I founde
The blocke a pillowe of Eternall reste,
My hedman cast me in a blisfull swounde,
His axe cutt off my cares from combred breste

Rue not my death, rejoyce at my repose,
It was no death to me but to my woe,
The budd was opened to let out the Rose
The cheynes unloo'sd to lett the captive goe¹⁹

In seeking an intimate personal friendship with God through martyrdom, Southwell was turning to Him to provide what mortals, influential and well-favoured, could provide in "normal" less distressing times; namely, protection, patronage, guidance and favour. In striving for martyrdom

Southwell was evincing a strong reaction against the harrowing conditions Catholics were enduring in Elizabethan England. The natural alternative to a world of grief and sorrow is to strive for a better one in the Hereafter. In straining to be such a "friend of God" Southwell was seeking an alternative power source to that which his family lost during Elizabeth's reign. The reign, which corresponded to the entire span of Southwell's life, had deprived Southwell's immediate family of the power to dispense large-scale hospitality, protection and patronage, and to wield such influence and bestow and enjoy such favour as his grandfather, Sir Richard Southwell was able to do in the previous reigns of Henry VIII and Mary. Southwell's attitude to Saints and their shrines is succinctly and suggestively given in "Mans Civill Warre".

Though wisdome woove me to the Saint

Yet sense would win me to the Shrine²⁰

Catholic Books of Piety and Devotion

Such Catholic religious practices as Pilgrimages were generally restricted in the Elizabethan as it was in the Edwardian era by the Protestant religious settlement, and its obliteration of shrines of saints which Catholics venerated. As early as 1550, the Protestant Robert Horne, as Dean of Durham (later Bishop of Winchester) removed the tomb of Saint Cuthbert from Durham Cathedral with his own hands. (see Ch. 5). Having been largely deprived of various pietistic outlets, including Pilgrimage and other religious practices, Elizabethan Catholics became more dependent on private practices such as the reading of books of piety and devotion printed either abroad or secretly in England, written largely by Catholic exiles in France and Flanders. An almost indispensable source for the nourishment of Catholic piety, these books were widely read by the Catholics, even though possessing such works was illegal. They provided a drip-feed of religious nourishment without which Catholicism in England may well have come closer to being overwhelmed by Elizabeth's new religion. Such books were available in Catholic households, singly and in small collections; thereby providing substantial reading material on various Catholic subjects. Every field of Catholic writing was avidly devoured. As A.C. Southern explains "even the theological treatises of the recusants had a much wider vogue than has generally been supposed. Political tracts of the later part of the reign were also popular. But

the most widely read of Catholic books were recusant devotional literature "The popularity of these works in England can only be described as exceptional", A.C. Southern explains, "and... their influence upon English religious thought and expression cannot be ignored".²¹

Most of these books were written by prominent Catholic academics and divines. Catholic readers were thus exposed to weighty and learned religious and political material made more intriguing than it otherwise would have been in "normal" Catholic times by the fact that it was strictly prohibited by the State. The Earl of Northumberland, examined on June 24 1572, confessed to being influenced by the works of Thomas Harding, D.D. (1516-1572); Nicholas Sander, D.D. (1530?-1581); Thomas Stapleton, D.D. (1535-1598), and others. A list of books taken from Sir Thomas Tresham's house included: The Rhemes New Testament which urged Catholics to stand up to Elizabeth's religious laws; for Catholics to separate themselves from heretics, and exhorted them to persevere in face of persecution. Also found at the Tresham house was Richard Hopkins Of Prayer and Meditation (Paris, 1582); and Hopkins A Manual of Prayers (Rouen, 1583); Robert Persons The First Book of the Christian Exercise (Rouen, 1582) and Laurence Vaux A Catechisme, or Christian doctrine necessary for Children (Louvain, 1568). A list of books taken from Thomas Wilford's house included G.T. Persons (?) An Epistle of the Persecution of Catholics in England (Douai, 1582) and John Fowler An Oration Against the Unlawful Inserrections of the Protestants (Antwerp, 1566). The titles of the above books suggest that Catholics read about Prayer and Meditation, Catechism for children, the Catholic/Protestant divide and the nature and scope of Persecution in England.²²

A discovery made about six weeks after Southwell landed in England in July 1586, suggests that Catholics in England were very well acquainted with the works of Southwell's colleagues, teachers, and fellow Catholic exiles. This very probably not only prompted a warm and heart-felt reception for him from well-read Catholics, but provided also an eager and attentive audience. A catalogue of "supersticious bookes and reliques" found in the lodgings of George Brome, on August 27th 1586 included: Persons A brief discours contayning certayn reasons why Catholiques refuse to go to Church (Douai, 1580); Gregory Martin A treatyse of Christian Peregrination (Paris, 1583) and John Rastell A Raplie against an answer

falslie intituled in Defence of the truth. (Antwerp 1565). In the lodgings of Brome's sisters, Elizabeth and Bridget, a favourite Catholic book of devotion of an uncertain authorship first printed in 1583 and entitled A manuål of prayers with a Jesuit Psalter was found. The Brome sisters also had Copies of Stephen Brinkley's translation of Gaspar Loarte The Exercise of a Christian Life (Rouen 1584?); Vaux's Catechism (1574?, 1583?) Persons' Christian Exercise; "A treatise of Confession and penance imprinted in Lovayne"; an untraced book described as "An induction to devocon for Ladies and gentlemen showinge the significations of the masse and implements to it"; and Richard Hopkins Memoriall of a Christian Life which was published that same year - 1586 - in Rouen. "From the evidence" A.C. Southern sums up, "we may justly conclude, then, that the influence of the Catholic books was both widespread and diverse." It is very probable that the proliferation of such books amongst England's Catholic population facilitated Southwell's missionary task by whetting Catholic interest. As A.C. Southern points out "a very large proportion of the books were concerned with the burning questions of the day".²³

Aside from pietistic and devotional interest, some of these Catholic books were treasured for purely educational purposes. Providing education for Catholic children had become a real problem in the Elizabethan era. Perhaps the most outstanding example of a work of religious education amongst these illicit Catholic books is Laurence Vaux A Catechisme or Christian Doctrine necessarie for Children and ignorante people.

Vaux (1519/20-1585),^{was} a former Warden of Manchester under Mary and as an exile in Louvain, lived amongst other English Catholic exiles whose writings influenced Catholics in England, and was reported to have kept an English school at Louvain. His Catechism, first printed in Louvain in 1567 was written expressly for the benefit of his pupils. Vaux's Catechism was one of the most popular of illicit Catholic books and its wide circulation testifies to the thirst for religious instruction among Catholics, which missionaries like Southwell were avidly sought to quench. Vaux's Catechism had been in circulation since the early 1570's. In April 1570 Robert Seede of Blackburn, a recusant, was ordered to deliver into the hands of the vicar a copy of Vaux's book. When Vaux was in prison in 1580, another edition of the Catechism was printed, with three hundred copies being sent for secret distribution among Catholics in the

Manchester area alone and another edition was printed within twelve months. Its popularity was due to the direct simple and informative nature of its content, and was described as a "thoroughly Orthodox, honest, and plain spoken exposition of Roman Catholic doctrines".

The book's preface - "The Printer to the Reader" - explains the demand for such books of religious instruction. "Often tymes I have harde many devout Christians complayne of the scarsetye and wante of this Catechisme ... And have harde also many commende the same, as to be a booke whereof they themselves and others have reaped much commoditie".²⁵ Exiled Catholics went to great lengths to satisfy the needs of Catholics at home for religious books. When Persons was in England in 1580 he was pressed by Catholics to provide bibles and other books, and "to hasten the edition of the English new testament, for the which he had procured him 300 pound of assestece from certaine Catholikes his spiritual friends in England". As Catholics were hard-pressed to educate their children:

...divers Catholikes in England perceyving the difficultyes of the tyme ... and that they could not haue Catholicke schole masters in their houses at home as they weare wont had treated with the father (Persons) to prouide them some succour or place of education beyond the seas for their younger children that were not yet fit for their yeares and learning to be of the seminaries of Rhemes or Rome".²⁶

Vaux's Catechisme, for one, helped to satisfie the need for elementary religious education among Catholic children who were too young to be sent abroad for seminary training. It provided answers to such basic questions as "What is the Catholic Church?", "What is Faith?", "What is Hope?", "Why doth the priest annoint the child with holy Oyle upo the brest and backe?" It defines and describes the Ten Commandments in detail, the Five Commandments of the Church, "Baptism, Extreme Unction, holy water, altar clothes etc. ". It was the need for such instruction in basic religious tenets that also helped facilitate Southwell's movements among the recusants. As a Jesuit and a priest he would provide expert knowledge, advice and instruction on such matters. This pressing need for domestic Catholic education was accentuated by the fact that in some cases their children were forced to attend Protestant Schools. William Allen

A True Sincere and Modest Defence of English Catholiques (1584), recites, among the causes for injustices inflicted on Catholics the..."retayning of Catholique Schoolmasters, keeping Catholique servantes..." Allen refers to... "the taking away of their deare children from them by force, and placing them for their seduction with Heretiques..." Ralph Buckland Seaven Sparkes (1604) speaks of Families runne to ruine: and how "children want necessary education". Buckland describes how Catholic books are treasured, since they are immediately burned as soon as they are captured by the authorities." In his "Second Lamentation" he describes how "Bookes for edification and prayer are committed to the flame, whatsoever serveth us to deuotion, is destroyed".²⁷

Southwell's Gentry Background

Southwell was first brought up in a gentry household in Norfolk, and later amongst a closely knit, heavily intermarried social and religious community; the Catholic gentry of Sussex, Surrey and Hampshire. These gentry families were largely self-contained social economic and parochial units within which marriages, christenings and even burials were performed.²⁸ William, Third Baron Vaux (1542?-1595), reprimanded in May 1581 for not attending his parish church of Harrowden along with "his household and familiars and divers servants... did claim his house to be a parish by itself".²⁹ This integrated self-contained life-style led by the Catholic gentry was both safe and convenient. It provided control over the performance of religious ritual. It allowed for freedom to stay away from inappropriate preaching and to elude civil and ecclesiastical supervision. It bound gentlemen, servants and tenants in the unity of seignorial households, establishing "loyalty to it as practically superior to all other loyalties" and confirming the gentleman, the lord of the house or estate, "as mediator between his dependants and public authority". This life-style was a form of extra-national, semi-feudal existence. Its independence arose from a belief, on the part of the gentry, of the state being a loose, rather nebulous concept, of separate "estates" - the Queen's "estate", that of the nobility, the gentry, and the Church. The Catholic gentry conceived of two circuits of loyalty, that which bound their dependents to them, and that which bound them, as an "estate", to the Queen. They resented any interference by the crown in

their estate, as that would undermine their own dependent's loyalty to them and implied a "mistrust in their loyalty (to the Queen) which they never ceased to proclaim": The Queen had her own estate. They had theirs. Only "evil counsellors" would advise the Queen, the Catholic gentry thought, that "she should act against the order of which she was the central point".³⁰

Southwell was thus brought up in a milieu that had built-in concepts of self-containment. While acknowledging their loyalty to the crown as the head of all "estates" of the realm, the Catholic gentry were also convinced of their autonomy as a recognized and self-contained estate. Southwell having been brought up on this conviction, of the autonomous nature of the gentry estate, was in all probability equally convinced of its right to lead its own life-style, including religious observances. Southwell, in the event, proved able to lead a semi-independent and "autonomous" career away from his country, kith and kin, and "in spite" of his government's opposition, for some ten odd years from 1576 to 1586, and for another seven odd years in England living "underground" and being continuously pursued by the authorities. For Southwell to lead such a "semi-autonomous" life away from his country and in spite of its government, demonstrates that he had at least some inherited concepts of autonomy.

The Effects of Elizabethan Social, Economic and Religious Changes on English Catholics

Professor Stone argues that between c. 1470 and 1558, particularly between 1529 and 1547, there was a desire for a strong monarchical government to replace the old feudal magnates of England. Not having even a skeletal form of administration, the early Tudors built up the authority of the gentry and pitted them against the great territorial lords of the late middle ages whom the Tudors sought to remove. The "loyalty and efficiency" of this newly established, Tudor-sponsored though unpaid gentry "was dependant on a careful regard being had for their interest, privileges and prejudices".³¹ One such gentry family were the Southwells of Woodrysing, Norfolk, whose scion, Sir Richard Southwell (our Southwell's grandfather) played a vigorous and assertive role in Henrician and Marian administration, finance, law enforcement, diplomacy and

military logistics (see Ch. 2). He, and his Tudor-made gentry class were bastions of the Tudor regime. Numerous uprisings flared and were fanned by local grievances only to be ruthlessly quelled with the aid of this new gentry class and Sir Richard Southwell played an active role in suppressing both Kett's and Wyatt's rebellions. (See Ch. 2)

This new gentry class of the 1530's and 1540's though Tudor-sponsored and favoured, was not entirely Tudor-made out of nothing. In an intensely heraldic age the Tudors preferred people with good bloodlines, and the Southwells of Woodrysing could trace their ancestry back to the Thirteenth century (Ch. 2), and so did the Copley family, our Southwell's maternal uncles. On May 4th 1265 (49 Henry III), R. de Middleton was directed "to enquire in the county of York whether Geoffrey de Wadenoure killed Hugh de Coppel [egh] in self-defence or by felony".³² Partially confirmed references trace the Copleys, through their inter-marriage with the Shelley family, back to "Alfred the Great, the Carolingian Kings and Alexander, King of Scotland".^{sn33}

On Elizabeth's accession Catholic gentry families like the Southwells of Norfolk lost their positions and privileges. As the years passed by they felt the brunt of repudiation, of belonging to an earlier and now discredited system. Having lost power, prestige and social standing, and during Elizabeth's reign, being looked down upon as "has-beens", they developed a defensive introvertism of their own which made use of the self-containment inherent in the gentry estate, and which also enabled them to struggle for religious, social and economic self-sufficiency. It was in such a frame of mind that the Catholic gentry milieu existed throughout Southwell's lifetime.

The entrenchment of Catholic gentry families in theirs and each other's domains was accentuated by what they saw as rapid deterioration in the quality of life and behaviour. The 1560's and 1570's witnessed traumatic social and economic upheavals in England. The population was rising rapidly. An Alderman Box told Lord Burleigh c.1576 that "the tyme is alterid" and "the people are increassid"; and William Harrison refers to "the great increase of people in these daies" so that by the end of Elizabeth's reign England's population may have been about 35% higher than it was in 1558.³⁴ This increase led to changes in "agriculture, trade, industry, urbanization, education, social mobility and overseas

settlement".³⁵ A large urban middle class was continuously evolving: "lawyers, merchants, bankers, industrialists, bureaucrats, ambassadors, publicists, printers, designers, skilled craftsmen, men of courts and cities" - newly emerging, previously unknown people with high levels of education and broad horizons who "welcomed a more clear-cut and combative attack on the problems of their age".³⁶ By 1591 conditions for Catholics were really bad. For the Catholic gentry, the times had become hectic, brash, aggressive and disagreeable (see Dorman, above). They felt discontented and saw discontentment everywhere. "There is much more cause of feare in respect of the civill factions there at home" wrote Southwell to Richard Verstegan in 1591 and unspeakable discontentment of all estates". Shrewd, argumentative and restless people were causing social tensions and unrest. "The whole realme is so full of makebates (breeders of strife) and factions..." Southwell laments. People previously unheard of were forcing their way through society, making life hard and ruthlessly competitive. Those who respected more gracious and righteous norms of behaviour and conduct could not hope to stand up to such aggressive assertiveness and pugnacity. The result was further sorrow, bitterness and distress - all of an introverted nature. Catholics saw cherished traditions of plain dealing, truthfulness and honesty as fast disappearing. Ruthless self assertiveness led to a massive upsurge in litigation. "Never so many at law and in controversie as now", Southwell complains, observing the widespread corruption in the legal system. "Never lesse helpe by law than now, all things being governed by bribes and partialitie".³⁷

Economically, the recusant gentry were also hard hit. Their income had declined with declining power and prestige. Heavy bribes had had to be paid, since, says Southwell, their "suites be they never so just, they very seldom take effect unless it be by extreme bribery".³⁸ Rising inflation added to their problems. Harrison, in 1577 complains that "our butter was scarcely worth eighteenpence the gallon that now is worth three shillings fourpence or perhaps five shillings".³⁹ The system of land tenure was shifting against them, away from feudal and paternalistic landlord/tenant relationship to those based on profit maximization in a market economy. Food prices rose from a base of 100 in 1491-1500 to 341 in 1571-80; and agricultural wages from a base of 101 in 1491-1500 to 207

in 1571-80.⁴⁰ There are indications of a close correlation between recusancy fines and economic decline. Dr. J.E. Mousley lists, among the Sussex gentry related to Southwell who failed economically throughout the Elizabethan period, the Gage family - both of Firle and Bentley, and the Shelleys of Michelgrove. Conversely, few of those families who progressed economically had been "suspect on religious grounds".⁴¹

A significant aspect of Southwell's early life was that the Catholic gentry milieu seems to have confined itself to its country estates and shied away from lengthy periods of domicile in London in the late 1560's and early 1570's during the Northern Rebellion and Pius V's pontificate when the bull excommunicating Elizabeth was issued. Aside from reasons of personal safety, other considerations may have prompted them to stay away from the Capital. The quality of life in London may have been seen to be deteriorating. The city was becoming a teeming over populated sprawl. Its population grew from 60,000 in 1500 to about 450,000 in 1640.⁴² On the other hand, the entire population of Sussex in 1522 was around 60,000,⁴³ and the population of Norfolk in 1570 was computed at 140,581.⁴⁴ In an age when public sanitation was virtually unknown such overpopulation would make country houses far more attractive alternatives to the Catholic gentry who would have difficulty being received with favour at Court or in London's rapidly changing social and political circles. Catholics would be unwilling, or unable to partake of the flood of imported consumer goods which aroused passions of greed, pride and ostentatiousness. Such feelings exacerbated social tensions by encouraging fierce competition among the ambitious to shine socially. Ostentation, Professor Stone points out "satisfies three deep-seated psychological needs present in every human being: the instinct for aggression and competition... and the compulsion to work be it only by performing in some futile, costly and time-consuming ceremonial; and the urge to play".⁴⁵ The Catholic gentry were not inclined towards aggression or competition, indulgence in costly ceremonial, or the urge to play, though they may have matched their protestant neighbours in the ceremonial lavishness of their lifestyle. Their main concern was a defensive entrenchment during hard unfavourable times. London did not appear to be a suitable place for prolonged residence for social purposes.

The devout amongst the Elizabethan Catholics, were known for the

simplicity of their attire. Lady Anne Dacres, Countess of Arundel and Surrey (1557-1630) was noted for her plain clothing. "For altho' her apparell were decent and grave" her biographer wrote "yet both in substance and circumstance it was always homely and plain. Her gowns commonly were of ordinary black stuff of small price", and she never used any ornaments except a gold cross round her neck on feast days.⁴⁶ The simple attire of Lady Magdalen, Viscountess Montague (1538-1608), second wife of Sir Anthony Browne, First Viscount Montague (d.1592) is also described by her biographer:

Her attire, after the death of her husband, when she was not bound to please the eyes of any man was such that... 'Who had not known her would not take her to be who she was, but to be the meanest of handmaids'... Her gown in summer was of say, in winter of cotton, on which, to keep her shoulders from cold, she commonly wore a coarse Irish mantle. She never wore knit stockings, either of silk worsted and (or?) woollen, but only and altogether of kersey. Her smock was of rude and coarse linen such as noblewomen would esteem a penance to wear. She never in her life dressed her head or adorned herself by a glass, which in a woman, especially noble and a courtier, may be esteemed as a miracle..."⁴⁷

In fact, simple clothing was part of the Catholic ethos of piety; a virtue to be upheld. "Let all historians" Southwell wrote in praise of this particular virtue "witness... their simple attire".⁴⁸ Garish, ostentatious clothing was probably seen by Southwell's milieu as being ungodly, accentuating the imagery of heresy in their minds as being attired in demonic apparel. Simplicity of attire marked what Catholics saw as the distinction separating them, as a pious world-shunning people, from the Protestants, whom they considered as worldly, grasping, lustful, boisterous, vindictive and hedonistic. But Catholics are, Allen writes in A True Sincere and Modest Defence (1584):

more sadde, graue, honest, and quiet natured men, consisting of devout and aged Persons and of godlie weemen: wher as the Protestants, now in possession of State, goodes

and government, ar risen... by alteration; spoile and factio; their cheefe folowers youthful persons, venturous and desperate; and the rest both of laitie, and speciallie cleargie, entangled by the present commodities and pleasures (which this new religion yieldeth, in al fleshlie lustes and turpitude) are impatient, vindictive, restles and furious (in comparison of Catholiques and quiet men) make a great shew and a terrible muster, in the sight of quiet honest and peaceable persons."

Ralph Buckland Seaven Sparkes describes the Protestants pejorative view of Catholics:

"Not for exercise of our faith only are we thus afflicted: but for our conuersation also we are detested. Vertue is accounted misdemeanour; all thinges are lawfull, except to liue well... who waxeth sober and graue: suspected is he ... He that in quaffing and gluttony is not forward: is hated as a backward person... Giue any man great almes, deemed he is a corrupter of people: a solliciter of mens harts to his Religion."⁴⁹

One of the main factors that shaped Southwell's character was the hostility meted out to English Catholics by "the man in the street". Sixteenth century coercion of Catholics in England was not carried out exclusively by the State. Hostility to them on a popular level arose mainly from their loss of power in a brutal age; an age that accepted personal aggressiveness, rapaciousness and pugnacity. Aggression against social or religious minorities carried only a minimal risk of retaliation. Catholics, having lost power, were defenceless against the sheer virulence of their times. They were seen as an overthrown clique, clinging to time-worn ideas and an archaic alien creed; that of foreign powers, and consequently were victimized for the nation's ills. Southwell describes all this in detail:

There is no evil publikely done but streyt they father it on Papists. London was on fyre... Catholikes streyt were said to have bene the authors... if anyone want worke or mony, streyt if he can rayle against Catholikes or print

anything to their disgrace, it is currant and goeth presently abrode (cum privilegio)... They of every priest lightly geve it out after his death, and before, in his absence, that he wold have killed the Queene, and that he came to prepare people for an invasion... How many wayes Catholikes are pilled and impoverished, it is almost infinite to rehearse... they buy and sel Catholikes like calves in the market... ballades, ministrels' songs and al dities of entertaynment, at innes [are] spiced with some quipp or jest against religion.⁵⁰

Recusancy fines paid by Catholics were given gratis to court favourites. Ralph Lane, an equerry of the Royal Stable, was given the handsome gift of £1000 in 1583 to be paid out of recusancy fines as they came in. Catholic writers painted a dark picture of their nobility and gentry's distress and deprivation. Allen A True, Sincere, and Modest Defence writes of "the miserable fortune of the Catholic Nobilitie and Gentry... such is their miserie... they be far more inivred then the Clergie. "Many Catholic nobility and gentry," writes Allen were "whole sacked and spoiled of al they possessed; & so many hundred more vexed pilled & spoiled at home, as they have not wher withal to expel famine from themselves and their families." [See also below for an expanded form of this quotation]. Catholic writers composed Lamentations on the lines of those of Jeremiah. Ralph Buckland The Seaven Sparks of the Enkindled Soule (1604,5) wrote "Fovre Lamentations, which composed in the Hard Times of Qveene Elizabeth, may be vused at all times, when the Church hapneth to be extreemely persecuted". Buckland's first lamentation cries out: "Behold, Behold, O thou eternall eye, which neuer sleepest: behold the daily vexations of thy faithful. See howe they are had in chase: and deuored euery houre." Buckland then recites a litany of woes:

"All bowels of mercy are shut vp: and before our face they consult vpon our liues. Daylie doe the pangues of death discouer, themselues: we are as those which expect their last houre. Our life Hangeth by a small thred: our feete are entring into the grave... We must looke to our steps, as if we walked among Serpents:

for many are they, which lie in wait to annoy vs... We lie open to accusation of euery dissolute vn thrift: to the injuries of euery froward companion... Our inheritances are giuen to straungers: our possessions are rent and dismembred... Tabernacles of strangers abound with our goods: and like houndes well fleshed, they followe eagerly the game ... Pursuivants are cast off after vs, as grayhounds after deere: or as the goshauke is let fly at the ... partridge⁵¹

Southwell's - and Shakespeare's - age was one of outstanding precocity and depth of feeling. We feel this in Juliet's maturity and eloquence reflected, in Southwell's case, by eleven year old Frances Burrows who saved him from pursuivants by her quick, precocious wits (see Ch. 9). Southwell possessed this essentially Sixteenth century precocious introspective sensitivity. It was accentuated, in his case, by his distress at finding himself a member of a minority unique among minorities anywhere, anytime. As a minority English Catholics were indistinguishable from their compatriots by those criteria by which minorities are normally created - race, class, occupation, forced seclusion, etc... 'The English Catholics... came from every class, and were scattered all over the country; only their religion divided them from their fellows'. Once the overwhelming majority, now, after Elizabeth's accession and by some quirk of fate, they were gradually reduced to minority status but which still included "Peers of the realm, landowners, professional men, manufacturers, tradesmen, craftsmen (and) labourers..."⁵²

The precocious, easily bruised sensitivity of his age, together with the numerous aspects of distress mentioned above, all prompted Southwell to combine a chronic sense of grievance against the brutalities of "outrageous fortune" - and a desire for death. Modern contemporary opinion often finds difficulty in comprehending Southwell's preoccupation with death and martyrdom. One such view sees it as "an unhealthy" one.^{sn53-5} Such views presuppose that life in Elizabethan England was a healthy happy one and for Southwell to crave death evinces a sick and morbid propensity. Circumstances arising from various forms of dislocation caused the distress that endeared death to Southwell. It made the choice between life

and death an easy, undemanding one. Victimization by hostile forces can be transformed into victory over them. "Therefore there is little cause either to love life or fear death", he wrote "and great motives to lament that our inhabitation is prolonged and our decease adjourned". "we shall find" he writes "that our whole life is so necessarily joined with sorrows that it might seem madness to live in pleasure than odious to live in pain". For while we live, we die... Better therefore it is to die to life than to live to death, because our mortal life is nothing but a living death".⁵⁶ In the Sixteenth century life was closely identified with death. Death was always at hand. "Thou maist loke upon deth" wrote Sir Thomas More "not as a stranger, but as a nigh neighbour. For as the flame is next the smoke, so is deth nexte an incurable sickness, and such is al our lyfe". Death, says More, should always be on our mind, "Wake we, slepe we, eate we drinke wee morne wee syng wee." We never ought to "loke toward deth, as a thing farre of consydering although he made no haste towards us, yet we never cease ourselve to make haste towards him". In the Elizabethan era Catholics saw iniquity prevailing everywhere. The Catholic Psalmist Ralph Buckland (Seaven Sparkes of the Enkindled Soule, 1604, 5ed.) invoked, in his Fourth Psalm, God's wrath on a wicked world:

"The earth it selfe is infected with wickednesse of the inhabitants: and cryeth vnto thee for vengeance... Reuenging fire of Sodome and Gomorrha might be justly feared: if the faithfull stayed not they rodde.")⁵⁷

Hamlet could be studied as a representative of much that distressed Southwell. Shakespeare's Prince of Denmark was "in opposition" at Court as Southwell was to the Elizabethan regime for its anti-Catholicism. Hamlet bewails "...the whips and scorns of time... the oppressor's wrong... the spurns that patient merit of the unworthy takes..."⁵⁸ Southwell echoes Hamlet's "Give me that man that is not passion's slave and I will wear him in my heart' core."⁵⁹ In the Epistle of Comfort Southwell writes: "...how little cause we have for joy in this life, in which we have to struggle hourly with so mighty perverse and malicious enemies... Consider the displeasure of superiors, the malice and enmity of our equals, the contempt, ignominy and reproach we receive from our inferiors, the fraud and treachery of all sorts and degrees".⁶⁰

Southwell, like Hamlet, in complaining bitterly against the passions of pride, anger, greed, and envy displayed by people with position, property or favour, was voicing an outcry against a chronic Sixteenth century malaise. "The behaviour of the propertied classes, like that of the poor" writes Lawrence Stone "was characterized by... ferocity, childishness and lack of self-control... Impulsiveness was not reprov'd, readiness to repay an injury real or imagined was a sign of spirit". Men were "so exceedingly irritable. Their nerves seem to have been perpetually on edge". Stone attributes this irritable behaviour to a bad diet. "The poor were victims of chronic malnutrition, the rich of chronic dyspepsia from over-indulgence in an ill-balanced diet: neither condition is conducive to calm and good humour".⁶¹ Again, like Hamlet, Southwell was distressed by the notion of "unending delay" - "when will things improve? When will True Religion be re-established? When...? When...?", questions that English Elizabethan Catholics asked repeatedly. Hamlet also suffered from this form of delay. A modern reviewer points out that "Hamlet, the play, affiliates delay with death, not as dying, but as what comes up next". It is the agony of endless waiting, with the expectation that tomorrow something good might happen but never does, that gave Hamlet and Southwell their death wish. For both men, this agonizing delay becomes the intolerable life they have to endure. For Southwell as it was "for Hamlet... there is no evolutionary potential within life... Delay is where Hamlet lives, since if his self is to have an existence at all,... he must delay, only if long enough to mourn his own life". This agony is Southwell. Like Hamlet, "in his delay, in his agony, we see him".⁶² However, world renunciation was by no means peculiar to the Sixteenth century. As a form of religious expression, it goes back to the earliest Christian centuries, and re-emerged with "considerable vigour during the Reformation when leaders with great charismatic appeal rallied young men to the aid of the embattled Church".⁶³

Elizabethan - Papal Relations and their Effects on English Catholics

English Catholics made a distinction between obeying their temporal ruler in temporal affairs, and obeying their spiritual ruler - the Pope - in Spiritual ones. Henry More's version of Southwell's statement, made in Court in his own defence, explains the Catholic position on this point:

What you say about giving to Caesar what is Caesar's, and obeying the authorities, we also acknowledge, and render to the Queen what is the Queen's, namely her power over our bodies and all that pertains thereto. Our souls are something different. On this spiritual plane lies all the power which we respect in the Pope; breves, medals, grains and everything else of his are corrected with this; and also anything that priests do who are sent here for the sake of dispersing the Sacraments."⁶⁴

Catholic writers emphasized the need to obey temporal rulers. Thomas Hide Consolatorie Epistle (1580) states that "there is an honour and obedience due to princes & civill rulers of the World". However, Catholics emphasized the necessity of disobeying such temporal rulers should they force the faithful away from religion. Hide points out how "these dewties (to temporal rulers) also have their limitations".⁶⁵

Elizabethan-Papal relations were cool and often very hostile during Southwell's entire life-span. English Catholics were directly affected by the degree to which these relations were strained. The intensely personal nature of Sixteenth century government and its subservience to the monarch's whims, passions and moods personally affected subjects linked in any way to a foreign power with whom relations were unfriendly. English Catholics were like a barometer measuring the downward oscillations of Elizabethan Papal relations from bad to worse, from worse up to bad and then down to worse again. Relations between Elizabeth and the Papacy, like all relations between princes, were characterized by a volatility and personal passion that knew no bounds or recognized rules of behaviour:

It was an age when motives of self-preservation over rode in statesmen all questions of moral principle and of personal feelings. With them all, the universal rule was - that your enemy of today might be your friend of tomorrow - that tomorrow you might be fighting your friend of today - that frank alliances must be made even with those who had murdered your friends or sought to murder

you - that you must suppress such words as "never", "impossible", "unendurable", - must nurse no resentment, yield to no affection, trust no one, shrink from no plot yourself, and suspect all plots in others.⁶⁶

However, Elizabethan-Papal relations were often characterized by a high level of mutual suspicion and hostility rare in Sixteenth century annals. The deep-root cause of these animosities was, essentially, theological:- The Catholic-Protestant disagreement on Biblical interpretation of who should be in charge of the Christian flock; a national shepherd - a prince in his own country - or a central universal one, the Pope as the successor to St. Peter. The English Reformation did recognize a "universale Catholycke Church". A religious manual of Henry VIII. A necessary Doctrine For Any Christian Man & c. (1543), (STC-1926 ed. no. 5169) known as "King's Book" acknowledges "This holy church is also Catholike ... not limited to any one place or regiō of the world but is in every place ... where it pleaseth god to cal peple to him ..." However the book rejects the idea of a single man ruling over these churches:" ... the unitie of these holy churches, in sundry places ... stadeth not by knowledge of one governour in earth ouer al churches... the unitie ... of the church is not conferred by the bishoppe of Romes auctoritie but ... by the helpe and assistance of the holy Spirit of god"⁶⁷ On the other hand Sixteenth century Protestants cited Biblical texts which urged believers to obey those that govern them. They cited Hebrews 13:7 "Remember your leaders, those who spoke to you the word of God; consider the outcome of their life and imitate their faith". Another Biblical quotation favoured by Protestant leaders was Hebrews 13:17 "obey your leaders and submit to them; for they are keeping watch over your souls, as men who will have to give account. Let them do this joyfully, and not sadly, for that would be of no advantage to you". Herman V, Archbishop of Cologne, exhorted his flock, and in accordance with Scripture (Luke, 10) to "obey the that be your governours".⁶⁸ Catholics, in support of Papal Supremacy, cited Mathew 16:18,19 to prove that Christ chose Peter - and his successors - to protect the Christian flock. "And I will tell you, you are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church, and the powers of death shall not prevail against it. I will give you the

keys of the Kingdom of Heaven and whatever you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven".⁶⁹ Papal authority over the entire Christian community is authorized, wrote Thomas Dorman, by John 20:15 "Feed my lambs" Christ said to Peter "and in John 20:16 "Tend my sheep". "In St. John" Dorman points out "where Christe committing to Peter the charge of all his flocke excepting none, made by that meanes one ruler of the whole, and committed ... the charges of the vniuersall worlde to Peter".⁷⁰ Because Christ cannot be always with his flock"... he left vs also one, that in his absence should gouern, and rule his whole church".⁷¹ In support of Papal jurisdiction over all Christians, Catholics pointed out that Christ wants his flock to be one solid unit, as shown in John 17:11 "Holy Father, keep them in thy name, which thou hast given me, that they may be one, even as we are one". To safeguard Christian unity, Dorman argues, Papal Supremacy is crucial, and therefore "the B. of Rome is the chief of all other Bishoppes, the Head of Christes Chvrche Here in earthe".⁷² The absence of such a central authority leads to chaos. Dorman points to "...this miserable time of oures, in which there be so manie heades, one of the church of England, an other of that of Geneua... of Vvितtemberge.⁷³ And now, all this fragmentation, Dorman concludes, has led to the present "...tumultouse hurliburlie, the perniciousse and horrible heresies ... the sondrie schisms and sectes so many as there be heades... euerie one boasting of the spirite and vaunting ... that he hath the church on his side, will submit him selfe to no other".⁷⁴

Priests derived their authority from God and Scripture, and Kings from the people. But priests were superior, as is shown by bishops anointing and blessing Kings at their coronation. Christ was King of Kings and the Pope was his vicar and hence had the self-same power over temporal rulers as Christ himself. Nicholas Sander De Visibili Monarchia - libri Octo (Rome, 1571) discussed the question in great detail, and it then

dealt with Papal political power in depth, showing how authority to 'bind and loose' was given to Popes as successors of St. Peter. Christian Kings, says Sander were a form of priests, holding both spiritual and temporal powers. Since the ultimate goal of the communities they ruled was eternal salvation they were subject to the advice and control of the priestly hierarchy presided over by the Pope. Should a prince neglect, or

deviate from his religious duties, his temporal headship of a Christian Commonwealth would be severely questioned.

Thomas Harding A Confutation of a book entitled An Apology of the Church of England (1565) asserted the Superiority of priests and bishops over Kings, quoting Jeremiah 1:10 in reference to the Clergy "Behold I have set thee over nations and Kingdoms, to the intent thou mayest pull up and scatter, and build and plant". As Dr. Peter Holmes points out, this text was used later by Pius V in *Regnans in excelsis*. However, there appears to have been a dichotomy or conflict of interest between English Catholic exiles and the Papacy on the extent to which the Papacy and its Catholic subjects should oppose a temporal ruler. Catholic leaders like Persons and Allen had to take into consideration the well-being and the welfare of their own Catholic countrymen - in an England ruled by a heretical queen - in a more concerned, direct and responsible way than the Pope was able or could hope to do. To follow the Papal extreme line on excommunication and deposition of temporal rulers would seriously jeopardize their fellow countrymen at home. Hence, later on in the century, a new departure of Catholic views on Papal power took place. The doctrinaire and rigid views of Harding and Sanders gave way to the so-called "indirect" theory of Papal power. In 1586 Robert Bellarmine expressed this theory in his Disputationum de Controversiis, after which all Catholic writers followed the indirect theory. Persons A Conference about the next Succession to the Crown of England (1594) said that though the Pope had "a supreme right in every Kingdom or principality of the Christian republic to protect religion and see that it suffers no damage", this was an indirect oblique, power (*obliquum*).

As the century drew to a close the concept of Papal Universality had lost a significant portion of its power. For their own part in the contraction of Papal Universality, English Catholic exiles like Allen and Persons had to give greater precedence to expressions of loyalty to their temporal ruler to safeguard their fellow Catholic countrymen at home. They appeased the Queen by softening their hard-line stance. Two casuist documents written by Allen and Persons and discovered by Peter Holmes demonstrates this. In the first of such documents dating from the early 1580's [Lambeth Library MS 565 f.53v.] Catholics were told that they could obey the Queen in present circumstances, but that the situation could change.

Another Casuist document of 1578 directs that should a Catholic be asked whether the Queen could be deposed 'for any fact by any authority', he was directed to reply: "I cannot answer this question unless you first decide whether she has committed a crime worthy of deposition, who is her judge and what are her crimes. Or: Kings and queens cannot be deposed for any crime. Unless these things are certain the question is captious because it is not based on sure foundation".⁷⁵

Catholic leaders like Persons and Allen thus fell between two stools, so to say. On the one hand they professed loyalty to their Queen, on the other they upheld their traditional Catholic loyalty to the Pope as the head of their Church. Their energy largely cancelled itself out in this contradictory approach to a basically irreconcilable problem. Professions of loyalty to the Queen were profusely expressed by Persons, Allen and Southwell. William Allen An Apology and true declaration (1581) praised Elizabeth's regime which, had it not been "contaminated" by an unfortunate heretical tendency, would have been "glorious, renowned to the World" and "Serene and happy". Persons, in his book entitled A brief discourse (1580) described Elizabeth as "the substitute and Angel of God" and "Vice gerent in God's place". Catholics supported the Queen and will continue to do so, said Persons, refusing only to obey her religious laws. Southwell in the Humble Supplication is the most vociferous of the three in protesting his loyalty to his Queen, addressing her as "Most mighty and most mercifull, most feared and best beloved Princesse". Paradoxically, later in the century Persons and Allen were assiduously preoccupied with endless plans to remove Elizabeth. Now the sum total of these two seemingly contradictory tendencies was simply to help entrench the concept of absolutist monarchy which was later to flourish in Seventeenth century France, Austria and Spain.

For Jesuit "Conspirators" and other Papists to swear loyalty to a Protestant Queen upgraded her in the eyes of Protestant and Catholic alike. For them to conspire after protestations of loyalty to remove her by such direct and violent means as aiding plans for foreign invasion, enabled the Queen to depict them as traitors and conspirators by virtue of the fact that they had hitherto profusely and vociferously asserted their loyalty to her. Allen and Persons by pursuing with ardent yet contradictory energy the irreconcilable courses of protesting loyalty to

the Queen and then indulging in what was considered to be treasonable practices, not only undermined their own position, but had inadvertently aided in the contraction of Papal Universality through contributing to bolstering the position of a heretical temporal ruler whom the papacy was attempting to control.⁷⁶

The fear of schism and ensuing turmoil, division and chaos explain the Catholic abhorrence of heresy, the main charge levelled against Elizabeth by the Papacy and exiled English Catholics. This charge led to the ever-strained Elizabethan-Papal relations from which Southwell and other Catholics suffered. Heresy was so great an evil in Catholic eyes that Thomas More "...Sheweth his oppinyo concerning the burning of heretikes" that the only way to deal with heresy is surgical; "So hard is that Carbuncle. (that) ... the clene cutting oute that parte for infeccion ... am I by myne offyce ... and euerie officer of iustice through the realme (be) right especally bounden."⁷⁷ Thirty-odd years later, Thomas Dorman, writing in the 1560's, laments the cancerous spread of heresy: "This lesson and manner of olde hereticks was neuer... more diligently put in execution or earnestlie practised the in this our most miserable and wretched time".⁷⁸ Heresy, in Catholic eyes was linked to tyranny, though Hide A Consolatorie Epistle to the Afflicted Catholikes (1580) writes that "Heresie was more contrarious to the Church than tyrannie. For heresie deceiveth the simple, striketh greiuouslye with the sword of the tongue. "Yet hath the Church gayned more by Tyrannie than by heresie, for tyrannie maketh martyrs, heresie begetteth Apostats."⁷⁹

The ever-strained Elizabethan - Papal relations were also due to the fact that the Papacy was unable to accept Elizabeth as the full and legitimate sovereign of England. Elizabeth responded by an inability to accept "Papal" religion in England. The Popes began to question Elizabeth's legitimacy as early as winter 1538/1539. As well as attacks on the validity of her parents' marriage, Reginald Pole's Pro Ecclesiasticae Unitatis Defensione (Defence of the Unity of the Church) accused Henry VIII of sexual advances towards Ann Boleyn's mother and of living in sin with Mary, Ann's sister. Ann Boleyn, said Pole, refused to be a mistress like her sister Mary and insisted on being a wife.^{sn80} Such doubts about Elizabeth's legitimacy were further aggravated after her accession by the yet more serious charge of heresy. Elizabeth, highly

educated and intellectually sharp, resented being treated by the Papacy as a wayward woman, to be either coaxed or cajoled back to righteousness. Papal disapproving condescension stiffened her anti-Catholic propensities and she took out her wrath on Papal followers in England. This, in turn, outraged the papacy who, by supporting English Catholic exiles, naval expeditions against England, and Mary Stuart's claims to the English throne, provoked Elizabeth to yet more drastic anti-Catholic action. This vicious circle revolved inexorably throughout Southwell's lifetime. To view Elizabethan-Papal relations in more detail, following is a survey of all pontificates during Southwell's lifetime and their respective attitudes towards Elizabeth.

1. Paul IV (Gian Pietro Caraffa) R. May 1555 - August 1559

The first decade of Elizabeth's reign does not provide much on the nature of the relations between Elizabeth and the papacy, nor about Catholic political opinion in England. The Catholic Archbishop Heath of York, hailed Elizabeth in the House of Lords as "our Sovereign lord and lady, our King and queen" lauding her as "humble, virtuous and godly". English Catholics, on the other hand, showed more dread than affection for the reigning Pope, Paul IV, whom Archbishop Heath described as "a very austere stern father to us". Elected Pontiff at the advanced age of eighty he was described as "stubborn, harsh, impetuous and impatient of all opposition," ... a difficult man at the best of times'.⁸² As Bishop of Chieti he wrote "The Theatine Rule" of 1526, which laid out plans for the establishment of a model ascetic community devoting itself to cell prayer, fasts and choir chants performed night and day.⁸³ He was thus not one to approve of, or deal with a prince suspected of heresy. To underline his non toleration of lapses into heresy by temporal rulers, he issued the bull "Cum Ex Apostolatus" of February 16th 1559, which deposed any prince suspected of heresy. It was not directed against Elizabeth personally, but coming within a year of her accession it "may have been represented as aimed at her".⁸⁴ This led to Papal confrontation with Elizabeth at the very outset of her reign. She was jolted by the bull into the position of protracted confrontation with the Papacy.

This first pontificate was a dangerous one, as far as Elizabeth's throne was concerned. The French King's daughter-in-law Mary Stuart,

grand daughter of Henry VIII's eldest sister Margaret had a claim to be considered next in line to the crown. Catholics might have considered Mary to be the rightful Queen of England if Elizabeth denied papal supremacy and permitted the Pope "to brand her a heretic". Elizabeth was in a painful dilemma. She had no option but to deny Papal Supremacy. "For to admit it would be to confess her own illegitimacy and admit herself Queen by grace of the Pope". She played France and Spain against one another and both against the Pope to gain time to establish herself. Henry II of France urged her to break with Spain and marry someone favourable to France. Philip II countered this offer by proposing marriage to Elizabeth himself. She kept the French King making repeated offers, thereby inducing Spain's continued concern for her care and protection. Spanish influence was exerted in Rome to block French efforts to get Elizabeth declared excommunicate and illegitimate. So, by the time her first parliament met on January 25th 1559 she prepared legislation asserting her independence from Rome. Due to Philip II's influence the Pope remained silent and Catholics in England were not urged to resist.⁸⁵ Elizabeth had won the first round in Papal attempts to dislodge her. From now on she was to fortify her position internally. During the early years of Elizabeth's reign when her relations with the Papacy were unstrained, Elizabethan Catholics, especially their religious leaders, were reported to have been graciously treated. Lord Burleigh "The Execution of Justice in England, not for Religion, but for Treason" (1583) was at pains to show how moderately the Catholics were treated prior to the deterioration of relations with the Papacy. Burleigh refers to Dr. Heath, (see above) Archbishop of York and Lord Chancellor under Mary who "shewing himself a faithful and quiet subject... continued in both the said offices, though in religion manifestly differing. "Heath", says Burleigh "was not restrained of his liberty, nor deprived of his proper lands and goods, but leaving willingly both his offices, lived in his own house, and enjoyed all his purchased lands during all his natural life". Burleigh then cites other examples of Elizabethan magnanimity and toleration of Catholics: Dr. Pool, Bishop of Peterborough, "an ancient grave and very quiet subject"; Dr Tunstal Bishop of Duresm (sic) "a person also of very quiet behaviour," Dr. White, and Dr. Oglethorp, "one of Winchester, the other of Carlisle, Bishops". There were also Dr. Thurleby and Dr. Watson "yet living, one of

Ely the other of Lincoln, Bishops: not pressed with any capital pain though they maintained the Popes Authority against the Laws of the Realm".

Burleigh then tells how these Catholic bishops and other dignitaries were so very well treated, "most of them for a great time were retained in Bishops Houses in very civil and courteous manner without charge to themselves or their friends". This hospitality, says Burleigh, continued graciously till later Popes adopted a hostile stance against England; "until the time that the Pope began by his Bulls and Messages to offer trouble to the Realm by stirring up Rebellion..." (see below, Pius IV, v.)⁸⁶

2. Pius IV (Gian-Angelo de Medici) R. 1559-65

An assiduous propitiator he "considered it his duty as supreme Pastor to let no opportunity go by of winning over the sovereign of a country which was still for the most part Catholic".⁸⁷ Described as "the most conciliatory of men" Pius IV wrote a letter to Elizabeth on May 5th 1560, expressing his good wishes, promising her assistance, warning her against evil advisors, and inviting her to take part in the Council of Trent. Tragically, he wrote to Philip II at the same time informing him of his communication with Elizabeth, and of the envoy he was sending to England: Parpaglia, Abbot of St. Salvatore, near Turin. Angered by his move, Philip II instructed his half-sister Margaret of Parma to detain Papal envoys in the Netherlands. Parpaglia was disliked by Elizabeth due to his association with Reginald Pole, and by Philip II who had banished him from the Netherlands as a French spy. Philip II thought that Parpaglia was carrying a Papal ultimatum which Elizabeth could only refuse and be excommunicated.⁸⁸ Thus Pius IV found himself in the ludicrous position of having inadvertently provoked Philip II, to warn Elizabeth, to rebuff papal conciliatory gestures. Yet, the Pope persisted in making repeated offers of reconciliation to Elizabeth, which gave her breathing space to establish herself internally. Papal propitiation also gave the impression that Rome was negotiating from weakness. In May 1561 she refused to admit the Papal Nuncio Martinengo or to be represented at a general Church Council such as Trent.⁸⁹

Having rebuffed Papal overtures and consolidated her position internally, Elizabeth began introducing coercive legislation against

"Papal followers" in England. In 1563, two years after Southwell's birth, a law decreed that those upholding papal primacy, and those refusing to swear to the oath of supremacy a year after conviction should incur for the first offence, the penalties of praemunire and for the second the charge of high treason. All through the 1560's Elizabeth tightened the screws on her Catholic subjects. The initial administrative difficulties of establishing the new church had been overcome three years after the settlement of 1559 and after 1562 the problem was to repress remaining evidences of non-conformity. But Elizabeth needed yet more time for yet more entrenchment. There was a lull in her anti-Catholic policies in the years 1564-1568, during which she succeeded in establishing her position internally on a still more firm basis, and these four years were described as "Years of Inertness" in anti-Catholic laws. They reflected a relative lull in the Elizabethan - Papal confrontation but they were also years of vigilant surveillance of religious inclination. On October 17th 1564 the Council sent circulars to Bishops asking for names of J.P.'s who were favourable, indifferent or hostile to the state religion. Between 1564 and 1569 England's government, though aware of its Catholic problem "never felt sore pressed to take prolonged and harsh measures. Its policy was to meet difficulties as they arose"; and the official policy was "not one of authority but rather of constraint".⁹⁰ Paul IV, Pius IV, and Pius V till 1569 - all had disapproved of Elizabeth in varying degrees, but had not yet taken decisive steps against her. Consequently, and in response to this policy, her attitude towards Catholics in England was one of energetic surveillance.

3. Pius V (Michele Ghisleri) R. 1566-1572

Within three years of his accession, Pius V saw how his predecessors' conciliatory policies towards Elizabeth had failed ignominiously. Elizabeth's excommunication had been delayed long enough. He saw that this delay was the outcome of jealousies between France and Spain and was one of the English Queen's main lines of defence.⁹¹ It was time to take a more firm stand against the heretic Queen. In 1569 Pius V sent Nicholas Morton "to declare by Apostolic authority to certain illustrious and Catholic men that Elizabeth who then wore the Crown was a heretic, ... and henceforth (Catholics) owed no obedience to her laws or commands".⁹²

Elizabethan Papal relations descended from bad to worse. Pius V, unlike his conciliating predecessor, had a ferocious inquisitorial temperament. He singled England out from other Protestant countries for retribution. To him, Elizabeth was no better than "a crowned criminal, who had usurped the throne".⁹³ By February 1570 the English exiles in Rome were encouraging him to invade England. The upshot was the bull "Regnans in Excelsis" by which Pius V excommunicated Elizabeth. He was convinced of his power, as Supreme Pontiff to rule, depose and confer rank through the issue of Papal bulls. On mid-Lent Sunday, 1570, during High Mass at St. Peter's, he crowned Cosimo de Medici, with his own hands, as Grand Duke of Tuscany. A total of one hundred and twenty one bulls in the Papal Bullarium were issued by Pius V.⁹⁴ In 1568 he reissued the bull "In Coena Domini" in which the papacy "claimed a certain degree of suzerainty over secular princes".⁹⁵ Evidence suggests that most Catholic leaders in exile considered Regnans in Excelsis as either an embarrassment to be somehow explained away or a downright blunder. Richard Bristow A Brief treatise of divers plain and sure ways (1574), defends papal political power and described excommunications as a miraculous power as Christ himself acted through them, but; as Holmes points out, it put excommunications in the plural. Bristow also points out that Catholics were more obedient subjects than Protestants. They prayed to God for reconciliation of an excommunicated prince to the true church. Bristow's book was "the first attempt by an Elizabethan Catholic writer to reconcile the bull deposing Elizabeth with Catholic loyalty to the Queen". William Allen, however, was more hostile to it. In A brief history of the glorious martyrdom of xii reverend priests (1582). Allen said that Regnans in Excelsis "hath lain dead and so might for us Catholics have been dead with Pius Quintus the author and publisher thereof forever".⁹⁶ In A True Sincere and Modest Defence (1584) Allen describes how, in spite of the bull, Catholics "both at home and abroad obeyed her (the Queen) with such loialtie, as subiectes ought to doe their Soueraine; never tooke armes in al England vpo the Bul of Pius Quintus, nor anie time since the publication thereof". Pius V claimed that the excommunication bull of 1570 was issued "in response to the requests of the English Catholics ... that his intention had been to encourage them, and that since (they) had asked for sentence against Elizabeth, he could not in conscience, refuse

it".⁹⁷

The Excommunication bull encouraged Elizabeth to take a firm stand against the Papacy and English Catholics in two ways: First, through the bull's failure in its intended effect. It failed, as did Paul III's excommunication bull against Henry VIII, because Europe's Catholic rulers "Passed it over in silence, politically ignoring it from the lowest motives of self-interest, instead of courageously uniting with the (Pope) to enforce it upon Elizabeth and England".⁹⁸ Rulers like Maximilian, King of Hungary and Bohemia and Holy Roman Emperor, had reproached the Pope for issuing such a bull, and Maximilian wrote to Pius V on September 28th 1571 asking for the excommunication to be revoked.⁹⁹ The bull inflamed Elizabeth's anti-Papal propensities and aggravated the situation in England for Catholics. Looking back, moderate Catholics like Thomas Bluet, the appellant, freely admit later on that conditions for Catholics during the first decade of Elizabeth's reign were good. In Important Considerations (1601) [see below for further details of this work] Bluet writes: "It cannot be denied but that for the first ten years of her Majesties Reign, the State of Catholikes in England was tolerable and often a sort in some good quietness". He quotes Persons and Cresswell for verification:

"Master Persons and his Fellow Master Creswels... in one of their Books, do confess as much in affect: In the beginning of the Kingdom thou didst deal something more gently with Catholicks: none were then urged by thee, or pressed either to thy sect, or to the denial of their Faith. All things (indeed) did seem to proceed in a far milder course: no great complaints were heard of... But then afterwards thou didst begin to wrong them & c...".

Bluet the moderate then questions Persons and Cresswell the extremists on who was to blame for the downward plunge in Catholic conditions and when the deterioration took place:

"And when was that our great Monseigneurs? Surely whensoever it was ... we ourselves (certain Catholikes of all sorts) were the true causes of it... Her highness had scarcely felt the Crown warm upon her head, but it was

challenged from her... The French were sent to Scotland"...

It was Pius V's support for Mary Stuart that contributed greatly to Elizabeth's wrathful treatment of Catholics: Bluet explains:

"In the time of our said peace and upon the coming into England of the Queen of Scots... it pitteth our hearts, to see and read what hath been printed and published out of Italy in the life of Pius Quintus concerning his Holiness endeavours... to joyn with the King of Spain for the utter ruine and overthrow both of our Prince and Country."¹⁰⁰

Pius V had antagonized Elizabeth by his blatant support for Mary Stuart. He gave Mary a gift of 20,000 gold crowns with promises to give more.¹⁰¹ The Scottish Queen was at the centre of the international campaign against Elizabeth. Pius V was closely allied to Philip II's court, which he considered to be "the one solidly Orthodox political center in Europe".¹⁰² London saw papal support for Mary Stuart as an attempt to further Spanish interests in England. Pius V continually appealed to Spain - and to other Catholic powers - to rescue Mary, the captive Catholic Queen.¹⁰³ She was the link connecting Scotland, England and France to the Catholic faith, having given on April 4th 1558 her Scottish Kingdom to Henri II (1547-59), King of France, and to his successors. Mary also linked the Papacy to English Catholicism represented by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland to whom Pius V wrote on February 20th 1570 supporting their rebellion:

... our Lord Jesus Christ, has resolved to make use of you, ... to renew and confirm the union between that Kingdom and the Roman Church... to restore both yourselves and the Kingdom... from the shameful slavery in which it is kept by the passions of a woman... as your lordships seek a refuge beneath the shadow of our power... we receive you with the tenderness you deserve... not only will we aid you in rendering you our services, but, still further, in forwarding to you such sums of money as... our personal resources will permit us to furnish. ...we are

also disposed to aid you with a larger sum than the weakness of our resources can at present support.¹⁰⁴

Papal support for Rebellion in England provoked Elizabeth's government into yet a more hostile stance against Catholics. Burleigh, "The Execution of Justice in England" refers to Charles Nevill, Earl of Westmoreland as "A Person utterly wasted by looseness of life"; and declares that "it liked the Bishops of Rome as in favour of their Treasons... flatly to animate them... to take Arms against their lawful Queen". The Pope, said Burleigh "proceeded in a thundering sort, Bulls, Excommunications, and other publick writings denouncing her Majesty". Catholics who obeyed the Pope, says Burleigh were traitors, and will be treated as such; "that so many as should have been induced... to have obeyed that wicked warrant of the Popes should have been... in their hearts and consciences, secret traitors". They were simply waiting for an opportunity to take up arms against the Queen: "and for to be indeed errant and open Traitors, there should have wanted nothing but opportunity to feel their strength, and to assemble themselves... in Armour and weapons". As Traitors, Burleigh warns, they will be dealt with accordingly: "...as manifest traitors in adhering to the capital enemy of her Majesty ... who hath not only been the cause of two Rebellions... These I say have justly suffered death."¹⁰⁵ By the late 1560's Catholic youths resorted to what their Protestant contemporaries would have classed as militant Jesuitism. 1568 was the year of the establishment of the Douai Seminary, Mary Stuart's flight into England and the year the Pope sent Nicholas Morton to England bearing Papal mandates to strengthen Catholics. More important, the following year, 1569 was the year of the Northern Rebellion. In 1570 the Pope had excommunicated Elizabeth. Elizabeth felt threatened as never before by Catholicism. Burleigh refers to the mission of Sanders and Morton; "Dr. Sanders... did gloriously avow the foresaid Bull of Pius Quintus against her Majesty to be lawful". Accordingly, "one Dr. Mooreton an Old English fugitive and conspirator was sent from Rome into the North parts of England to stir up the first Rebellion there". And so, Burleigh concludes his indictment of Pius V bull "it may manifestly appear to all men how this Bull was the ground of the Rebellions both in England and Ireland". By 1571 Parliament passed

an act forbidding any subject from declaring the Queen to be heretic, a schismatic or a usurper. (13 Eliz. Caput 1). Another act forbade the acquisition or circulation of papal bulls, prohibiting subjects from attempting to win converts to the Roman Church, or be reconciled to it themselves. (13 Eliz. Cap2).¹⁰⁶ Thomas Bluet, the Appellant, in his treatise entitled Important Considerations which ought to move all true and sound Catholiks, who are not wholly Jesuited to acknowledge without all Equivocations, Ambiguities or shiftings, that the Proceedings of her Majesty, and of the State with them, since the beginning of her Highness Reign have been both mild and merciful (1601) refers to the consequences for Catholics of the Popes provocations against the Queen. "Now upon all these occasions, her majesty being moved with great displeasure, called a Parliament in ... 1571 wherein a Law was made containing many branches." What aggravated the situation for Catholics in England was that this law was unduly harsh. Moderate Catholics like Bluet wrote that "although we hold it to be too rigorous, and that the pretended remedy exceeded the measure of the offence ... yet we cannot but Confesse ... that the state had great cause to make some Laws against us".¹⁰⁷ Contacts between Catholics in England and those abroad was strictly prohibited. All forms of Catholic religious services in England were subjected to coercive surveillance. In 1571, on the Feast of the Purification, the Spanish Embassy in London was surrounded to prevent English people from entering to attend Catholic services. Southwell, as a child of ten could well have heard that the only place in which Catholicism was officially tolerated in England was in a foreign Embassy, ringed off to prevent natives from practising their religion inside.¹⁰⁸ Either due to or in spite of such religious restrictions, Catholic worship persisted in the Country at large in Catholic gentry households.

Gregory XIII (Ugo Buoncompagno) R. 1572-1585

Hostility to Elizabeth continued unabated during this pontificate. Gregory XIII did not initiate the new papal policy of liberating England by force, Philip Hughes explained, "but he took it up with an enthusiasm that never flagged"; urging Philip II to do his "holy duty" in liberating England.¹⁰⁹ In 1576, the year Southwell left for seminary training in Douai, William Allen, his rector, was summoned to Rome for consultations on

plans for "the English Enterprise" - the invasion of England.¹¹⁰ In the 1570's it became known that the Pope had planned to assassinate Elizabeth. "...it might still be regarded as an open question" wrote A.O. Meyer "whether Gregory XIII gave his moral approval to the projects of murdering Elizabeth set on foot during his pontificate and furthered by his authority". Meyer pointed out that "Assassination (was) not merely tolerated, it (was) distinctly encouraged, and that, not in passing, but on principle;" and that "Elizabeth's assassination was not an object which merely entered for the moment into the Pope's political programme... it formed one of his constant and cherished aims. It is true that (he) himself in no instance hired and dispatched the assassins, but in each case, as it was brought before him, he gave the assassins his moral support".¹¹¹ Details of the Pope's encouragement of assassination, however, are scanty. "In every case" J.H. Pollen wrote "Something is certainly wanting to the definiteness of our knowledge. But... there was some sort of toleration of assassination".¹¹³

Consequently, the atmosphere in England was charged with rumours of plots against the Queen. Most were false alarms. On the evening of July 17th 1579, while Elizabeth was being rowed on the Thames, one Thomas Appletree saluted her by firing a musket. He was arrested, tried and condemned to death, but pardoned on the scaffold. A huntsman caused a similar incident in Windsor Park "shortly before".¹¹⁴ As a result of this tense atmosphere charged with rumours of assassination, coercion against Catholics in England increased. To aggravate matters still further, no relaxation of Catholic pressure against heresy in England was allowed. "When Gregory XIII came to the Papal throne" writes A.G. Dickens "there was no thought of relaxing the pressure upon heresy, whether in England or elsewhere. Political and missionary activism continued to be directed from Rome with mounting vigour and confidence".¹¹⁵

In 1574, the first batch of seminary priests from Douai - Louis Barlow, Henry Shaw, Martin Nelson and Thomas Metham arrived in England.¹¹⁶ Burleigh wrote vigorously against the despatch of Seminary priests, describing them as spies, scouts and fifth-columnists for the Arch enemy, the Pope:

"These disguised Persons (called Scholars or Priests) having been first Conversant of long time with the traitors

beyond the sea in all their Conspiracies, came hither by stealth... by Commandment of the Capital Enemy the Pope or his Legates to be secret Espials and Explorers in the Realm for the Pope... to poyson the senses of the subjects, pouring into their hearts malicious and pestilent opinions against her majesty and the Laws of the Realm..."

Burleigh, however, declares that jesuits and Seminary priests were considered enemy agents only because of their allegience to the Pope; and not for their religious beliefs or occupations:

"...let these persons be termed as they list, scholars, schoolmasters, Bookmen, Seminaries, Priests, Jesuits, Fryers, Beadmen, Romanists pardoners, or what else you will, neither their titles, nor their apparel doth make them traitors, but their traiterous secret motions and practices... Let it be answered why they came thus by stealth into the Realm? Why they have wandered up and down in corners in disguised sort, changing their titles, names and manner of apparel? ... why they have reconciled and withdrawn so many people in corners from the Laws of the Realm to the obedience of the Pope, a foreign Potentate and open Enemy, whom they know to have already declared the Queen to be no lawful Queen, to have maintained the known Rebels and Traitors, to have invaded her Majesties Dominions with open war".

Burleigh sums up his indictment of seminary priests and Jesuits as enemy agents, not men of God:

"These kind of seditious actions for Service of the Pope, and the Traitors and Rebels abroad have made them Traitors: not their Books, nor their Beads nor their cakes of Wax which they call Agnus Dei, nor other their Reliques, nor yet their opinions for the ceremonies or Rites of the Church of Rome".¹¹⁷

Elizabeth reacted against Gregory XIII's offensive, and from 1574 onwards

the English government "became stricter in its drive to eliminate Catholicism from the realm": It ceased imprisoning and fining lay Catholics haphazardly and began a consistent drive of penalization "which in intensity and severity lasted till the end of the reign". The government "feeling handicapped by insufficient knowledge of the number, names and financial resources of contemporary recusants ordered on October 15th 1577 a survey of religious inclination of the whole realm, diocese by diocese".¹¹⁸ County families were recurrently summoned by the Privy Council and by diocesan ecclesiastical commissioners for questioning. If found to be difficult or intransigent, they were fined, imprisoned, then released, but were always under suspicion and subjected to persistent supervision. Catholics who favoured the Government like Thomas Bluet blamed the misfortune of Catholics generally on the provocative and meddlesome nature of Jesuit intruders:

"...these good fathers (the Jesuits) came into England, and intruded themselves into our harvest... (and) who have been the chief instruments of all the mischiefs that have been intended against her majesty, since the beginning of her Reign and of the miseries, which we, or any other Catholicks, have upon these occasions sustained... they entered (viz Mr. Campion and Mr. Persons) like a tempest with sundry... great brags and challenges".

Bluet then goes on to describe how "the gravest clergy then living in England" such as "Dr. Watson Bishop of Lincoln and others" greatly disliked the Jesuits and had "plainly foretold that... their proceeding after that fashion, would certainly urge the State, to make some sharper Laws which should not only touch them, but likewise all others, both Priests and Catholicke." Persons has so exasperated Catholics, says Bluet "that the Catholikes themselves threatened to deliver him into the hands of the civil Magistrate, except he desisted from such kind of practices".¹¹⁹ Reaction against Catholics in all walks of life continued. In 1577 the Inns of Court were purged of "Poperie" and Thomas Copley, Southwell's uncle, was "publykele noted to be verie backward in Religion," and that "he absenteth him self out of the realme".¹²⁰ Copley had left for voluntary exile in Flanders in 1569. Elizabeth's Parliament, meeting

in January 1581 expressed increasing concern about the alarming increase and success of the Jesuit missionary movement. Two eminent Jesuits, Cuthbert Mayne and Edmund Campion, were executed, Mayne in 1576, Campion in December 1581. Sir Walter Mildmay, citing the bull of 1570 and the Northern Rebellion said that the Pope would not rest till he had removed "this great obstacle (England) which standeth between him and the overflowing of the world again with Popery". He blamed the Pope for recusant obstinacy in England, and for the "hypocrites, naming themselves Jesuits - a rabble of vagrant friars newly sprung up and running through the world to trouble the Church of God," and to stir up sedition under the pretence of religion. "He called for laws 'more strict and severe to constrain (the recusants) to yield their open obedience... to Her Majesty in causes of religion".¹²¹ As a result, the Act of 23 Eliz. Caput 1 of 1581 decreed that the celebration or hearing of Mass incurred the penalty of fine and imprisonment. Failure to attend the established church led to a fine of £20. Even harsher laws were passed in the fifth and sixth Parliaments of 1584-85 and 1586-87; which led to an increase in the numbers of lay Catholics imprisoned for recusancy and other religious offences.¹²² These recusancy laws accelerated the decline of the Elizabethan Catholic gentry.

This Pontificate affected Southwell directly, and in a positive manner. Gregory XIII's reign corresponded roughly with Southwell's sojourn in Rome - (1578-1586), and as the most pro-Jesuit of Popes, Gregory XIII lavished, since February 1573, large sums of money on Jesuit establishments. On October 28th 1584 he blessed a new building for the Roman College. "Gregory loved his colleges", says Pastor, "as the apple of his eye".¹²³ Southwell in Rome benefited, as a student, from this Pope's love of learning and his munificence in endowing centres of education.

More ominously, the tense relations with England which eventually led to the Armada were visible during the last year of Gregory XIII's reign. There were reports of troop concentrations on the French coast preparing for the invasion of England. "In the yeere 1584" Anthony Tyrrell confesses, "I & John Ballard priest,... coming together from Rome through Burgundy, found there a great presse of souldiours ... when wee came to Roane, wee heard then directly, that the said preparations were against

England".¹²⁴ Direct action against Elizabeth's England was taking shape, on the ground. Assassination attempts, naval attacks, and Jesuit missionary activity were all being seriously considered. Pius V had threatened Elizabeth with words. Gregory XIII was taking tangible steps against England while Southwell was in Rome. The next Pope, Sixtus V was to carry them into effect. A new mood of Catholic resistance, fostered from abroad, surfaced in 1584 with the publication of two books by William Allen and perhaps by Robert Persons. The Copy of a letter written by a Master of Art of Cambridge (1584), (commonly known as 'Leicester's Commonwealth', attributed to Persons by Peter Holmes, to Charles Arundel by others) and William Allen's A true, sincere and modest defence of English Catholics. As Peter Holmes points out, Persons and Allen had hitherto expressed a "courtly loyalty to the Queen, while in these books of 1584 there is a criticism of her government and the assertion of the right to resist. Persons' book was written when Southwell was in Rome, and thus under Persons' directive influence (see ch. 8). In his book, Leicester was severely attacked and accused of having taken control of England's Court and policy, directing both to his own personal ends. The attack on Leicester as a symbol of the Protestant establishment meant that the battle was broadened to include the English government and not just the person of the Queen. After 1584 Catholic writings evinced an attempt to formulate a comprehensive ideology of resistance to Elizabeth based on both a popular theory on the divine rights of the people and the rights of the Pope. These were expounded in full much later in the century in Persons Elizabethae Angliae reginae (Augsburg, 1592) and W. Rainolds De iusta reipublicae Christianae, (Antwerp 1592). By the last year of Gregory XIII's reign English Catholic exiles began to formulate populist theories which implied that since royal power emanated from the people, the people could withdraw their approval and consent from a prince who misruled his subjects.¹²⁵

5. Sixtus V (Felix Peretti) R. 1585-1590

This was the most traumatic pontificate in Southwell's life. He was, for all intents and purposes, in "enemy territory" when he returned to England in 1586, and had to endure the anti-Spanish, anti-Catholic passions aroused by the Armada. One cause of the Armada was the clash of

character between Elizabeth, firmly entrenched in her country, and the savage, ferocious temper of Sixtus V - the "Armada Pope" - "All historians agree" writes Pastor "as to the ease with which Sixtus V flew into a passion ... how impetuous he was in anger... Extraordinarily severe in all things... of great vehemence of character... Supremely arbitrary and disregarding consequences when carrying out his purpose... A strong man described as 'terrible', 'powerful', 'magnificent'... his essential characteristics, standing out above everything else were the power of his mind and the strength of his will".¹²⁶

In September 1585 he excommunicated Henry, King of Navarre. Henri III refused to publish the bull and to accept Sixtus V's envoy, Mgr Frangipani. The French ambassador to the Papacy, Pisani, intimated to the Pope France's refusal to accept his envoy. Sixtus V raged at him furiously. "As long as we have breath" the Pontiff declared forcefully, "We will not appoint our nuncios at the dictation of other princes. If he be not received there, then we, not others, will direct him to return to Rome, and then we shall know what steps to take". Henri III finally gave in and accepted Sixtus V's nuncio.¹²⁷ It is perhaps this incident and other similar ones, which encouraged Sixtus V to advise Spain to take military action against England with the hope that Elizabeth, like Henri III, would capitulate.

But it was money, even more than force of character, that formed his real source of power. "Never yet had a pope" says A.O. Meyer "so large a sum to dispose of as Sixtus, with his famous 5,000,000, ducats hoarded up at St. Angelo".¹²⁸ He wanted to be known as a rich pope, knowing how powerful money could be. "A king without money is nobody" he was reported to have remarked. Subsidies he promised were paid only on condition that they be spent under specific conditions "and after certain results obtained". He considered "severity and the accumulation of riches" to be the bases for good government; and he thereby became one of Europe's richest princes.¹²⁹ With his wealth and force of character he sought to unite Europe against the "New Jezebel" of England. Offering to subsidize a naval war against England made him Elizabeth's most dangerous papal adversary. His threat was very real, coming from cold hard cash rather than from soft hot wrath. Rumours of a Spanish invasion were rife in England long before the Armada. "Not long after my coming into England in

the yeere 1585" Anthony Tyrrell confessed:-

maister Martin Array a priest, meeting with me at the end of cheapside, as I was turning to enter Paules churchyard, tooke mee by the hand, and whispered me in the eare... the King of Spayne (quote he) is now almost ready with his forces, to come into England, and we shall be sure to heare some good newes thereof very shortly.¹³⁰

Thomas Bluet, Important Considerations (1601) wrote that "we doubt not, but that the Pope (Sixtus V) as a temporal prince did joyn and contribute towards this intended invasion".¹³¹

Sixtus V's policy towards England, as far as general aims are concerned, tallied with those of his predecessors, Pius V and Gregory XIII, namely, the removal of Elizabeth and full support for Mary Stuart. There was a consistency in Papal policy towards England from 1566 till 1590. The Armada was seen as the means to implement this policy. Mary Stuart, feeling her end was near wrote to Sixtus V on November 23rd 1586 from Fotheringay.

... Holy Father... leaving no worldly property, I entreat Your Holiness to intercede for me with the Most Christian King (Henry IV), that my dowry may be charged with the payment of my debts ... I entreat you, ... in my mortal regret for the perdition of my poor child ... you being his true father in the faith ... and if it please Your Holiness, call upon the Catholic King (Philip II) and both (of you) join to ally him in marriage.

She then goes on - alarmingly for Elizabeth - to laud Philip II in such terms as:

... I know no Christian prince... who has so great means of reducing this Island to the Catholic faith as the Catholic king to whom I am much indebted, as it was he alone who aided me with both money and advice in my need, under your good pleasure, I leave all [to him] that I have of right or interest in the government of this kingdom...

(should) my son, remaining obstinately outside the pale of the Church, ... be regained, I desire that he be by that prince (Philip II) and my relations the Guises aided, supported and advised, enjoining him ... to marry with their advice or into one of their houses ... I should like him to become the son-in-law of the Catholic king.^{sn132}

Elizabeth reacted with equal ferocity against her Catholic subjects. Early in 1588, Catholics were treated like enemy nationals during war. Leading Catholics were put in internment in some dozen prisons throughout the country.¹³³ The defeat of the Armada did not mean a respite for Catholic detainees. Thomas Bluet Import^{ant} Considerations draws a mild picture of the conditions in which Catholics were imprisoned in the period (1588-90): "Such of us as remained in prison at Wisbech... continued still... and were never brought into any trouble for them, but lived there, Colledge-like, without any want, and in good reputation with our Neighbours that were Catholicks about us".¹³⁴ Southwell, however, paints a wholly different picture. In a letter to Aquaviva in Rome dated 31 August 1588 described their situation:

Our rulers... after the peril of the Armada had passed, and the army which they had enrolled on land had been disbanded, turned their arms from foreign foes against their own sons, and with inhuman ferocity vented the hatred they had conceived against the Spaniards on their own fellow citizens and subjects. In the first place they separate and confine apart from each other those whom they hold in prison... they divide wives from husbands, children from parents... Then they are dragged in gangs to the court houses, and there examined not only as to their past deeds, but about their future conduct, what... they would be disposed to do under such and such circumstances. If they refuse to answer, the refusal is set down as a clear proof of a rebellious will and of treason; if they answer that they will do nothing contrary to their just and bounden duty to Queen and country, they falsely accuse them of hypocrisy and insincerity...

whatever answer they give, it never satisfies the minds of these judges, unless it is one that imperils the prisoner's life.¹³⁵

Parallels between Elizabethan Catholicism and Christianity in Ancient Rome

The conditions of Catholics in Elizabethan England after the Armada were perceived as bearing resemblances to those of Christians in ancient Rome. Copious quotations from patristic Sources in Southwell's - and other Catholics' - writings strengthen the exhortation to fellow Catholics to endure persecution and attain martyrdom, and hold up the Roman and North African Christian martyrs as models for emulation. In the Fifteenth Chapter of the Epistle of Comfort (p.228) "A warning to the Persecutors", Southwell writes addressing his persecutors in the manner of Augustine:

"You see, when you condemn us, you crown us; when you kill us you increase us. As St. Augustine says "The resurrection of immortality sprung more fertility, when it was sown in the blood of martyrs".¹³⁶

Henry More writes of Catholic suffering in Elizabethan England and how Southwell compared such suffering to that endured by Christians in ancient

times:- ... those were times when evil did its utmost to bring his best efforts to nothing. Whatever could be done by force or cunning was tried alongside every shift of trickery, and pursued with unbridled ferocity... [Southwell remembered that in ancient times many suffered similar things.] By patience they too had risen superior to most inhuman and appalling cruelties... [Southwell pondered on these things and wrote about them in order to stimulate himself and others to successful combat whereby] through a labour that lasts a little, a peace could be obtained that would endure for ever..."¹³⁷

In his writings, Southwell used references to Church fathers and Martyrs to fortify his fellow Catholics' faith, strengthen their resolve and stiffen their resistance to persecution. The hagiographical writings he extensively cites taught how early Christians faced their Roman

oppressors, explaining how persecution could be confronted by faith. Christians in the Roman world lived under circumstances bearing some similarities to the condition of Elizabethan Catholics. Elizabethan Protestantism viewed Catholics as favouring a foreign prince - the Pope - practising a foreign religion and isolating themselves as an alien part of the population. Christians in the Roman Empire kept to themselves, scorned Roman religion and were viewed as a peculiar anti-social sect. The second century pagan writer, Celsus, writing against Christians, said they formed "associations contrary to the laws" and instead of joining in with public worship, conducted their affairs as an "obscure and secret association". Romans saw the Christians - as Elizabeth saw the Jesuits - as "religions fanatics, self righteous outsiders, arrogant innovators, who thought only their beliefs were true."^{sn138} The Elizabethan regime saw Catholicism represented by the Jesuits as a direct threat to the system. (See above on Mildmay's speech in Parliament concerning Jesuits). Prior to the mid 1580's, Catholic authors upheld persecution as blessed, holy suffering. Robert Persons The first book of the Christian exercise (1582) writes that Persecution increases ones glory, draws one away from the world, keeps sin at bay, tests faith, directs one to God and displays God's love and power in our salvation. Thomas Hide Consolatorie Epistle (1580) teaches that God loves those he corrects, "And why doth he correct but to amend us, why would he amend us, but to make us worthy of him. We have therefore cause to reioyce in correction, for if we be iuste then we be tried, if we be unjust, then be we amended". Suffering persecution was seen as making political action redundant, since by suffering, God would be propitiated and his displeasure removed. Allen An Apology and true declaration (1581) writes that "this is the way by which we hope to win our nation to God again". The first martyrological work written by an English Catholic viz, Persons' De Persecutione Anglicana (1581), was followed three years later by Allen's Ad persecutores Anglos pro Catholicis (Rouen 1584). Both works exhorting English Catholics to suffer persecution were published while Southwell was in Rome.

The significance of such exhortations was that they were vindications of Catholic loyalty; a loyalty that was to contribute greatly to the formation of the monoliths of Absolutism later in the following century. Peter Holmes explains that "that they suffered martyrdom for religion and

not execution for treason served to reinforce the practical importance of expressions of loyalty to the Queen". Persecution accentuated Catholicism in a way that could not be envisaged had there been no persecution: It transformed the "theoretical" aspects of Catholicism, viz. church attendance, the sacraments, etc... which formed only a part of Catholic life in early years into a much more positive, direct, indeed painful manifestation of Catholic religious practice. As Robert Persons phrased it "the things that a man hath to believe are much fewer than the things he hath to do".¹³⁹

In the last analysis, therefore, religious persecution of Catholics in Sixteenth century England resulted, if anything, in the augmentation of the English monarchy. Unlike the persecuted Christians in ancient Rome who felt no particular loyalty to their pagan Emperors, the Catholics of Elizabethan England endured persecution while protesting their heartfelt loyalty, indeed crying it out on the scaffold, for God to save their Queen. Elizabeth was thereby encouraged to gain from the continuous flow of protestations of loyalty. It served her well, as she could flaunt such loyalty - as the Catholics vociferously expressed - to her other subjects. Why not continue with persecution if the Jesuit traitors died crying out for God to protect you? What better protestation of loyalty could a monarch dream of? Persecution of Catholics, therefore was a river of nourishment that fed and bolstered the English throne, endowing it with almost mystical powers of permanence.

Southwell was aware of the positive value of persecution so to say, as was the Catholic-Jesuit-hierarchy generally. He resorted profusely to extensive quotations from Patristic sources in praise of suffering of persecution and how best to stand up to it. Leo Hicks calculates that in the Epistle of Comfort alone there are some 450 references to the Scriptures and some 350 to the fathers, and many of these references deal with persecution.¹⁴⁰ One of the reasons for Catholic persecution late in the Elizabethan reign, was due to what was perceived as the uncompromising zealotry of Catholics. Like Christians in ancient Rome who were accused of being religious fanatics (see above), Catholic writers pursued an unbending and inflexible religious stance. Persons, asserting the Supremacy of the Catholic Church in A Treatise of Three Conversions (1603) announces that "we say that in this church, and no where else is the truth

of faith and certainty thereof, and this by the perpetual assistance of the holy Ghost promised thereunto by the founder God himselfe".¹⁴¹ Persons also exhorts Catholics to endure persecution as a duty and as a price for God's blessing. In A Book of Christian exercise appertaining to Resolution (1568) he dismisses a life of virtuous ease and comfort as unworthy. "that man may live vertuously and serve God truly, with all worldly ease, and without any affliction tribulation or persecution... is false". Asking "whether it be ordinary for al that must be saved, to suffer some kynde of persecution, tribulation or affliction", Yes, Persons replies, "for that Christ himselfe sayth to his disciples... In the Worlde you shall sustain affliction"¹⁴².

A factor which led to the weakening of the Catholic position was internal differences on church attendance and other matters; divisions which the Elizabethan Council exploited, and which may have encouraged persecution of the more militant Catholic wing. These divisions are referred to by Persons A Briefe Apologie, or Defence of the Catholicke Ecclesiastical Hierarchie (1601):

"In the beginning also of this Q. dayes... brought in the division of opinions about going to the heretical churches and service which most part of Catholikes did follow for many yeares: And when the better and truer opin^on was taught the by priests & religious men from beyond the seas as the more perfect and necessary; these wanted not many that opposed themselves: especially of the elder sort of priests of Queen Maryes dayes. And this diuision was not only favored by the Council; but norished also for many years, by divers trouble some people of our owne; both in teaching and wryting".¹⁴³

Another factor which exacerbated the Catholic position, was their exiles' habit of writing books severely attacking the leading figures of the Elizabethan government, thereby incurring their wrath which was invariably unleashed in the form of spurts of anti-Catholic measures at home. Burleigh and Sir Nicholas Bacon were very bitterly attacked in: A treatise of Treasons Against Q. Elizabeth and the Croune of England (1572) published anonymously on the Continent. Burleigh went to great lengths to

find out who wrote it. (see Ch.4). Leicester was viciously attacked in Leicester's Commonwealth [which is variously ascribed to either Charles Arundel or Persons].¹⁴⁴ Leicester was described as an evil and corrupting influence on the Queen: "that man is about her noble person, were well able and likely... to been the calamity of her princely bloud and name". He was particularly attacked for preventing Elizabeth from marrying a Catholic prince. "And for the first three suters, Hee drove them away, by protesting and swearing that himselfe was contracted unto her Majesty." Leicester was described as so lustful that "No man(s) wife can bee free from him, whom his firie lust liketh to abuse. Religion, honour, or honesty taketh no place in his outrageous appetite". The downfall of the Duke of Norfolk was ascribed to Leicester, "that he might have no man above himselfe"; and who "by a thousand cunning devices" drew the Duke into the trap of the proposed marriage with Mary Stuart "which was afterwards the cause or occasion of his ruine".¹⁴⁵

The significance of Hagiographical and Patristic writings as a guide to Southwell's political and missionary role is that such writings showed that the application of virtue to everyday life was an effective way of fighting the enemy. The wise man armed with virtue makes a formidable adversary. "Patience" writes Cyprian - to take one such virtue - "assuages Anger... bridles the tongue, governs the mind, guards peace, rules discipline, breaks the force of lust, represses the violence of pride, extinguishes the fire of enmity... It makes men... brave in adversity... It resists temptations, suffers persecutions, perfects passions and martyrdom."¹⁴⁶ Southwell quotes Cyprian on the virtues of patience and of suffering long periods of imprisonment. Citing Cyprian's fourth Epistle, Southwell writes:- "The man that suffereth once hath but one victory but he that always is dwelling in pain... and is still not conquered is everyday crowned". Also quoting Cyprian's 89th Epistle Southwell writes: "blessed are those amongst you who remain in prison, for by the lingering of your torments you will proceed to more ample titles of merit". Jesuits such as Southwell drew upon virtues expounded in Patristic writings as a source of vigour. Virtues are harnessed to generate strength and the most formidable virtue a persecuted believer possesses is the depth of his faith. Southwell cites Cyprian's words to a persecutor: "why dost thou turn thee to the frailty of our bodies? Why

striveth thou with the weakness of our flesh? Encounter the force of our mind, impugn the stoutness of our reason; disprove our faith; overcome us by disputation if thou canst". In Elizabethan England the coercion of Catholics followed broadly parallel lines to those in the early Christian era. As Margaret Waugh points out in the preface to the "Epistle of Comfort", in Southwell's view the persecuted church in England during Elizabeth's reign had parallels only in the early Christian centuries and "the Christians of North Africa in the time of Cyprian offered the nearest analogy to the position of Catholics in England."¹⁴⁷ Southwell's letters on this subject evince a harrowing agony. Writing to Aquaviva in August 1588 he describes his feelings after a spate of executions of Catholics:

As I began to write about the cruel slaughter of our last Martyrs, I felt uncertain whether it was better to confine to home my lament over our domestic calamity, or to import to other nations the inward sorrow we here alone endure. For although the accumulation of our woes if presented to the eyes of others cannot, I feel sure, fail to awaken great compassion, yet as the trials of the afflicted cannot be related without speaking of the tyranny of the oppressors, I feared much lest the recital of their impious conduct should bring more hatred on the English name than the constancy of our Martyrs would win for its praise.¹⁴⁸

Elizabethan Catholics, like Christians in ancient Rome were exhorted to see persecution as a blessing, and suffering as a gift of God. "This cause is so important" Thomas Hide exhorts, "that none can suffer for it but by the gracious gifts of God, and God giveth this gifts to none but to his speciall friends ... So long as you suffer for this cause, you have little cause to feare the power of your mightye adversaries". Persecution, says Hide, should be viewed as a pleasure rather than as a torment. "to good men it hath not bene grievous to have the displeasure of the evill. As for displeasure of Hereticks, good men have sought it, and thought glorie to beare it".¹⁴⁹

The Concept of "Fickle Fortune"

Religious upheaval in the Sixteenth Century led to Social fluidity and impermanence. Positions, social or political, were based on favour which was as abruptly withdrawn in pique or displeasure as it was granted. This gave rise to the concept of fickle fortune which was a recurrent Sixteenth century theme tacitly subscribed to by all. The Catholic nobility and gentry suffered more from this personal and social turmoil than perhaps anyone else: William Allen A True Sincere and Modest Defence of English Catholiques (1584) explains: "such is also the miserable fortune of the Catholique Nobilitie & Gentry. Such is their miserie... they be far more iniured then the Clergie... so manie fled for religion of the best Nobilitie and gentry wholie sacked and spoiled of al they possessed, & so many hundreds more, vexed pilled & spoiled at home, as they haue not wherewithal to expel famine from themselves and ther families... a Catholique noble man in the realme, if by anie shew of religiō, or moderatiō in life, he give the enemy the least suspicion in the World of his good affection that way, be sure of his life, landes and state one day. For by one false pretence and calumniation or other, they will entrap him... emprison him... they will overthrow him and 'his whole familie, and transferre al his honors some time to his cheefest enemies" Ralph Buckland Seaven Sparkes laments the woeful condition of Catholics in an Old Testament Style. His third Lamentation begins in a cry of appeal to heaven:

"End our misery (O Father of Pupilles) or take vs vnto thee, least malice of the time subvert vs, Better it is to die; then to see the enormity, and desolation of our Country... Godlinesse is quite gone: piety hath taken her leave. Banished are truth and vertue: into forraigne landes... No persecution like vnto our oppression: no grieffe comparable vnto our sorrowes."

In his fourth Lamentation Buckland pleads with God to mitigate persecution of Catholics:

"Chastise vs no longer in thy rage: nor correct vs with indignation. Heale vs for we are bruised: haue mercy vpon vs, for we are brought exceeding lowe. In silence we

expect thy long-desired consolation."¹⁵⁰

The extent to which Southwell felt the "slings and arrows of outrageous fortune" constitute a main aspect of his character. His poetic works, especially, are dominated by melancholy. The courage shown in his mission and in his political writings may have sprung from a similar melancholy, a defiance of fortune and the hostile world. For his was an age of "aristocratic resurgence, and the traditional values of honour and courage are clearly manifested in the vitae of English recusants and Spanish Jesuits".¹⁵¹ Heroic expressions of outrage of a rhetorical or histrionic nature were usually directed against fickle fortune. The inexorable turn of Fortune's wheel reflected the transient nature of Sixteenth century affairs. Southwell's cousin (son of his maternal uncle Thomas Copley) Anthony Copley A Fig For Fortune (printed 1596) depicts this obsession with impermanent fortune and seeks death as a way out of the misery it causes:

Blesse thou thy selfe, and if that Fortune curse thee,
Die in despite of her, and her discourtsie¹⁵²

Copley, like Southwell, advises virtue and battle against sin as a means of defeating outrageous fortune.

This life is but a warfare against sinne
And either Fortune is but sinnes Coate-armour,
Be it bright or blacke, great danger lies therein
If thou resist not with a haughtie valour:
Ti's witlesse yeelding to her gawdements,
And cowardize unto her drearements.¹⁵³

Fickle Fortune leads to self-discovery, and Copley urges one to grasp the self-identity emanating from such a search. He advises the pursuit of virtue, contentment - and a good death:

Thou art no part of Fortune, but thine owne:
Vertue thy fore-guide, Heauen thy attaine,
Good death, not loftie life thy best Renowone,
Contented mind thy glories after-gaine:
Without content all glorie is but gall,

And with content disgrace is festiuall.¹⁵⁴

Fortune is only the receptacle holding vile sin:-

That not in Fortunes false malignitie
But in Sinnes guilt, and grimme captiuite
Is only wracke, and blacke calamitie.¹⁵⁵

The obsession with 'Fickle Fortune' often led to world-weariness and religious zealotry. The quest for martyrdom arose partly from social instability and the impermanance of privileged status and position. In Yorkshire alone there were 557 gentry families in 1558 and 641 in 1603 - an increase of 15% during Elizabeth's reign.¹⁵⁶ This increase represents the Protestant gentry pitted against the largely Catholic pre-Elizabethan gentry, who were now suffering powerlessly with favour withdrawn from them and given to others on religious grounds. The large numbers of created gentry both old and new and the ephemeral nature of their status was summed up in Wilfred Holmes' politico - religious poem "The Fall and Evill Success of Rebellion" (printed 1572-3).

And further let them looke upon their owne gentlenesse,
Their estates, their bloud, and their long annositie,
And few of them shal find their own worldly noblenesse
Five degrees constant without mutabilitie¹⁵⁷

Fortune's Wheel can turn "...

"...an Earle to a gentleman of small habilitie
And a Squire to a duke, this is hir mutation".¹⁵⁸

As a result of adverse political, social, religious and economic conditions, contrasting with deeply held religious aspirations towards political and personal salvation, English Catholics tended to be distanced from reality in their assessment of the situation in England. John Cameron An Examination of Those Plavsible Appearances which seeme most to commend the Romish Church, and to preiudice the Reformed. (Oxford, 1625) - (STC - 1926-4531) accuses Catholics of impaired judgement arising from the

ardour with which their beliefs are cherished. "That this imperfection of iudgement proceeding from passion" reads a chapter heading "is discovered principally in the cause of religion".¹⁵⁹ Religious prejudice and understanding, he charges, are incompatible. Another chapter heading in Cameron's book reads, that "the understanding troubled by the affections of the heart alwaies findeth pretences, to make it selfe beleue that which it desireth should be true".¹⁶⁰ Alluding to Catholics, Cameron explains that "whosoever loueth with a fit of passion, he will descry many shewes of arguments to encourage his affection ... And as he desireth that that which he loueth should be praiseworthy, ... he vieweth it in a shape and colour farre different from the naturall".¹⁶¹

Passionate devotion to belief impairing objective assessment of reality is also apparent in Jesuit aims to reinstate the old religion in England. They did not accept that England was no longer a Catholic country. It was no longer Catholic, as Philip Hughes points out at Mary's accession, "if by a Catholic country is meant a land where the average man takes for granted the truth of the Catholic faith, and the right of the Catholic church to obedience...". Even in Mary's reign, the mass of the nation was by no means pro-Pope, any more than it was pro-Protestant. But although the English masses then were Catholic enough not to have any desire to be Protestant, "they were also not sufficiently Catholic to make a violent resistance, or even a protest at the restoration, in 1559 of the religious regime that existed in the reign of Edward VI."¹⁶² Since 1559 Protestantism had made very real and tangible inroads into English Catholicism. And yet, English exiles in the ardour of their faith, were blinkered to this fact. Like one of their leaders in exile, William Allen, they failed to realize "that, as the years go by, a country and its people may so change as to become... wholly different". Again, like Allen, they tended to show "entire ignorance of the movements and feelings" of their country; clinging to those feelings with which they first (knew) England and nurtured within self-contained religious groupings. Allen, for one, failed to recognize "that Protestantism was in charge of the State, the law, the universities, the churches, the pulpits, and the Press". They were unaware of the steady growth of Protestant prestige and that Catholicism was shrinking and disappearing "ever more deeply underground".¹⁶³ (See Ch. 6) The root cause of this myopic and

subjective vision was essentially a conflict between a fighting desire to eject a usurping enemy (heresy) and an inability to assess objectively the extent to which the enemy had genuinely succeeded in winning over the mass of one's countrymen. This myopia was one of the main causes of Catholic suffering in Elizabethan England. A possible Twentieth century analogy is that of a white Russian of the 1920's or 1930's, assiduously hoping, praying and working with a few other emigres, for the overthrow of Bolshevism and the reinstatement of Czarism; animated in doing so by the splendour of the feudal, aristocratic and iconographical aspects of his country's past. However, it must be pointed out that in the light of the most recent research, English Catholic views on the situation in England was not as myopic as it may seem. Professor McGrath points out that Catholicism in the first half of the reign was vigorous and thriving (see below). So although Southwell and Allen built on the fact that Catholicism in England was well and thriving as modern research suggests it was, Catholic exiles on the continent could not, almost by definition, see the extent to which Protestantism had succeeded in seizing the positions of power, intellectual and administrative, and in the manner Philip Hughes had suggested.

Southwell's role within the overall Elizabethan religious situation

Recent research points to Elizabethan Catholicism in the first half of the reign being resilient, self-sufficient and a vigorous continuation of earlier pre-Elizabethan Catholicism. As Dr. Christopher Haigh points out "separated English Catholicism ... was not a new post-Reformation creation of missionaries from the Continent, it was a continuation of traditional English Catholicism shaped by the circumstances of the Reformation in England."¹⁶⁴ Professor Patrick McGrath also points out that Catholicism in the 1570's was not merely survivalist, for survivalism "suggests something out of date, passive, inert and geriatric". It is also dangerous to dismiss early Elizabethan Catholicism as a religion of "ingrained observances involving a cycle of fasts and feasts". McGrath points out that it is quite possible to be concerned with outward observances and nevertheless have a religion of the spirit, a religion of belief and commitment. Professor McGrath's conclusion is that "it is now quite clear that the Catholicism of the first half of the reign ... had in

fact considerable vitality".¹⁶⁵. Dr. Haigh also stresses the vitality of English Catholicism in the first half of the reign and before the arrival of the Seminary priests. So Southwell's early religious life was formed by this resilient and vibrant Catholicism which, however, may have been troubled by Elizabethan attempts to enforce the Protestant settlement. Catholic resistance to the Elizabethan regime stiffened progressively through the course of Southwell's lifetime. At his birth Catholicism had all but disappeared in England in the sense that "there were no (officially) accepted modes of activity by which a Catholic could express his belief nor any way the government could effectively test the papistry of the population". The position of Catholics was marked by quietism, loyalty and political non resistance. To their sovereign, Thomas Dorman pledged the loyalty of Catholics "who protest never to desire to live hour longer than we shall be contented to live like true subjects under the humble obedience of our gracious sovereign".¹⁶⁶

This constant Catholic reiteration of the need for political obedience was largely motivated by self-preservation. Later, it had the function - among other aims - of protecting Southwell and other missionaries as effectively, and for as long, as possible. Peter Holmes explains:

As long as seminary priests remained in England, there was very strong practical reason for Catholic authors to avoid attacking Elizabeth or supporting the policies of her enemies. As the priests, and the laity, began to suffer increased persecution, the strongly argued case that they suffered martyrdom for religion and not execution for treason served to reinforce the practical importance of expressions of loyalty to the Queen and a commitment to political quietism. Appeals to the Queen's mercy and requests for toleration could also only be made against such a background of non-resistance. The theory of persecution which Catholic authors developed also helped to strengthen the belief that 'this was the way' to convert England - by suffering, not by force."¹⁶⁷

However, Catholic resistance stiffened in the period 1584-96, when writings began to evince a new spirit of resistance and every aspect of

Elizabeth's policy was attacked. During this period Southwell was in hiding in England. He was as well protected as was possible from Elizabeth's retribution for increasing Catholic belligerence by dogged Catholic religious resistance, and the shield of the continuity between "medieval Catholicism" and "Counter-Reformation Catholicism". The early part of Elizabeth's reign should be viewed, as Dr. Christopher Haigh points out, "as the period in which the constituency from which later recusants could be recruited was substantially maintained". The recusants who sheltered Southwell owed much to Marian and late Henrician Catholicism which was traditionally Catholic in almost every way except for its linkage with Rome. By the time Southwell landed in England, the concept of a separated Catholic church was established and was in operation; together with "a recusant priesthood providing sacraments for lay people who regarded themselves as Catholics".¹⁶⁸

Southwell's - and other missionaries' - contributions to recusancy need to be evaluated. His mission was pastoral rather than evangelical. The growth of recusancy did not depend on the mission, and "an intensive missionary drive could not significantly alter a prevailing religious disposition". Dr Haigh explains:

"when Seminary priests and Jesuits first arrived in England, they did not have to create a new English Catholicism... Allen, Persons, Gerard, make it clear that the task of the missionaries was to reconcile the Schismatics, to turn Church Papists into recusants rather than to make new converts and the earliest instructions to the Jesuits in England forbade them to approach heretics and encouraged them to deal with reconciled Catholics where possible. "This mission was not an evangelical movement aiming for conversions, it was a pastoral organization providing spiritual care for a pre-existing constituency. The Preachers of the Church of England saw themselves as an advance-guard against rooted popery rather than confident defenders against a small raiding party of priests".

One reply to the question as to how effective was Southwell's role in the continuity of English Catholicism, one could say that his role could have

been more effective. Dr Haigh observes that "he was guilty... of abandoning a peripatetic mission in Hampshire and Sussex for the Countess of Arundel's house in London". Haigh sees Southwell's mission, in some respects, as a failure: "Through the social exclusiveness of the clergy and the selfishness of the gentry, priests came to concentrate their attentions on South-East England, an area with little missionary potential and opportunities elsewhere were missed".¹⁶⁹ In a way, Southwell's gentry were a cause for whatever shortcomings his mission suffered from. Gentry household piety was parasitic, and "the gentry arrogated to themselves the clerical resources of the Catholic community". Catholic religious service was a limited resource. Such services being virtually monopolized by the gentry meant that the illiterate Catholic peasantry had to be deprived of them. Illiterate, impoverished Catholics could not avail themselves of the book-based piety of the gentry households. A more cogent charge against Southwell would be his retiring - due to his gentry background - to a stationary household piety, and repudiating an energetic, peripatetic evangelicalism. Thoroughly disapproving of itinerant priests, he wrote to a priest 'who was going about without any fixed purpose or abode': "I am much grieved to hear of your unsettled way of life, visiting many people, at home with none. We are all, I acknowledge, pilgrims, but not vagrants; our life is uncertain, but not our road".¹⁷⁰

However, the following points could be put forward in support of Southwell's adherence to the Catholic gentry and aristocracy as apposite fields for his mission. First, by repudiating a peripatetic evangelicalism in favour of a sheltered household piety, Southwell had been enabled to give his printed writings to succeeding generations. Much of these writings would probably not have existed had he devoted all his energies to pastoral efforts in harsh and comfortless village environs. Also, the gentry had to protect Catholic ritual. Such ritual made extensive use of the visual. "In Catholic ritual", Patrick Collinson explains, "eyes were exercised rather than ears and were drawn beyond the 'rood' to the altar where the clergy raised the elements of bread and wine". Protestantism, on the other hand "exposed the imagination to the invisible word. It was a religion of plentiful prayers uttered in the name of a still and seated congregation and of readings from the English Bible".¹⁷¹ Protestant culture was deeply iconophobic. In the Geneva

Bible there were no pictures. The emblem, "terse, cryptic and allegorically bookish" was the usual mode of conveying a moral message visually, "and the only graphic representation available were severely diagrammatic".¹⁷² In contrast, Catholic ritual, highly iconographical and visually expressive, required well-protected, well-enclosed household interiors which only gentry demesnes could provide with maximum effect. Thirdly, Southwell's gentry-type sedentary piety evolved from a necessary defensive posture against Protestantism - a dynamic religious vision with a populist rhetoric: Protestants and Puritans of the Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-centuries used populist rhetoric "as if their religion was a popular cause and even a mass movement". However, to Protestants 'The People' "meant not the masses but the people or 'laos' of God, enlightened, responsible, dynamic, the spiritually industrious sort of people".¹⁷³ The Catholic gentry, lulled into a quieter life both by previous prosperity and present defensiveness, could not hope to rival Protestant dynamic evangelicalism. When Bishop Richard Curteys arrived in Sussex in the 1570's, he brought with him from Cambridge some twenty university-trained preachers whom he led on preaching tours throughout the county.¹⁷⁴ This vigorous preaching accentuated Catholic dread and defensiveness by its being entertaining as well as its being dangerously heretical. For "those who rode... to sermons now did so not so much to escape spiritual starvation as to enjoy a varied diet".¹⁷⁵

Finally, the concentration by Jesuits on the gentry as the means for Catholic revival in England was the outcome of a policy decision. The gentry milieu was chosen by the Jesuit hierarchy as the most viable one.

Dr. Haigh explains that "the leaders of the missionary effort... envisaged the construction of a separated recusant community in a seignorial, rather than congregational form".¹⁷⁶ Southwell, in sheltering extensively with the gentry was following orders first and then his own predilections. Professor Patrick McGrath, in replying to Dr. Haigh's views on the lack of success of Southwell's mission points out that the mission had faced almost impossible odds, that "conditions were much more difficult for Catholics in the second half of the reign"; that "the penal laws against Catholics, became more and more severe and the government's resources for dealing with Catholics reached a new level of sophistication in intelligence and propaganda". In replying to Haigh's views that

missionary priests were directed to the wrong parts of the country, that they didn't build on the foundations laid by Marian priests, and that they concentrated their attentions on the South-East of England, McGrath points out that Haigh fails to "emphasize the absence of any really effective central planning authority trying to work out ... what were the needs of particular areas, where priests were to go, how they might get there and how they should be looked after when they arrived". Granted, says McGrath, that Jesuits like Weston, Gerard and Garnet did what they could to place priests where they were needed, but, he points out "there was no effective overall planning and no central intelligence agency collecting the information on which such planning could be based. Often it was every priest for himself in a world of excellent government intelligence, informers and renegades. The dangers, the uncertainties and the lack of information did not make for careful planning, even if a master planner had existed to direct operations".¹⁷⁷

Dr Haigh's most serious criticism of Southwell and other missionary priests was that they were too ready to establish themselves in the houses of the gentry because they found life with the gentry more congenial and less dangerous. As a result, Haigh deduces, "the grand enterprise which some saw as a mission for the conversion of England from heresy became an agency for the provision of private chaplains for the gentry and over much of England those Catholics outside the orbit of a Catholic manor house slipped into conformity to the Church of England". In reply McGrath points out that of some 463 seminary priests active under Elizabeth, 125 were put to death, 115 were arrested within less than a year of being sent to England, 35 of them at sea, and some 290 were at large for less than five years after their arrival. "These figures do not suggest" says McGrath "that the seminary priests lived a life of ease in England".¹⁷⁸ It must be said that although Southwell sheltered exclusively with the gentry, he did so out of conviction and not out of a spineless pursuit of personal comfort and security (see above). Haigh, however, points out that "the mission was a triumphant success in the sense that it created the seigniorally structured form of Catholicism which was to survive". But, Haigh adds, the mission was essentially a failure "in the sense that it did not maximize the size and distribution of the potential Catholic community, it was a failure - albeit a heroic one"¹⁷⁹ Haigh asserts that

the concentration of Catholic priests in gentry houses was a deliberate strategy, and that "the Jesuit missionaries were instructed to deal mainly with the gentry". Haigh gives eight reasons why missionaries like Southwell concentrated on the gentry: "for protection, as a structural strategy, from a desire to serve the great, for comfort and financial security, for the attractions of domestic piety, from a conception of clerical dignity, through the mechanics of the Weston-Garnet distribution agency and through the reluctance of patrons to share their chaplains".¹⁸⁰ Haigh deduces that "the consequences of the missionaries' concentration on the gentry was the reconstruction of the Catholic community along seigneurial lines" and that "Recusancy was increasingly restricted to parishes with resident Catholic gentlemen and even to the servants and tenants of Catholic landlords. But those Catholics beyond the orbit of gentry households and so, often, beyond the care of the priests conformed to the requirements of the Church of England". And so, Haigh concludes, "the English Catholic Community did not have to become preponderantly seigneurial to survive, but that is certainly what it did become".¹⁸¹

In reply to this, McGrath points out that Haigh was erroneously attributing missionaries such as Southwell abiding with the gentry as being due to the varieties of personal interests mentioned above. Haigh, says McGrath "plays down the strength of Protestantism, and he underestimates the resources of the establishment". McGrath admits that "there were areas where Catholicism was very strong, and there were active minorities in a number of places, but the fact remains that the majority of the Clergy and laity conformed". Catholicism, as the reign progressed, was being worn down. McGrath explains:

The Government proceeded slowly and cautiously but it seemed to be winning. With regard to the seminary priests... [we should take account of] the circumstances in which they had to work. Conditions were much more difficult than they had been earlier. It is easy to suggest that the priests ought to have operated in different ways and in different places, but they faced great dangers... they lacked effective organization and direction, they were very much on their own, and they had to make difficult decisions without adequate information.

They were not all heroes and they made mistakes. If it had been possible to do what Dr Haigh thinks they ought to have done, and if they had as a result achieved very great success in areas where Catholicism was relatively strong, would not the establishment have then concentrated its considerable resources against those areas?¹⁸²

Professor McGrath concludes his contribution to the debate by saying that "my general view is that Professor Bossy minimized the strength of Catholicism before 1574 to highlight the achievements of the seminary priests and that Dr Haigh plays down the achievements of the seminary priests to enhance the work of those who kept Catholicism alive before the priests arrived. The truth may well lie between these two views."¹⁸³

One reason why Southwell sought shelter exclusively with the gentry was a religious one: Catholics followed Scripture which urged that priority should be given to Kith and Kin as far as religious ministrations were concerned. Gregory Martin "To my Lovinge and Best Beloved sisters" quotes St. Paul on this subject: "He that hath not regarde of his owne kindred, hath denied the fayth, and is worse than an infidell:". Martin also quotes Chrysostom: "If a man instruct strangers in the fayth, and suffer his owne kinne to continue in their error with whom he were lykely to prevaile most, because they make most accompt of him, were he not a most cruell and barberous man?"¹⁸⁴ These two quotations are even more applicable to Southwell taking such great pains to win his father and brother back to Catholicism. (See ch.3).

Southwell's historical role within the Elizabethan setting was one of fully dedicated religious fervour, made yet more demanding by the suspicion with which it was regarded by the authorities. As Dr. Arnold Pritchard points out, the Jesuits in England were much more influential than their small numbers would initially suggest, due to "their reputation for sanctity, learning and effectiveness as spiritual directors".¹⁸⁵ One reason why Southwell and his fellow Jesuits attracted so hostile an attention from the authorities was that they were simply too unique as individuals and thus virtually impossible to ignore. In an intensely authoritarian, absolutist age when uniqueness of talent, purpose and ability would instantly attract the interest - either extremely favourable

or unfavourable - of the ruling clique, Jesuit spiritual and educational standards could not be downgraded or overlooked. Dr. Pritchard explains that "The Jesuits certainly included many of the more remarkable men who served on the English mission". This remarkable aspect, Pritchard surmises was due "partly because of their more selective recruitment and their training that was more consistently thorough than that of the secular priests". The career of John Gerard, for instance, as a missionary in England shows "numerous episodes of Conversions, vocations and other advances in the faith made as a result of undergoing the spiritual Exercises".¹⁸⁶ Southwell was a close parallel to this, which made him and other Jesuits objects of deep and intense curiosity; initially part suspicious, part worrying, and, eventually, all of it hostile.

This hostility to Southwell and other Jesuits was accentuated by numerous factors. The Jesuits were a tightly-knit disciplined body ruled through martial precision and motivated by a crusading religious zeal. Their superiors exercised fairly close control over the activities of their subordinates.¹⁸⁷ This rendered their motives suspicious, even though, in reality, they may have been entirely benign, and would thus arouse a monarch's apprehensions, in much the same way, say, as an early Plantagenet king would view the Knights Templars with suspicion. Another factor was the misinterpreted direction of their missionary assault. It was as if the Jesuit offensive was not aimed at the very heart and core of the Elizabethan Establishment, but vaguely in its general direction. Heresy, not Elizabeth's government was Southwell's target. The Elizabethan authorities, for their part also claimed that Catholics, as such, were never their enemies and were never, ever, persecuted for purely religious reasons. Burleigh A Declaration of the favourable dealing of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed for the examination of certain traitors and of tortures unjustly reported to be done upon them for matters of religion (1583) asserted forcefully that:

never any of these seminaries or such other pretended Catholics which at any time in Her Majesty's reign have been put to the rack were upon the rack or in other torture demanded any question of their supposed conscience as what they believed in any point of doctrine or faith as the

mass, transubstantiation, or such like; but only with what persons at home or abroad and touching what plots, practices and conferences they had dealt about attempts against her Majesty's estate or person or to alter the laws of the realm for matters of religion by treason or by force...¹⁸⁸

Inadvertently, the Jesuits were the sparks that ignited the flames of Catholic persecution. They epitomized the explosive admixture of religion and politics in an age when they were so closely intertwined as to be almost indistinguishable. Both Protestant and Catholic attempts to protest their conviction about distinguishing between the two were at best inaccurate and at worst downright false. Pritchard states, that "Catholic writers ... constantly denied that the missionary priests had any political purposes, and in almost all cases their claims seem to have been correct".¹⁸⁹ However, one must point out that seminary students like Southwell were kept very well informed on the situation in England, with talks given by priests and laymen recently arrived from England. (see chapters 6 and 8). The distinction between religion and politics was a nebulous one and yet both Protestant and Catholic paid lip-service to it during protestations of righteousness and loyalty. But in reality, both knew that such protestations were neither genuine nor durable. As Dr. Pritchard explains:

"The Politically militant Catholics and the Protestant government both believed that the link between one's political and religious purposes and loyalties was an inescapable part of the world in which they lived and that to isolate one's political loyalties from one's religious commitments was neither morally acceptable nor practically possible".¹⁹⁰

No matter how hard Southwell may have tried to concentrate exclusively on his religious task of ministering to Catholics, it was impossible for him to escape the political connotations of the background which made him a priest, a Jesuit, and which sent him to Protestant England. The Elizabethan authorities could not ignore the sources from which the Jesuit missionary offensive emanated, its direction, and the aims of priests trained in establishments patronized by Spain and the Papacy. While in England they taught the Queen's Catholic subjects to disobey her religious

laws and obey those of the Pope. Dr. Pritchard, again:

"No Sixteenth-century politician could have regarded such activity as a purely spiritual enterprise. Whatever the motives of the missionary priests, if they had succeeded in winning over a large number of Englishmen to Rome, their success would have constituted a grave political threat to Elizabeth's government. The persecution of Catholics was evil, but it was not the result of any particular wickedness on the part of the rulers of England. Given analogous circumstances, it is doubtful that any government in Europe, of any religion, would have been less severe than that of England, many would have been worse".¹⁹¹

Because of this automatic incrimination of Jesuits like Southwell due to the political antecedents and eventual ramifications of their religious mission, the Elizabethan authorities could do little else than seek and capture them with a view of interrogating them for the extraction of information deemed to be crucial to national security (see below). This, in turn was a significant escalation of Elizabethan coercion and Catholic religious defiance. This defiance manifested itself in obstinacy, equivocation, defiant silence, and in what Government propaganda presented as the overdramatization of the scale and nature of tortures inflicted; which, in turn, fuelled exasperation against Catholics. Burleigh's Declaration describes how Campion, under interrogation "never answered plainly, but sophisticatedly deceitfully and traiterously", When asked if they were the Queen's subjects and if they would obey her, "they would say yea, for so they had leave for a time to do". Asked if they would obey her longer than the Pope permitted them to do, "then they either refused so to obey, or denied to answer, or said that they could not answer to those questions without danger".¹⁹² Captured Jesuit priests fuelled the persecution of Catholics generally by their very behaviour under torture. If they were considered to be obstinate or equivocating they gave rise to that very excess of coercion and persecution which Catholics generally complained of. Burleigh refers to this increase in coercion of Catholics under torture who resorted to prevarication::

"none of them hath been racked or tortured unless he had

first said expressly, or amounting to as much that he will not tell the truth though the Queen command him. And if any of them being examined did say he could not tell or did not remember, if he would so affirm in such manner as Christians among Christians are believed, such his answer was accepted if there were not apparent evidence to prove that he willfully said untruly. But if he said that his answer in delivering truth should hurt a Catholic, and so be an offence against charity which they said to be sin, and that the Queen could not command them to sin, and therefore, howsoever the Queen commanded, they would not tell the truth which they were known to know, or to such effect they were then put to the torture or else not".¹⁹³

Torture to extract information contributed greatly to the Jesuit preparation for martyrdom. In this sense obstinacy and equivocation were the means to invite such forms of torture and, hopefully, martyrdom, as were depicted in the Pomarancio frescoes in the English College, Rome (see Ch. 8). Burleigh was at pains to make clear that torture was only applied when treason was firmly diagnosed, and not to wring out confessions on an 'ad hoc' basis:-

"none of them have been put to the rack or torture... but where it was first known and evidently probable by former detections, confessions and otherwise that the party so racked or tortured was guilty and did know and could deliver truth of the things wherewith he was charged. So as it was first assured that no innocent was at any time tormented. And the rack was never used to wring out confessions at adventure upon uncertainties in which doing it might be possible that an innocent in that case might have been racked."¹⁹⁴

If Burleigh's statements are accurate, Southwell's - and other Jesuits - stark picture of horrendous persecution may be seen as one-sided or exaggerated; a form of effusive religious flourish animated by such factors as the ingrained concept of lamentation, expressed in various

forms, liturgical, as well as visual (such as the Pomarancio frescoes). Burleigh's Declaration refers to this form of Catholic exaggeration: "...the forms of torture in their severity or rigor of execution have not been such and in such manner performed as the slanderers and seditious libelers have slanderously and maliciously published." Burleigh then cites the example of a priest, Alexander Briant, ordained in 1578 and executed with Campion in 1581. "A horrible matter" writes Burleigh "is also made of the starving of one Alexander Briant". The Jesuits, Burleigh says, alledged that Briant starved to death, "how he should eat clay out of the walls, gathered water to drink from the droppings of houses...". The truth, says Burleigh, is that Briant deliberately starved himself to death. Briant was examined about "certain traiterous writings being found about him". He was ordered to write a confession about their origins, but he refused, and "made choice rather to lack food than to write for the sustenance which he might readily have had for writing".¹⁹⁵ Alexander Briant could be described as perhaps the Catholic who contributed most to fanning the flames of anti-Catholic persecution due to his singularly defiant behaviour under torture. When the rack-men attempted to force him to reveal Persons' location he retorted forcefully "You will never learn that from me, do whatever you can. I have seen him and I have lived with him, and yet I will never tell you where".¹⁹⁶

The attempt to piece together an objective account of the true condition of Catholics in Elizabethan England is a difficult one. one cannot completely dismiss Burleigh's and other Elizabethan officials' assertions that Catholics were never persecuted for purely religious reasons, and yet it is almost impossible to swallow such an assertion "in toto" without reservations. From the Catholic viewpoint, it is equally difficult to escape the conclusion that some Catholics, in their forceful religious zeal, subconsciously sought the persecution that was inflicted upon them in their desire to emulate the martyrs of Ancient Rome. One way to view objectively the condition of Elizabethan Catholicism is to admit as a premiss that persecution - for religious and/or political reasons did take place and then examine Appellant writings of the earliest post Elizabethan years for a dissenting view, heading for a more dispassionate and hopefully, more objective grasp of the material.

Thomas Bluet and other Appellant priests published between 1601 and

1603 some eighteen books most of which contain detailed treatment of political, religious and historical affairs during Elizabeth's reign. The Appellants strongly opposed whatever forms of resistance to Elizabeth's regime as hard-line Catholics pursued in the 1580's and 1590's. The name "Appellant" derives from the Appeal these priests made to Rome on two occasions in the final years of Elizabeth's reign; objecting to the appointment of George Blackwell as Arch priest or Superior of the English mission.¹⁹⁷ The significance of Appellant writings to this survey of Elizabethan Catholicism is that it sheds much light on the weaknesses and errors of the Catholic position in its confrontation with the Elizabethan establishment's position. The Appellants thereby provide a valuable critical dimension which makes for a more balanced assessment of the overall Catholic position.

In the very last analysis, an assessment of Southwell's role within the general Elizabethan milieu will now be attempted. His mission - and others' - had already been referred to above as a heroic failure, and for the simple reason that the odds against him were - quite literally - almost overwhelming. These grossly unfavourable odds were those negative aspects of Elizabethan life mentioned above in detail - the overwhelming of Catholic ways of life by an aggressive pragmatic and worldly Protestantism; the economic, social, political as well as religious decline of the Catholic gentry; the ever-strained Elizabethan-Papal relations; the impermanence and fickleness of social position; the bouts of religious persecution, etc... But the most formidable wall Southwell had to hurl himself against was perhaps the pejorative nomenclature of being labelled a Jesuit. From its being officially recognized by Pope Paul III in his bull Regimini Militandis Ecclesiae published on September 17th 1540, the Society of Jesus was hardly known by the English man-in-the-street. Most Englishmen knew little about the Jesuits prior to Person's and Campion's mission of 1580.¹⁹⁸ This continental order and its Spanish founder was seen as alien and evil by many Englishmen. The ardour and zeal of its young members like Southwell was profoundly disturbing and dangerous to the mass of Englishmen, and - if the Appellants' writing were true - even to some Catholic Englishmen. Person's A brief censure upon two books (1581) attempted to introduce and explain the nature and mission of the Jesuits to English Society, but his efforts were almost totally

overwhelmed by the relentless and systematic government hostility to the Order. In the minds of very many Englishmen, "Jesuit" and "treason" became almost synonymous.¹⁹⁹ When Campion was captured on July 17th 1581, he was led to London on a large horse, with a cloak flung over his back; his feet tied together with a rope running underneath the horse's belly; his arms tied behind his back; and around his head a sign was fastened which read "Edmund Campion the seditious priest".²⁰⁰ However, Jesuit missionaries like Southwell did fully succeed in partial salvage where they failed in total restoration or retrieval. It is perhaps less in the confines of historical analysis, and more in the ethereal realms of Divine Judgement that one can seek an explanation as to why Catholicism survived in England and is presided over by a Catholic Archbishop of Westminster when in other European countries which were not subject to the Jesuit missionary offensive, viz Scandanavia, Catholicism was done away with.

CHAPTER ONE - SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Southwell was deeply affected by the various forms of turmoil in Elizabethan England. His milieu, that of the Catholic gentry, suffered from social, economic, behavioral as well as from religious upheaval. Catholics developed the introversion of an overthrown, persecuted minority, and their feelings were faithfully depicted in Southwell's own writings. Their isolation and introversion made them susceptible to the ebbs and flows of Elizabethan-Papal relations.

Relations between Queen Elizabeth and the Papacy were tense and abnormal throughout Southwell's lifetime. A permanent psychological barrier kept the two sides apart and prevented any normalization of suspicion and distrust, alienation and an element of contempt. Some Popes like Pius IV tried to breach this barrier by adopting a conciliatory approach to Elizabeth with the hope of wooing her over the gradually effecting a 'de facto', then a 'de jure' recognition of the Elizabethan regime should Elizabeth return to the Catholic Church. Elizabeth seeking to entrench herself internally, did not allow this psychological barrier to be breached. When the Papacy became conciliatory, she changed the constituents of this barrier, from suspicion and mistrust, alienation and

contempt to suspicion and mistrust, procrastination, deviousness, and contempt. When the Papacy became hostile and aggressive, she transferred the barrier again into one of defiant belligerence, alienation and contempt.

This psychological barrier between Elizabeth and the Papacy was in position between London and Rome throughout Southwell's life time. English Catholics' hopes were pitted against this barrier. They lived in the expectation that relations with the head of their church would somehow, someday, improve. The delay ensuing from unrealized hopes cast a pall of despondency, gloom, and depression over Catholics such as Southwell. Southwell's world-weariness was caused by the incessant delay in the fulfilment of long-delayed expectation, which made death less unwelcome than it would have been in normal times.

The situation in England deteriorated to the level of becoming one of active persecution of Catholics perceived as similar to that of persecution of Christians in ancient Rome. Elizabethan Catholics, like Christians in ancient Rome were accused of isolating themselves from the realities of existence, and of exclusive concentration on their own version of religious belief. This single-minded devotion to religious belief arose - apart from other factors mentioned earlier in this chapter - from disillusion with the impermanence and flux of the class and social system expressed through writings on "outrageous fortune". The degree of success of Southwell's mission must remain fluid within certain confines.

CHAPTER TWO

A HISTORY OF SOUTHWELL'S FAMILY - THE LIFE AND CAREER OF HIS GRANDFATHER SIR RICHARD SOUTHWELL (1502/3-1564.)

In the Sixteenth Century the Southwell family occupied numerous positions and played various roles in the reigns of the Tudors. In this chapter, a brief historical survey of the Southwells is given followed by a full biographical account of the most influential member of the Southwell family during a larger part of the Sixteenth Century - Sir Richard Southwell. The sizeable biographical account of him which occupies the greater part of this chapter is an integral part of the Southwell biographical structure. Sir Richard Southwell's career bears directly on the later life of our Robert Southwell in the sense that it was helped by his father (due to his grandfather's eventful career) not entirely losing favour.

Pride of lineage formed a basic aspect of Sixteenth century character. Southwell himself subscribed to this pride in bloodline, though he never lauded his own, and praised the gentleness of birth of those whom he thought were worthy of such praise. Defending William Allen (1532-1594) against charges of baseness of birth made by the Queen in her "Proclamation" of 1591 entitled "A Declaration of Great Troubles Pretended Against its Realme by A Number of Seminarie Priests and Iesuits", Southwell in "An Humble Supplication to Her Maiestie in Answere To the Late Proclamation", lauded his former rector's gentleness of birth. "... the Cardinalls Grace is of good and auntient a house and euery way as worshipfully allied", Southwell wrote "as some of the highest Counsellors were in their meaner fortunes, till your Maiesties favour and their rare habilities made them steps to clymbe to their present honors".¹

However, Southwell was careful not to display any pride in himself. "Beware then of the attacks of pride..." he warned in the Spiritual Exercises "... with all diligence and humility take thy place with the least and the lowliest".² Southwell had forced a rigid form of modesty and humbleness upon himself which forbade him from displaying any pride in his own bloodline. "I must endeavour to kindle in myself these affections

towards God" he taught himself "... By withdrawing all disordered love from all creatures, and especially myself".³

Although Southwell suppressed any mention of his family in his writings - perhaps for religious reasons, - his grandfather, Sir Richard Southwell played a most active role in national affairs during the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary. The sheer potency of his grandfather's career, compared to his father's relative social and political obscurity during Elizabeth's reign, was, in all probability, a source of distress for Southwell; insofar as it showed him the extent to which his family fortunes had waned. This realization probably formed one of the causes for his world-weariness. The power, prestige, honour and prosperity enjoyed by his grandfather made the distress of enduring the decline in fortune during Elizabeth's reign all the more painful.

The ancient family of Southwell derives its name from the town of "Suelle, or Sewell, Suthwell, Southwell" in Nottinghamshire.⁴ The family name "Southwell" was probably first mentioned in the annals of Henry III. In 1258 a "Johannes Sothull" is mentioned as "Inimici Regis. Extenta Terrarum".⁵ On June 7th 1285 13 Edward I, John de Suthwell, clerk to the King, was "in so great repute for his wisdom and fidelity", that he was issued a patent to be seneschal of Gascony, and on June 2nd 1289, 17th Edward I, he was granted the Castle of Bordeaux for life "for putting himself, at the King's instance, an hostage for the freeing of (the King's Cousin), ... Charles of Sicily, lately a prisoner in Arragon".⁶ "The Great-Seal Writ of 'Certiorari'" of Edward II, dated Westminster May 6th 1309 was inscribed by a "Suwell" who, in a petition in 1314 styled himself "Johan de Suthewell, son clerk' de sa Chauncellerie"; adding that he had served the King's Chancery since Edward I's accession, making and writing the writs of the crown "which concern the King's peace and dignity in his realm".⁷ In 34 Edward III, John de Suthwell was "Regis Clericus" with a pension of ten marks per annum, and a "Richard Suthwell", described as "Historicus Anglus" was High Sheriff of Kent in 48 of that reign. In Richard II's reign, Nicholas Suthwell was groom of the King's bed chamber and was sent in 11th of the reign "to the King of France, with credentials".⁸

In Henry VI's reign the Southwell family began to flourish in the Eastern counties of Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex, as well as in Sussex and

Surrey. John Southwell of Felix Hall, Essex represented Lewes in Parliament in 29 Henry VI, and lived at Barham Hall, Suffolk.⁹ He left two sons: Robert who married Cecilia daughter of Thomas Sharington Esq; and Richard, who married Amy, first daughter and co-heir of Sir Edmund Witchingham. The Norfolk connections of this particular Richard Southwell were much strengthened by this marriage, which connected the Southwells with the most noted families in Norfolk and the rich estate of Woodrysing.

In this reign of Henry VI, our Southwell's direct ancestors, from their rich Norfolk estate of Woodrysing played prominent roles in public life. In 38 Henry VI Richard Southwell of Woodrysing, (grandfather of Sir Richard Southwell (1504-1564), and our Southwell's great great grandfather) was escheator of Norfolk and Suffolk and in 4th of Edward IV was "Marshall of the Exchequer".^{sn10} The estate of Woodrysing (so called to distinguish it from Rysing, near Lynn) was described as "seated on watery meadows".¹¹

Our Southwell's great great grandfather, Richard Southwell, left two sons - Robert and Francis - from Amy Witchingham, his first wife. His second wife, Katherine Sturges, gave him four daughters: Katherine, Ursula, Amy, and Elizabeth. Robert married Ursula, daughter and heir of Sir John Bohun of Midhurst Sussex as first wife and, as second wife Ursula, daughter of Sir Philip Calthorp. He was made seneschal "of all the honours and manors forfeited to the King by Edmund de la Pole in Norfolk and Suffolk or by the Duchess his mother in 19 Henry VII," and in the following year was made chief Butler of England.¹² In 4th Henry VIII he was appointed "supervisor of the King's lands and Castles, by Act of Parliament and receiver general of them".¹³

Richard and Amy Southwell's other son, Francis was auditor of the Exchequer and had four sons: Sir Richard Southwell - our Southwell's grandfather - Sir Robert Southwell (d. 1559), Courtier, Master of the Rolls and like his brother engaged in the Suppression of the Monasteries; Francis and Anthony.¹⁴

The history of the family shows that since the Thirteenth century contributions to the Kingdom's service were continually made by the Southwells. Knowledge of such service would have probably instilled in our Robert Southwell feelings of personal worth crucial to the maintenance of solidity, balance and fortitude at times of great distress. No direct

evidence is available that he was explicitly aware of his grandfather's career. But there is a reference to monastic abuse in his writings which suggests that he was aware of his grandfather's career as a monastic liquidator. Although Richard Southwell's attitude towards monastic Dissolution was formed by political rather than religious considerations, his grandson Robert, was well aware of monastic abuse in England and elsewhere:-

Frequently consider what great harm has come to the Christian Commonwealth through the unworthiness, the quarelsomeness and the obstinacy of religious. See what evil they have done in England,... so that at the present time nearly everywhere the name of religious is a synonym for rogue. Numbers of them we see day after day wandering from place to place with grave detriment to the good name of religion.

But, Southwell's attitude towards monastic Suppression in England has been open to some debate. Devlin mentions a paper in Latin among Southwell's private meditations dated 1580 "which reflects a view of the suppression more in keeping with Sir Thomas More than with Spelman". However, from his own more explicit writings about monks quoted above we find an unmistakeable vehemence against monastic abuse. His repudiation of the wandering monks may be a reference to some of the mendicant friars of the Franciscan order which he may well have disapproved of. As Dr. Haigh points out "Southwell thoroughly disapproved of itinerant priests, telling a colleague that 'I am much grieved to hear of your unsettled way of life, visiting many people at home with none. We are all pilgrims, but not vagrants. Our life is uncertain, but not our road'.¹⁵ (See also Ch. 1)

Southwell never mentioned his grandfather. Yet the sheer eventfulness of Sir Richard Southwell's career over the three reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary is an established and irrefutable historical fact. The significance of his grandfather's career to this Biographical Study of Southwell is not just to show how influential Catholic families like the

Southwells had been in previous reigns, and the extent to which they had descended in fortune's favour to "the present state wherein (they) now live (compared) with that of (their) forefathers not yeat fullie fortie yeares ago..."¹⁶ Southwell's orientation towards death and martyrdom was a form of reaction against "outrageous fortune" which deprived his family of much of the power and influence it had enjoyed to the relative obscurity, vulnerability and harassment which his father's generation had endured. (See Ch. III) Following is a full account of the career of Sir Richard Southwell,^{which} shows how eventful, active and effective his role was in national affairs over three reigns.

The Life and Career of Sir Richard Southwell (1502/3-1564)

The life and career of Southwell's grandfather, Sir Richard Southwell as given in the following biographical account is intended to be seen as a microcosmic representation of Southwell's family's history during the three reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary. It forms the foundation of the fortunes of his illegitimate son and consequently affects his standing and the career of his grandson, our Robert Southwell.

Although Richard Southwell's (who will be called such till his knighthood) uncle, Sir Robert Southwell was married twice, he left no children at his death in 1514.^{sn17} His estates fell to his nephew, our Richard Southwell, the eldest son of Sir Robert's brother, Francis who died before his brother.^{sn18} Richard Southwell thus found himself in possession of a very large estate, as heir both to his uncle and father. During his minority he was the ward of both his uncle's-William Wootton's-widow, Elizabeth, (or Ursula?) and of Sir Thomas Wyndham.^{sn19} During his minority he was brought up with Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey (1517-1547) and the early association with the family of Thomas, Third Duke of Norfolk "put young Southwell on the road to fortune."²⁰ For some unknown reason, he incurred large debts, which brought his name to public notice. As early as 1523 he appears in the State Papers among a list of others as owing large sums of money to the King: "Debts due to the King's grace, whereof the days of payment be expired, and the money not paid... Ric. Southwell £110".²¹

On February 3rd 1525-26 (17 Hen. VIII) he registered at Lincoln's Inn: "Mr. Richard Southwell. Special Admission".²² His rise to fortune was

2

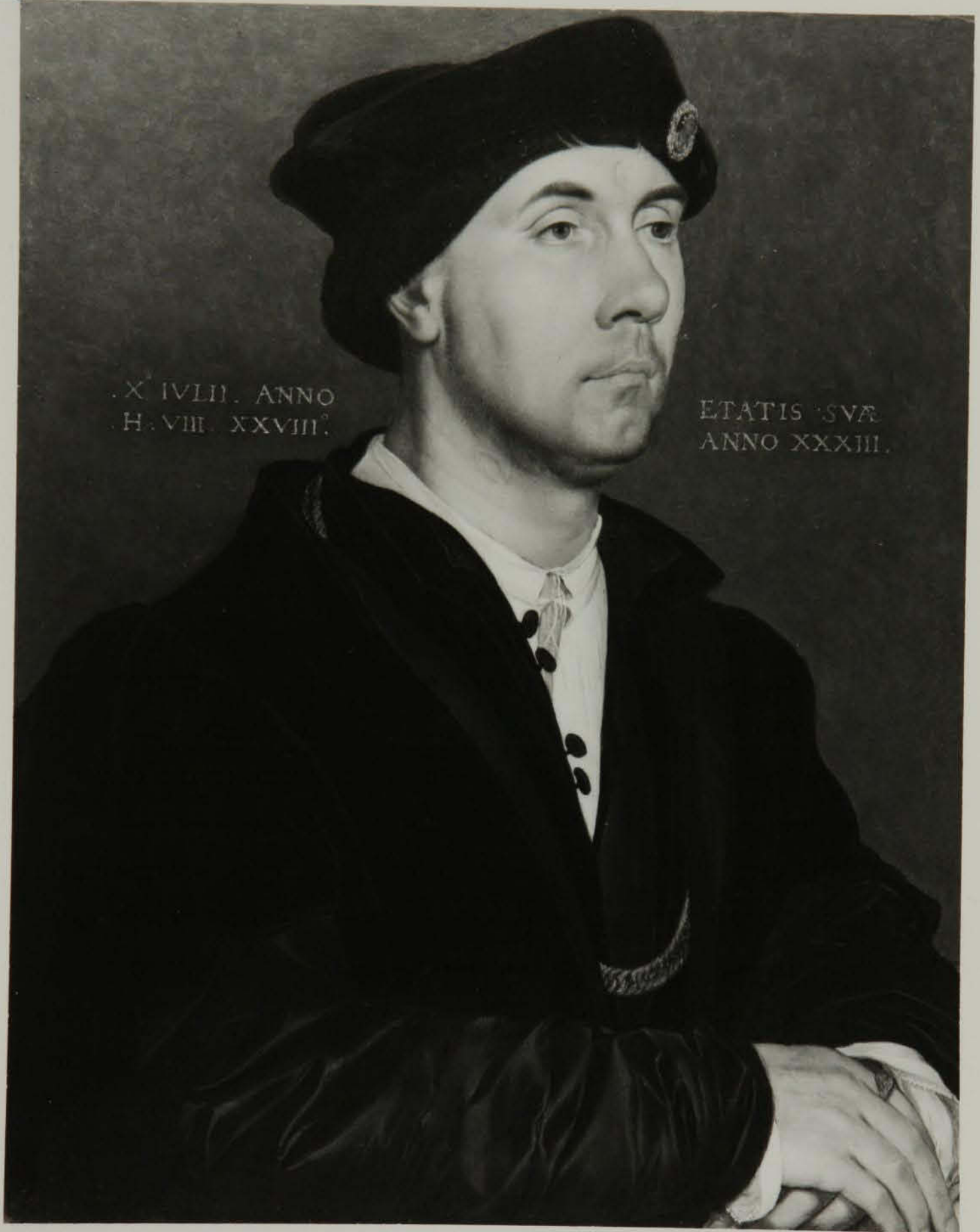


Plate 2 "Sir Richard Southwell (1504-1564). A 1536 Portrait by Hans Holbein. (Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, London).

possibly helped by the interest the King showed in purchasing property from him. On September 29th 1531, the manors of Fylloll's Hall and Coggesall were bought by Henry VIII from Richard Southwell for £100.²³ Not only his extensive property holdings, but his pugnacious behaviour probably helped to bring him into the public eye. In 1531 he was charged with the murder of Sir William Pennington. We know nothing of this murder and Richard Southwell may not have been entirely at fault. In any case his pardon for the murder was noted personally by Cromwell: "Fines made with divers persons by the King's commandment" reads on entry of 1531, and, added in Cromwell's hand: "Ric. Southwell, for his pardon for murder, £1,000".²⁴

By 1532 we find Richard Southwell a trusted lieutenant and servant of Thomas Cromwell. On September 22nd 1532 Robert Norwich wrote to Cromwell "I have taken acknowledgement of a fine of Mr. Southwell, for the manor of Fyllolys and Cogeshall, according to the draft you sent" and then he thanks Cromwell "for the greyhound sent by Mr. Southwell".²⁵ On June 15th 1532, the official grant was published whereby "Ric Southwell of London... alias of Rysynge Norf" together with six yeomen were pardoned "for the death of Sir Will[iam] Penningtone".²⁶ In December 1532 he was appointed a J.P. for Norfolk.²⁷ Somehow, he still remained in the King's debt: "Debts remaining upon sundry obligations to the King's use - Ric. Southwell..."²⁸ The dates at which these debts were payable range from "24 Hen VIII to 35 Hen VIII".²⁹ In November 1534 we find him appointed Sheriff of Norfolk.³⁰

By 1534 he was established in London, and was involved in city deals which due to his assertive and pugnacious personality made him enemies as well as powerful friends. On April 18th 1534 Walter Staying wrote to Lady Lisle complaining of "the adversity and trouble", his enemies have wrongfully inflicted upon him. "Mr. Southwell and his brokers have so spread his name and disabled him in London that no man is willing to help him with money or wares".³¹ His conceit and aggressiveness may have been due to the persistent interest the King was showing in his property. In 1534 Cromwell wrote to Henry VIII. "Since my repair to London I have spoken to Mr Southwell of your desire to purchase his manor beside Est Yafford. He (Richard Southwell) is content to sell it, and will meet any one you appoint to survey it".³² Perhaps it was due to his pugnacious

behaviour, - a trait arousing grudging admiration during the Renaissance - that Richard Southwell continued to rise. As Sheriff of both Norfolk and Suffolk,³³ and a law officer upholding the King's peace, he enforced, among other things, penalties incurred through treasonable utterances. On February 11th 1535, Margaret Chanselor of Senklers Bradfield, Suffolk, was hauled before the magistrate, Sir Robert Drury and confessed to calling the Queen (Anne Boleyn) a "noughty hoore" and a "goggyll yed hoore". Her confession was signed by Richard Southwell.³⁴

His rise was greatly facilitated by Cromwell whom Southwell knew how to serve. He tutored Cromwell's son Gregory and looked after him well. "Mr Gregory and his company are in good health and busy in learning" wrote Henry Dowes to Cromwell on April 30th 1535. "His improvement is greater than at any time here before, ..." the hours of his study for the French tongue, writing, playing at weapons, casting accounts, pastimes of instruments, have been devised by Mr Southwell, who spares no pain, daily hearing him read in the English tongue, advertising him of their true pronounciation, explaining the etymology of those words we have borrowed from the French or from the Latin."³⁵

In 1535 Richard Southwell was a witness at the trial of Sir Thomas More. He, Richard Rich (1496-1567) and a "Master Palmer" was sent to the Tower to fetch More's books, "Sir Richarde Southwell and Master Palmer were busie in the trussing vp of his bookes".³⁶ At More's trial Southwell was called in as a witness to relate what More had said to others in the tower when he was sent to fetch his books. "Syr Richarde Southwell ... vpon his deposition, sayde that because he was appointed onely to looke to the conueyance of his bookes he gave no eare vnto them".³⁷

His desire to serve the influential may have been motivated by rapacity. Like most Henrician servants he had an appetite for acquiring more property in return for services rendered. "When I last waited on you at the court" he wrote to Cromwell on July 22nd 1535 "I moved you for the order and charge of Lord Bergaveny's land^m Norfolk and Suffolk. You were pleased to grant me your favor, and would speak to the King about it. These lands lie so close to mine, that if anyone else had them they might annoy me. They are not above the yearly value, as far as I know, of £10."³⁸

Richard Southwell's closeness to Cromwell may have been due to both

holding identical political views. According to G.R. Elton, Cromwell was an early parliamentarian. "His belief in Parliament appears most clearly in a striking devotion to statute ... (he preferred statute to any other form of law-making, distrusting both the slow operation of judge-made law and the dubious authority of proclamations".³⁹ Cromwell (and, presumably, by association, Richard Southwell's) main source of political inspiration was the Fourteenth century advocate of the secular state, Marsiglio of Padua. Cromwell advanced William Marshall the money required to publish The Defence of Peace (1535) a translation of Marsiglio's Defensor Pacis.^{sn40} Marsiglio held that the State is autonomous and the Church subject to it, declaring "the divine law irrelevant, and ignoring the law of nature, held that only the positive law of the realm matters in human affairs".⁴¹ Cromwell envisaged "the modern mixed sovereign, the king in Parliament, "created by deliberate infusion of the modern principle of sovereignty into those two great achievements of the middle ages - the assembly of king, lords and commons, and the common law of the realm".⁴² Support for parliamentary supremacy in the 1530's is shown in Christopher Saint German Here after foloweth a lyttell treatise called the newe addicions (1531), - STC 21564 - in which a student of laws, debating with a Doctor of Divinity affirms that "the Kyng by parlyament may breake al appropriatios that be made agaynst any statute, or agaynst the good ordre of the people or agaynste the comenwelth".⁴³

Richard Southwell is best known as a monastic liquidator. In the 1530's there was a widespread view that religious houses - churches, sanctuaries, and monasteries should be under parliamentary rather than papal authority. "All the seyntuaries in England" said the law student to the Doctor of Divinity in St. German's new addicions "as well as in churches (should) be under the power an auctoritie" of the Parlyament": The Doctor of Divinity asks: "Myghte the parliament breake a seyntuarie that is... graunted by the pope"? "The pope", replies the student of Laws "by him selfe may make no seyntuarie in this realme... but the parliament without the pope may make a seyntuarie".⁴⁴ Southwell's role in the Dissolution shows him as taking part in a task of religious reform under the supremacy of the King-in-Parliament.

Cromwell needed able, aggressive, efficient, educated and ambitious men like Richard Southwell for three main tasks: a) For field work during

the Dissolution, b) To handle the logistics of Henry VIII's French wars in Boulogne, and c) To deal with military and diplomatic affairs on the Scottish border arising from Henry VIII's plans to annex Scotland.

Southwell's rise to prominence in all three fields arose mainly from his obliging sense of obedience and of personal, devoted service to Cromwell and the King, which coexisted, paradoxically, with his own voracious, pugnacious and assertive nature. Obedience to superiors was a much lauded Sixteenth century virtue. It drew both affection and protection from the powerful whose wrath was invariably fatal. "...By the Masse, Master More it is perillous stryving with Princes", the Duke of Norfolk cautioned Sir Thomas More, "and therefore I would wishe you somewhat to incline to the Kinges pleasure, for by God body, Master More, Indignatio Principis Mors est".⁴⁵ In this spirit, Richard Southwell obeyed Cromwell's commands to the letter, putting himself entirely at his service even in the most minor tasks. On January 11th 1536 he asks Cromwell for instructions on dissolving a house at Hoxton. "Let me know whether I shall bring up the plate with me or have it sold here at Norwich" he asks.⁴⁶ His conscientiousness was unquestionable. "I have tried to save the King [£] 400, lately received of George Cornwallis and Anthony Rous" he wrote to Cromwell on January 28th 1536 "... I trust, therefore you will not consider me to be slack. No man had ever to meddle in so uncertain a business".⁴⁷ Sir Thomas Rushe wrote to Cromwell on January 3rd 1536: "He (Southwell) is active in searching and guarding the jewels, plate, writings, and goods of the (late) Bishop (Nix) of Norwich, which are scattered abroad, of much value".⁴⁸

His influence and standing with Cromwell climbed steeply. People asked him to intercede for them with Cromwell. "I beg you will accept Mr. Ric. Southwell as a witness of my desire to serve you" wrote Anthony Rouse to Cromwell on March 7th 1536.⁴⁹ Shrewdly, he never allowed his rise in favour to push him above performing small chores for Cromwell, and presenting him with gifts. On August 18th 1536 a fishmonger requested payment for delivering - on Southwell's orders - two hundred ling and eight-hundred cod at a cost of £30 to Cromwell's household.⁵⁰ His work as a Dissolution officer was sometimes tempered with justice and charity towards a house's incumbents. On August 18th 1536 he wrote in favour of the Prior of Horsham St. Faith who, he explained 'being a suffragan has

neither home nor living' and requests 'an adequate pension and preferment to some other house' for him.⁵¹ At the end of March 1536 he tried to save Pentney Priory from the first wave of suppression, pointing out to Cromwell that "it was a pity not to spare a house that feeds so many indigent poor, which is in such good state, maintains good service and does so many charitable deeds".⁵²

But it was not plain sailing for Southwell all the way to the top. He incurred the King's displeasure, for some reason, at least twice, and it was Cromwell who saved him. 'I last night arrived here in London' Southwell wrote to Cromwell on Dec 2nd 1536 'and learn, from my brother (Robert Southwell) the King is displeased with me. Begging your Lordship to appoint a time for me to wait on you and to be a suitor to the King "that I may come unto a declaration". If any offence shall appear in me I shall desire to be banished for ever'.⁵³ His faithful service to Cromwell was now paying off. On December 23rd - twenty odd days later - he wrote to Cromwell with profuse gratitude to him and to the King, who, at Cromwell's suite had "attempered" his displeasure towards him.⁵⁴ By January 26th 1537 he was back in the King's favour resuming his former duties as a monastic sequestrator, paying rewards to the nuns and servants of Crabhouse Nunnery.⁵⁵ However, his overbearing and assertive character had aroused resentment. Feeling the swells of hostility rising against him, he wrote to Cromwell on February 26th 1537 in apologetic tones; 'in case he had offended; whatever the matter, or his accusers', he begs Cromwell 'will try and judge him'.⁵⁶

As an officer of the Crown, one of Richard Southwell's main tasks was the enforcement of what might be called PAX TUDORICA. He was active in suppressing opposition to monastic suppression. In Norfolk, feelings against him ran high for his role in the Dissolution, and he was marked out for assassination. "In 1537" writes Blomefield "was an insurrection at Walsingham in Norfolk, upon the inhabitants finding that the dissolution of the religious houses, and the suppression of the pilgrimages to the Virgin of that town, would in a great measure be the decay of it".⁵⁷ Almost a year earlier, on August 1st 1536, Richard Southwell and other commissioners, while surveying a monastery at Buckenham were to be murdered there. A Hugh Williamson and John Brown of Old Buckenham tried to bribe a John Lok to kill Southwell and the other

commissioners while they slept at the Priory that night.^{sn58} By February 25th 1537 at least four Norfolk monast^eries were suppressed and the goods and chattels of sixteen houses had been sold.⁵⁹ Widespread opposition to the Dissolution and its Commissioners by local yeomen was mounting steadily. By mid April 1537 one Ralph Rogerson complained to George Guiseborough that, with the end of the abbeys their livelihood would suffer. The gentry had taken most of the land and cattle and a stand must be made against them. They got together a score of dissidents who planned to assemble at Shepcotes Heath and march South to air their grievances to the King. Sheep were given to anyone joining them and anyone opposing them would be robbed and killed.⁶⁰ Word spread quickly and the Norfolk gentry were alarmed. A John Gallant, servant to the Heydon family was swiftly sent South to see Sir Richard Gresham (1485?-1549), Norfolk's "Ambassador" to London, to acquaint Cromwell with the situation.⁶¹ Cromwell immediately sent Richard Southwell to Norfolk to deal with the situation. He reported to Cromwell on April 29th 1537: "This Sunday..., between 4 and 5 in the morning, I arrived at the house of Sir John Heydon and delivered your letters... he has sent you George Gysborowgh and Gysborough the younger, (the arch conspirators) with their confessions... Sir John says the conspirators do not pass 12 in number, all very beggers, and there is no likelihood of any commotion".⁶² On May 29th 1537 he informed London of the conspirators' execution. "On Friday last the late rebels in these parts were attainted ... On the Saturday following, those to be executed at Norwich did suffer"...⁶³

Dr. T.H. Swales sums up Southwell's contribution to the maintenance of Norfolk security. "The influence of the Duke of Norfolk in the South of the County where his estate lay may have been a stabilizing force, but it was the vigilance of J.P.'s like... Southwell which really prevented treasonable talk from developing into rebellion".⁶⁴

As a reward for services rendered Richard Southwell was appointed, on April 24th 1538, Receiver of the Court of Augmentations with emoluments of £20 plus profits.⁶⁵ Positions in the Court of Augmentations were highly coveted, as they carried wide opportunities for patronage and profit and its officials rose rapidly in influence and in power; being friends of Cromwell and owing their rise to his favour.⁶⁶ Southwell held the Receivership in the First Court of Augmentations for Norfolk and Suffolk

from April 24th 1536 till January 17th 1542.⁶⁷ As a receiver he was to collect the King's rents from the Crown tenants in his district, and until about 1540 he was engaged both in Dissolution work and as a receiver.⁶⁸ Much of his time was spent in annual collection of funds which included revenues from suppressed monasteries, debts recovered, and funds coming in from the sale of property and moveables. As Dr. Richardson points out "By the two dissolution measures of 1536 and 1539... extensive lands spreading over every county were taken over by the Court, ... The Augmentations also acquired administrative jurisdiction over villagers living on these properties and a total of some 594 houses were suppressed involving 9,000 inmates".⁶⁹ Richard Southwell helped to rake in some £646,000 for Henry VIII. The breakdown of receipts of the Court of Augmentations from April 24th 1536 to September 29th 1547, as given by Dr. Richardson, is as follows:-

<u>Date</u>		<u>Total Net Revenue</u>
1536-1538	=	£ 71,616 16s. 1 ¹ / ₂ d.
1538-1539	=	£108,527 11s. 8 ¹ / ₂ d.
1539-1543	=	£465,684 6s. 59/10d. ⁷⁰

In 1538, aside from his Augmentation duties, Richard Southwell performed various 'ad hoc' tasks: He served on the Commission of gaol delivery at Norwich Castle;⁷¹ on the Commission of Sewers for Norfolk,⁷² the Commission of Oyer and Terminer for Treasons for Norfolk and other counties and on the Commission of Peace for Norfolk.⁷³ He supervised the carting, by his servant Palmer of the four bells of Babwell Priory near Bury, to Ipswich; all four weighing a total of 30,000lb.⁷⁴

Richard Southwell was elected to Parliament in 1539. On April 6th 1539 Cromwell wrote to Sir Edmund Knevett (d. 1546) declaring 'that the King wishes Mr. Southwell and Mr. Wyndham elected for this Parliament'.⁷⁵ Cromwell 'Advises (Knevett) to be conformable, not that he thinks them more able for the office than Knevett, but because it is the King's pleasure'.⁷⁶ This touched a nerve of jealousy in Knevett, for on April 18th 1539, the Duke of Norfolk wrote to Cromwell about a brawl between Richard Southwell and Edmund Knevett, who unable to muster enough support for himself at the Shire elections, supported Southwell's opponent, Sir Edmund Wyndham (Sheriff of Norfolk during Kett's rebellion), and then, "he

(Knevett) fell in such fume with Richard Southwell" the Duke explains "that divers of the most worshipful of the shire, fearing a breach of the peace, went to entreat between them. This failing "Norfolk continues"... I sent for both parties hither. I desired them to forgive displeasures... Southwell was conformable and did his best but Knevett called him a false gentleman, knave and other approbrious words".⁷⁷

Richard Southwell was chosen Knight during the Norfolk elections of 1539, but it was not confirmed till November 1540.⁷⁸ He is mentioned as knight in a list of subsidy Commissioners drawn up on August 4th 1540. Dr. H. Leonard explains that "Since there were only 11 days between the dissolution of Parliament and the issuing of the commission it seems reasonable to assume that Southwell was knighted in Parliament time", and that "the crown seems to have been anxious to have the services of Southwell in this Parliament".⁷⁹ Knights were created when Parliament was in session to demonstrate how the King, the source of all bounty, honoured loyal and faithful servants.⁸⁰ As an M.P. for Norfolk he was knighted in the 1539 Parliament (30th May - 28th June).⁸¹

At that time the number of knights greatly increased partly due to the French and Scottish wars but also for ceremonial occasions, such as Edward VI's Coronation. By 1550 knights numbered 539.⁸² By December 1540 Sir Richard Southwell was among the Duke of Norfolk's party receiving Anne of Cleves at Rochester.⁸³

His duties in 1540 included instructions from the Privy Council dated September 14th to seize the daughters of Sir Thomas Kytson (1485-1540) for the Kings Wardship.⁸⁴ Kytson's daughters were valuable as wards as Kytson was a rich man.^{sn85, 86}

On February 5th 1541 Sir Richard Southwell and others were instructed to survey the ordnance in the Tower.⁸⁷ But his crowning achievement as Augmentation official and monastic sequestrator was his role in preparing a register entitled Valor of all Crown land within the rule and the Court of the General Surveyors, prepared from several valors past before Sir Rich. Southwell, one of the General Surveyors for the year ending Michaelmas, 34 Henry VIII. This register is described as a beautifully written book showing in columns county by county, the names of the places, the nature of the property,... tenants names, the yearly value, and often the names of the auditors in whose circuits they lie. At the end is a

list of the total values for each county".⁸⁸

The 1540's saw Sir Richard Southwell in yet another role - that of a military governor entrusted with security on the Scottish border, and empowered to negotiate with Scottish Lords with a view of uniting Scotland and England. Based in Berwick, he assiduously fortified its defences, maintaining them at the highest state of readiness against attacks by Scots. On May 24th 1542 he sent to the Privy Council The True Copy of the book of statutes and ordnances at Barwik which included 50 rules and regulations designed to maintain the garrison town on full alert.⁸⁹ His diplomatic role in Scotland was to induce captured Scottish Lords to press for the unification of Scotland and England through the marriage of the child heiress Mary Stuart to Henry VIII's son. The Privy Council's instructions in this respect read: 'The "said" Sir Ric. Southwell shall understand that the Scots prisoners, when here, subscribed an article (copy herewith) requiring the King to take into his hands the young daughter of Scotland and the whole realm, with promise to serve him to that intent'.⁹⁰

The Earl of Bothwell (Patrick Hepburn, third Earl of Bothwell (1512?-1556) and ten Scottish Lords captured by the English - Cassells, Glenkerne, Maxwell, Flemyng, Somervile, Grey, Robert Erskyn, Oliver St. Clare, Cragge and Kerse - all subscribed to this article which read: "If our master the King of Scotland be deceased, having only one daughter alive, we beseech his Majesty (Henry VIII) to take the keeping of her to be married to my Lord Prince, his son, and thereby to unite both realms, whereunto we will aid "to our powers".⁹¹ By securing - in writing - the allegiance of Scottish lords, Henry VIII sought to use them to secure Scotland for himself. On January 9th 1543 he personally wrote to Sir Richard Southwell instructing that he, Southwell, together with the King's other servants, and the Scottish lords should "get into his hands the chief fortresses of Scotland". In this communication a proclamation was to be ordered by Southwell on the Scottish border 'that all Borderers who shall within 15 days ... come to the King's Warden [of the Marches] and make like promise "for the keeping of the Child and government of Scotland" as in the "first article" [signed by the lords]... shall be reputed the King's friends... while those who will not so come in shall be reputed enemies".⁹²

Southwell's diplomatic skills were tested when differences between Scottish lords, mainly Bothwell and Anguise, led to violent quarrels which threatened the very foundations of Henry VIII's plans for Scotland. On January 4th 1543 Henry VIII instructed Sir Richard to heal the rift, stop the quarreling, and to point out to both Bothwell and Anguise that 'they should ill perform their purpose to serve the King unless they agreed together'. Southwell was to 'remind them of the King's advice to keep themselves in force, put their countries in good order ... and to show them... they have entered into treaty with a prince who will defend them and advance them "as long as they shall go on a straight foot with him"'.⁹³

His role as military administrator was further displayed in Henry VIII's Boulogne Campaign. One object of invading Boulogne was to hold the French King to ransom. The French wars were to be an investment yielding great dividends. The French King Francis I (1515-47) had previously been held to ransom by the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (1519-58) and the ransoms offered were enormous. "For he (Francis I) offereth to paye fiue hundred thousande poundes sterling" says Grafton "whereof three hundred thousande, to be payed in hande".⁹⁴ Grafton describes the sums of money to be had in holding Boulogne to ransom:

Also where the French King should haue out of the kingdome of Naples an hundred thousande Crownes yerly, the French King will release the same pencion, with all the arrerages which are no small some⁹⁵

The Flemish city of Tournai, previously bought by the French King, was to be released to the Emperor as part of the ransom:

Farther, where the French king bought of the king the Citie of Tournay, for sixe hundred thousand Crownes, and odde, yet he is content to yelde and relase the same citie to the Emperour for euer⁹⁶

Taking Boulogne thus appeared as a lucrative investment, the 'down payment' for which was to be made out of Dissolution revenues. Southwell having performed well at the Dissolution and as military administrator and diplomat in Scotland, was the ideal man for the logistic and

administrative aspects of the Boulogne campaign. In 1544-1545 Henry VIII's health was failing. Unable to take exercise and refusing to moderate his gluttony, the ailing monarch sorely needed experienced, efficient men to supervise his French war. Sir Richard Southwell proved his usefulness and the grateful King remembered him in his will, the final alterations to which he made in December 1546, appointing him one of a group which formed the Council for the assistance of Councillors of the Privy Council with Prince Edward set up as executors of the King's will. The dying monarch left Southwell [£] 200, "in token of special love and favour".⁹⁷

Southwell was in charge of the financial aspects of the King's Army in France as well as of other sundry matters. In October 1544 he was given ninety-three orders to pay a wide variety of "wages of battle".⁹⁸ On October 16th 1544 the Council wrote to him in Calais to pay £14 "for freight of 270 barrels of gunpowder from Andwerp to Boulloyn".⁹⁹ "The Battle of Bulloyn" was proving to be costly. On September 24th 1544 he was paid as "vicetreasurer of the King's battle for wages of the battle £2000". On September 29th he was given another [£] 5,000 - "for wages of the King's battle;" October 5th [£] 1,000; October 10th [£] 400; October 13th [£] 800; October 21st [£] 800; October 24th [£] 400; October 28th again "for wages and conduct of the Battle, "£400.¹⁰⁰

His financial supervision of the campaign was strict. On September 2nd 1545 he "...addressed to Boloyne... to commune with them there touching their receiptes, payementes, ordre of vitailles and other thinges".¹⁰¹ On September 25th 1545 Southwell and the Earl of Surrey were instructed to "rydde all harlottes and common women owt of Bullen ... and to sende awaye all sycke and maymed men."¹⁰² He kept on being entrusted with very large sums of money. On September 1st 1545 it was decreed that "Mr. Southwell shall have full [£] 15,000 for Bulloyn".¹⁰³ In November the Privy Council gave him another [£] 30,000.¹⁰⁴ But for all this outflow of cash costs rose so steeply that soldiers went unpaid. The Council wrote to the Lord Lieutenant of Boulogne on December 28th 1545 "of the misery of the soldiers for want of full pay, not knowing how far the money sent by Sir Ric. Southwell will stretch or how much is lacking".¹⁰⁵ There was no option but to give Southwell yet more cash for the campaign. On January 7th 1546 "Marshe ... servant to Sir Ric. Southwell, addressed

to Boloyne with [£] 20,000".¹⁰⁶

But Sir Richard Southwell, for all his activities so far, is perhaps best known historically for his being the accuser of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey (1517-1547), an accusation which led to Surrey's execution. Surrey and his father, the Duke of Norfolk were cast in the Tower on December 12th 1546 accused of designs to seize power after the King's death.¹⁰⁷ Surrey, vain of his royal origins, displayed an escutcheon in Kenninghall, his Norfolk ancestral home, in which the leopards of England and the arms erroneously ascribed to Edward the Confessor were treasonably displayed. Southwell, intimate with the Howard family "was put up to denounce the escutcheon at Kenninghall, and propounded to the council the doctrine that the heraldic devices indicated a claim to succeed to the throne".¹⁰⁸ Confronted by his accuser on December 2nd 1546, Surrey lost his temper, burst into abusive language and "challenged Southwell to personal combat then and there". Both were placed in custody until "fresh evidence had been collected".¹⁰⁹ Evidence suggests, however, that the cause of this animosity between Southwell and Surrey had its roots in the Boulogne Campaign. One of the charges against Surrey was that he had the means to rush the Castle of Hardelot but failed to do so. On December 12th 1546, The French Ambassador to London, Odet de Selve wrote to the admiral of France:

(I) was told this morning that my lord of Surrey, son of the Duke of Norfolk, is prisoner in the Tower on two principal charges, one that he had the means of attempting the castle of Hardelot when he was at Boulogne, and neglected it, the other that he said there were some who made no great account of him but he trusted one day to make them very small. Both he and his accuser, Mr. Sodrel (Southwell), gentleman of the King's chamber were put in prison; but Sodrel is released and many hold that Surrey will suffer death.¹¹⁰

There are indications that Surrey was guilty of disbanding soldiers during critical stages of the campaign. The Council wrote to him on January 11th 1546 explicitly instructing him not to disband any able bodied men: "Letters were addressed to therle of Surrey to stave the

casseng (sic) of al hable men abowe the (m^lm^llm^lix^c) (sic) lymyted by Mr. Southwelles instruccions till further advertisement".¹¹¹ The Council had written to Southwell on August 8th 1546 about levying German mercenaries under one Riffenberg.¹¹² Surrey's outspoken nature did not help him during his trial. Although a poet of some renown, he has been described as "young, vain, gallant... the most foolish proud boy in England... free and reckless of speech and not discreet of conduct". He was twice imprisoned in the Fleet by the Council for such boyish pranks as shooting pebbles at people's windows at night.¹¹³ Surrey was beheaded on Tower Hill on January 19th 1547, and Southwell was amply rewarded for his testimony against him. On Sunday February 6th 1547 the Council declared "Sir Richard Southwell to have the keping of Kannyngale House with the Parkes and (be) Steward of all my Lorde of Norfolk's and the Busshop of Norwiche londes in Norfolk".¹¹⁴ He was also given the stewardship of "all my Lorde of Lincolne's landes".¹¹⁵

In the Edwardian reign Sir Richard Southwell resumed his early role as enforcer of PAX TUDORICA in Norfolk, and played a major role in suppressing Kett's rebellion of 1549. The cause of this uprising, according to Blomefield was that "divers lords and gentlemen, who were possessed of abbey lands, (like Southwell) and other large commons and waste grounds, had caused many of those commons and wastes to be enclosed, whereby the poor and indigent people were much offended..."¹¹⁶ The outbreak, led by Kett, swelled into a force of 16,000 which threatened Norwich. The Council sent William Parr, Marquis of Northampton accompanied by - among others - Sir Richard Southwell with 1500 horsemen.¹¹⁷ The deputy mayor and leading citizens welcomed the relief column. They delivered, as was the custom, the mayor's sword (the mayor himself being then detained by rebels) to the Marquis of Northampton. "Then" Blomefield narrates "he (the Marquis) delivered the sword to Sir Richard Southwell, who carried it bare-headed before the Marquis into the city, which honour, by solemn and ancient custom, is always given to the King's Lieutenants: he made his entry at St. Stephen's gates, and forthwith gave commandment that all the citizens should meet him in the market-place..."¹¹⁸

Sir Richard's role in the Edwardian Privy Council is dubious and vague. Henry VIII's will, published on December 30th 1546 decreed that

the succession should go to Prince Edward and the heirs of his body. It appointed Sir Richard amongst others in "the Council for the Assistance of the Councillors of the Privy Council with Prince Edward".¹¹⁹ He appears in letters patent dated March 12th and December 24th 1547 not as an Edwardian Privy Councillor but merely one of "certen of the Counsell at large" with twenty-six others.¹²⁰ He emerged, mysteriously, as a Privy Councillor on Oct. 6th 1549. His brief career as Edwardian Privy Councillor is documented in his attendance of fourteen meetings from October 6th to December 29th 1549.¹²¹

Southwell played an active role in the downfall of Somerset's Protectorate. On October 7th 1549 he was a signatory to a letter addressed to the King, in which Somerset was found "so muche gyven to his owne will that he alwayes refusid to heere reason, and therewith doinge sundrye such things as wer and be most daungerous bothe to yor most royall pson and to your hole Realme..."¹²² On the same day, October 7th 1549 he signed "A Letter From The Lords Of The Council In London To The Council At Windsor Intimating Their Intention To Remove Somerset From The Office Of Protector".¹²³ The following day, October 8th 1549 he signed "A Proclamacion Set Forth By The State and Bodie Of The Kynge's Maiesties Counsayle Now Assembled At London, Conteinyng The Very Trouth Of The Duke of Somerset's Evel Government, And False And Detestable Proceedinges", condemning "the malice and evil government of Edward Duke of Somerset, lately called Protector, whose pride, covetousness and extreme ambicion... hath sought the satisfactiō of his devilyshe and evill purposes".¹²⁴ Southwell was an active member of the coup d'etat against Somerset. Wriothesly's "Chronicle" records that "the 14th of October, in the afternoone, the Duke of Somersett was brought from Windsore to the Tower of London... accompanied with diuers Lordes, knightes and gentlemen", among them was Sir Richard Southwell.¹²⁵

With the abolishing of the Protectorate on October 13th 1549 responsibility for government of the realm "lay with the original executors of Henry VIII's will", including Sir Richard Southwell: Southwell and Sir Edmund Peckham (1459-1564) "remained the only original 'assistants' (in Henry VIII's will) whom Somerset had not appointed to the council".¹²⁶ After Somerset's fall, Southwell brought himself closer to the King. John Ponnet, D.D. (Bishop of Winchester 1551-1553) wrote the

following description of Sir Richard Southwell's activities during this period in A Short Treatise of Politique Power (Strasburg 1556). The fortunes of Southwell's associates, Arundel and Wriothsesley are also described:

When Wriothsesley, Arundel and Southwell conspired with the ambitious and subtle Alcibiades of England, the Earle of Warwick (afterward Duke of Northumberland) to pull the good Duke of Somerset K. Edwards Uncle, and Protector, out of his authority, and by forging a great many of false letters and lies, to make the Protector hated, brought to passe Warwicke purpose... Wriothsesley that before was banished the Court, is lodged with his wife and son next to the King... Southwell (for his whisking and double diligence) must be a great Counsellor in anywise. But what was the end... Southwell is committed to the Fleet, where being examined he confessed enough to be hanged for, and had gone very neare it, had not his examiners upon hope of... his amendment, ... obtained the Earles favour".¹²⁷

In January 1550 the Council had ordered Southwell's arrest and imprisonment in the Tower for writing "certain bills of sedition" for which he was fined £500¹²⁸ (See below). The sedition was probably aimed at the Protestant Earl of Warwick who was actively engaged in removing Catholic Privy Councillors like Sir John and Sir Thomas Arundel, who were both confined to the Tower and Sir Richard Southwell to the Fleet. Posts held by Catholics were distributed among Warwick's factions. Warwick took over the office of President of the Privy Council and that of Lord Admiral. He was enthusiastically hailed by Protestants as a shining light of the Church of England.¹²⁹ Warwick took steps to terminate the wars of Scotland and France. He needed experienced men like Southwell, now languishing in the Tower, to help with disengagement. Consequently Southwell was released on Sunday March 9th 1549 by the Privy Council upon bond of "V^c markes fyne, payable at Easter, 1550 c^{li}; at Easter, 1551, c^{li} and at Easter, 1552, cc markes".¹³⁰

After his release negotiations between England and France were in

progress to hand Boulogne back to the French King. Through the skilful diplomacy of a secret agent, an Italian merchant - Guidotti - who suggested to the French the English would be willing to hand Boulogne back at a price, peace was signed on March 24th 1550 with Henry II (R. 1547-59) agreeing to pay England 400,000 crowns for Boulogne, which was handed back by the English to the French King on May 15th 1550.¹³¹ Just before peace with France was signed, and almost a year since his release from the Fleet Sir Richard was appointed on March 14th 1550 "tunderstande in all mannour of accomptes of thresoures of warres, vittaylers and others".¹³² Evidently his services were needed to wind up the affairs of the English expeditionary force in Boulogne, as well as for general military re-organization. In 1551 he appears to have been respectfully treated by the Protestant Council dominated by the Earl of Warwick. On May 17th the Council, writing from Greenwich sent "A lettre to Sir Richard Southwell to repaire hither to be of Commission for thaccomptes, if he can through the commoditie of his healthe".¹³³

Sir Richard Southwell's role in Mary's reign

Mary, distrusting the Edwardian Council she inherited, immediately brought in Catholics like Sir Richard Southwell, the Duke of Norfolk, Bishop Cuthbert Tunstall (1474-1559) and Sir Richard Rich (1496?-1567). She made it quite clear that she intended to re-establish Catholicism "and to undo not merely the work of the last six years, but all that had been accomplished since the fall of Wolsey".¹³⁴ Men like Southwell, in spite of their services in the Dissolution, were needed to actually run the country. On August 9th 1553 the Marian Council commissioned Southwell to reorganize the Queen's armoury and collect weapons "purloyned and embeseled awaye" and also, "to gette moreover into his hands, to her Highnes' saide use, all suche armor and weapons as belonge to the personnes atteinted for their doings in the late trayterouse enterprise and rebellion against her highnes" (see below).¹³⁵ He acted as quartermaster to Mary, supervising the issue of stores and weaponry. On August 14th 1553 he was ordered to issue "iiii^c demi-launces with all their furniture, v^c corseletts (and) one hundred and 1 shirts of maile".¹³⁶ His ascendancy during Mary's reign is shown in the regularity with which he attended the Marian Privy Council. From August 9th 1553

till August 12th 1558, his name is mentioned some sixty-nine odd times as either attending council meetings or as being entrusted by the Council with a wide assortment of tasks. (See Appendix I - Details of Sir Richard Southwell's Role in the Marian Privy Council".)

Southwell played an active role in suppressing Wyatt's rebellion. A Protestant, Sir Thomas Wyatt (1521-1554) regarded Queen Mary's intention to marry Philip of Spain "as an outrage against the nation's honour": After the announcement of Mary and Philip's marriage on January 15th 1553/4, Wyatt set out for London at the head of 4000 men, encamping at Blackheath on January 29th. A Marian Council of War (which included Southwell) decided to allow him to advance into the city and then attack him from every direction.¹³⁷ "When Wyatt was come into Southwarke, the pencyonars weare commaunded to wache in armoure thatt nyght at the courte".¹³⁸ Sir John Gage (1479-1556) was commanded to guard the Court's outer gate "with sume off the garde and his sarvantes and others with hym".¹³⁹ Southwell was in charge of "the bakesydes, the woodyarde... with V^c men": The Queen was in the gallery by the gate house. The rebels approached the Court "thorow the gatehows from Westmester".¹⁴⁰ Gage and his men panicked, retreating "in suche haste that olde Gage fell downe". The gates were shut. "By meanes of the greate hurliburli in shuttynge of the gattes, the garde thatt weare in the courte made as greate haste in att the halle dorre, and wolde have cum into the halle...". Southwell, hearing the commotion, hurried towards the Court from the bakeyards. The Queen's men, after Gage had retreated in panic, moved into the Court and closed the gates behind them to prevent the rebels from assaulting the Palace. Troops loyal to Mary, seeing Southwell approach, hailed him: "Syr" they pleaded, "commaunde the gates to be opened thatt we may goo to the quenes enemyes, we wyll breake them opone eles" they declared in enthusiastic loyalty, "it is to mouche shame the gates shulde be thus shutt for a fewe rebelles, the quene shall se us felle downe her enemyes this daye before her face".¹⁴¹ Southwell, however, decided not to be hasty, and to consult his sovereign before taking such a drastic step. "I shall desyer yow alle" he addressed Mary's loyal troops" as yow be jentyllmen, to stay yourselves heare thatt I maye goo upe to the quene to knowe her plesure".¹⁴² A shrewd survivor, he had to ask the Queen's permission even when protecting her against a coup d'etat. A ruler in

such critical hours seeks in lieutenants obedient and loyal, rather than independent initiative. Mary's troops waited for Southwell. He returned to announce that the Queen "was contentt we shoulde have the gates opened" but on condition that the troops "wylle not goo forthe off her syght". The Queen's only hope, he told the loyal soldiery, "is in yow for the defence of her parsons this daye". The gates were opened and the troops led by Sir Richard Southwell marched towards the Queen's gallery's window. The Queen, one of the troops related, "spake unto us, reqyrynge us as we weare jentyllmen in whome she only trusted, thatt we wolde nott goo from thatt place." Shortly afterwards, a herald hurried in to announce that Wyatt was taken.¹⁴³

After Wyatt's rebellion had been suppressed, Simon Renard, Charles V's Ambassador to Mary wrote to the Emperor on May 1st 1554 that the Lord Chancellor Wriothesley (1508?-1562) had intercepted and copied two despatches sent by the French Ambassador which mentioned that Edward Courtenay (1526?-1556) Earl of Devonshire was "to marry Madame Elizabeth; that the Queen (Mary) must lose her kingdom and crown; and that the hired troops will turn against her because they are three years in arrear".¹⁴⁵ This intelligence greatly alarmed Mary, mainly because of Courtenay's illustrious ancestry and blood royal which, if allied to Elizabeth's, would constitute a dangerous challenge to her throne. Edward Courtenay's father was Henry Courtenay (1496?-1538), Marquis of Exeter and Earl of Devonshire, son of Sir William Courtenay by Princess Catherine, youngest daughter of Edward IV.¹⁴⁶

Immediately, after Wyatt's rebellion became known, Mary sent Sir Richard Southwell, Sir Thomas Cornwallis and Sir Edward Hastings to Ashridge with a strong guard to escort the Princess Elizabeth, who lay ill there, to London. Southwell and his party arrived at Ashridge at 10 o'clock at night. The Princess had gone to bed and refused to see them. Nevertheless they forced their way into her chamber. In spite of her protests they explained that the Queen's pleasure was that she be brought to London "quick or dead".¹⁴⁷ The Queen had sent her own litter for her safe and comfortable journey to the Capital. There, she was confined to the Tower. Simon Renard, Imperial ambassador and also Mary's chief advisor, considered that "there could be no safety for Spanish interests in England as long as Elizabeth and Courtenay remained as foci for

discontent".¹⁴⁸ Don Juan Hurtado de Mendoza, wrote to the Bishop of Arras on March 19th (1554) "It was indispensable to throw the Lady Elizabeth into prison, and it is considered that she will have to be executed, as while she lives it will be very difficult to ... accomplish anything of promise".¹⁴⁹

Sir Richard Southwell and Sir Thomas Pope were appointed, on or about February 11th 1555 to investigate the Elizabeth-Courtenay affair.¹⁵⁰ On April 3rd 1555 Renard reported to the Emperor that Elizabeth, having been thoroughly examined and found clean, could not, by English law, be touched.¹⁵¹ Consequently, on May 19th she was allowed to withdraw to Woodstock. But Southwell still kept a close watch on Elizabeth. He wrote to the Council on February 24th 1555 that one of Elizabeth's servants, Sir William Saintlow appeared in Tunbridge and was suspected of acting as a messenger. He was arrested on February 15th but made no statement to incriminate his mistress.¹⁵²

Having found Elizabeth innocent of complicity with Courteney, Mary entrusted her half-sister to the guardianship of Sir Thomas Pope, Sir Richard Southwell's friend and colleague at the Court of Augmentations. A former squire and servant of Lord Chancellor Thomas Audley, Thomas Pope had, at the age of thirty, in April 24th 1536, been appointed Treasurer of the Court of Augmentations.¹⁵³ Pope was a respected senior official of the Henrician period "whose loyalty and honesty were beyond question" and "who stood high in the estimation of Cromwell and the King".¹⁵⁴ A rich and favoured man, he possessed some thirty manors before 1556, some given him by Henry VIII, many directly bought from Queen Mary herself.¹⁵⁵ After an eclipse in Edward VI's reign he - like his colleague and friend Sir Richard Southwell - quickly found favour with Mary. On March 15th 1554 he had worked very closely with Southwell in examining the accounts of Sir Thomas Gresham (1519?-1579), a Protestant friend of Foxe the Martyrologist, and on good terms with Edward VI whom he served as "Royal Agent" or "King's Merchant" in Antwerp, to negotiate loans for the Crown.¹⁵⁶ As a close friend, Southwell attended Pope's funeral on February 6th 1559.¹⁵⁷

Southwell's role in Mary's reign marked him as a prominent and influential Catholic and staunch supporter of the Marian regime. Though he did have a Protestant tutor for his son who resided in his London house

at Charterhouse - John Lowthe (See Ch. 3) - he was associated in the public eye with Marian excesses against Protestants, especially public burning of heretics. Otwell Johnson, a London merchant, writing to his brother John Johnson "of the Staple of Calais" on July 2nd 1546 describes how a "Dr. Cromes" publicly denounced Protestant beliefs before an assembly of notables which included, "my Lorde chauncelor, the Duke of Norfocke, Mr. Riche... the Suthewelles (Sir Richard and his brother Sir Robert), (Sir Thomas) Pope, and other nobles and Knightes".¹⁵⁸ Sir Richard's son's tutor, John Lowthe describes Anne Askew's execution which Southwell attended:

When the hower of derkenes came... mrs A. Askow was so racked that she could not stand... after the sermone ended, they putt fyer to the reedes... the cowncell lokynge one, and leanyng in a wyndow by the spytle (St. Bartholmew's Hospital)... and emong them syr Rychard Southwell, the master of the wryghtor herof".¹⁵⁹

Sir Richard Southwell at Elizabeth's Accession and the Early Years of her Reign

Southwell was not appointed to the Privy Council on the accession of Elizabeth and in July 1559 he surrendered his offices in exchange for an annuity of £165.¹⁶⁰ He was summoned by the Council on December 6th 1558 to the ordnance office and instructed "to bringe with him a perfect declaracion of the state of his Offyce, aswell touching the provisions, expences and remaynes, as also of the present wantes of the same".¹⁶⁰ Knowing that his days in office were numbered, on December 27th 1558 he made "sute to the Lordes to make declaracion of the state of his Offyce of thordynance and Armory".¹⁶¹ He kept his post, however, for a few more weeks, for by January 21st 1559 he is still mentioned as "Master of tharmony and Ordynance".¹⁶²

Generally speaking, by the first half of Elizabeth's reign the Southwells were in eclipse.¹⁶³ Sir Richard's grandson, our Robert Southwell, born during these *first* years of the Elizabethan era, opened his eyes on this eclipse his family had suffered. Sir Richard Southwell was gradually relieved of his posts; having been removed from the Commission of Peace, for one, within a few weeks of Elizabeth's accession.¹⁶⁴

However, it may have been declining health as well as religious affiliation that caused his withdrawal from public life. His health may have been declining since Edwardian times, as he was then summoned once if the "commoditie of his health" permitted. (See above.) Elizabeth did not seem to disapprove of him as strongly as was expected she would have done. In his will (See Appendix II) he mentions having received a New Year's gift (a jug) from the Queen in 1561. He was still regarded with respect and accorded recognition in Norfolk in the early 1560's. On June 5th 1562 a great feast was held in Norwich, during which seventy three people sat down to a massive banquet. "This year" Blomefield writes, describing the occasion "The Earls of Northumberland and Huntington, the Lords Tho. Howard and Willoughby, with many other lords and knights, came to Norwich, to visit the Duke of Norfolk there, and were all lodged with their retinue at the Duke's Palace, and during their stay they diverted themselves with shooting and other martial exercises on Mousehold Heath.¹⁶⁵ The guest list for the banquet held during this occasion is extant. Sir Richard Southwell was among those invited.¹⁶⁶

Sir Richard's wife appeared to have died on September 20th 1558 and was buried at Shoreditch. Strype mentions "Lady Southwel, wife to a privy councillor of the name, was buried at Shoreditch".¹⁶⁷ He followed her out of this world in 1564. The probate of his will is dated June 22nd 1564 (See Appendix III). He died a rich man. Aside from his own inherited property, he was amongst those who acquired large shares of monastic property in Norfolk after the Dissolution. Only the Duke of Norfolk and Sir Thomas Gresham acquired more than he did.¹⁶⁸ Monastic property in Norfolk available for distribution by gift and sale among the laity was valued at £6000 per annum.¹⁶⁹ According to Blomefield, who cites Ambrose Jermyn, in 37 Henry VIII Sir Richard Southwell owned the following manors: Woodrising; Cranworth; Butler's or Boteteur's in Letton; Whinburgh cum membris; Westfield; Skoulton; Carbroke; Woodhall; Carbroke magna (The Preceptory manor); Saham Tony; Insoken; Outsoken; Cressingham Parva; Tottington Campsey; Mortimer's; Thexton; Morton cum Ringland; Kypton (in Wesenhan); West Rudham; Tofts; Bircham; Burnham; Lexham; Geyton; Brancaster; Burnham Thorp (Wymondham); Horsham; Walsoken and Popinhoe.¹⁷⁰

The most traumatic effect the career of Sir Richard Southwell had on his direct descendants was a posthumous one. They were deprived of the

bulk of his massive property holdings, as Henry Spelman History and Fate of Sacrilege (1698) explains: "After the death of Sir Richard Southwell, his nephew, Sir Robert, succeeded in the great inheritance". The succession to his vast properties was complicated. Most of his children, including his two sons, were born before his marriage to their mother who was related to his first wife and while she was married to the Norwich Alderman Robert Leeche. The heir male was thus Thomas, son of Sir Robert Southwell. In his will Sir Richard made no distinction between his children on the point of legitimacy.¹⁷¹ Had his son, Richard Southwell of Horsham St. Faith, and his grandsons, succeeded to his estates, their lives and careers might well have been different. His family life will be dealt with in the next chapter.

Aside from the active role he played in the three reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary, he was frequently in the public view on ceremonial occasions. On August 26th 1555 he received the King and Queen (Philip and Mary) as they alighted from their barge at Greenwich.¹⁷² Earlier on June 17th Southwell attended the "over-nyght durge, and the morow masse" given to the deceased "quen of Spayn".¹⁷³ On August 19th 1557 he attended the funeral dirge for "the Kyng of Denmarke",¹⁷⁴ and, on November 3rd 1557 he was a mourner at the funeral of "My lade W..." (Cotton MS burnt)...¹⁷⁵

CHAPTER TWO - SUMMARY AND/OR CONCLUSIONS

Robert Southwell, Catholic priest, Jesuit missionary, religious writer and poet did not display pride in his bloodline or the history and achievements of his family, though he did laud other people's gentleness of birth. This was due to religiously-inspired teachings that pride in oneself should be suppressed. Evidence shows that Southwell complied with these strictures. Nevertheless his grandfather, Sir Richard Southwell played an extremely active role in national life which helped to shape the course of English history. His prominent role in public affairs was accompanied by recognition, honours and prosperity.

During Elizabeth's reign, the fortunes of Sir Richard Southwell's descendants showed a certain decline though they did maintain a

recognizable social presence. This decline in family fortunes would be many times more painful when compared with the long history of the Southwell family as Royal servants and confidants throughout previous centuries. Such service culminated in the eventful, influential and prosperous career of Sir Richard Southwell. For our Robert Southwell, his grandfather's active role during the three reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary would - human nature being what it is - make the decline in Southwell family fortunes as Catholics all the more painful. Robert Southwell could not express this distressing decline in his family fortune's for purely religious reasons, as it would be succumbing to the sin of pride to laud or lament one's oscillating fortunes; although he profusely described the sufferings of Catholics generally. Declining fortunes, social and political ostracism for religious reasons during Elizabeth's reign - all were rendered more distressing and painful when compared with family prosperity during previous reigns. These unfavourable factors were probably instrumental in driving young Robert Southwell away from the world and towards militant Catholicism represented by the Jesuits.

CHAPTER THREE

SOUTHWELL'S PARENTS - RICHARD SOUTHWELL AND BRIDGET COPLEY SOUTHWELL

Richard Southwell of Horsham St. Faith (d. 1600) was the eldest and illegitimate son of Sir Richard Southwell. His illegitimacy is described by Sir Henry Spelman The History and Fate of Sacrilege (1698):

Sir Richard Southwell, knight, (a great agent in spoiling the abbeys,)... married Thomasin, the daughter of Sir Roger Darcy, of Danbury, and living long together, had no issue by her; but in the meantime, he had by Mary Darcy, daughter of Thomas Darcy, also of Danbury, Richard Southwell of S. Faith's, and Thomas Southwell of Moreton, Mary and Dorothy, all born in adultery, and Katherine, married to Thomas Audley... (born, as it seems, after the death of Thomasin his wife,) by the said Mary, who then and before was by Sir Richard married to one --- Leech, a swallow man (greedy fellow?) of Norwich, that had been his servant; and now his lady dying, he took this Mary from Leech her husband, and married her himself, alleging that she could not be Leech's wife, for that he had another former wife then living: hereupon a great suit ensued in the high Commission court, where sir Richard prevailed, and enjoyed her with shame enough¹.

Sir Richard Southwell had married, as first wife, Thomasin, daughter of Sir Roger Darcy of Danbury Essex and as second wife, Mary, daughter of Thomas Darcy of Danbury, Essex. From his first marriage he had only one daughter and heir, Elizabeth, who married George Heneage, Esq. From his second marriage to Mary Darcy Sir Richard Southwell had: Mary (she married as first husband Henry Paston; as second husband, William Drury, doctor; as third husband... Forde, doctor and as fourth husband Sir Thomas Greseley of Staffordshire). His second daughter from his second marriage was Dorothy, who first married John Wentworth of Little Horseley, Essex,

and then St. Maure, as second husband. His third daughter was Katherine, who married Thomas Audley of Berechurch, Essex. His eldest son was Richard Southwell, of Horsham St. Faith, our Southwell's father (d. 1600) who married, first, Bridget Copley, daughter of Sir Roger Copley of Roughway, Sussex - our Southwell's mother - and as second wife, Margaret Styles - either widow or daughter of John Styles a gentleman of Ellingham. Sir Richard's Southwell's second son was Thomas Southwell of Moreton-on-the-Hill, Norfolk.²

Sir Richard saw to it that his eldest "natural" son was well-educated and reasonably well provided for. Aside from the family home of Horsham St. Faith and other properties, Richard Southwell was given in his father's will, among other items, half the horses left at Woodrusing and Whinborough Parks; half the quantity of lead and other building materials for the repair of "his decayed house(s) at Sainte ffaith's" and "all (my) books of Scripture Profant Stories and other Latin authors and (my) books of Law and Statute books". (Ch. 2. Append. II.) Provision had already been made for him to inherit Horsham St. Faith before his father's death (see Ch. 4).

Born by 1531 Richard Southwell's illegitimacy was an indication of the abuse of marriage laws in the early and mid Sixteenth century. A valid marriage could only be dissolved by the death of a partner. But marriages often broke down for other reasons, such as cruelty or infidelity. In such cases, a temporary divorce called "a mensa et thoro" could be granted, provided neither husband nor wife remarried, "and with the hope that reconciliation would follow".³ As Southwell's case shows, there were violations of the marriage laws, and abuse leading to remarriage on an illegal basis was common. On April 24th 1548 a proclamation was issued from Westminster warning that all persons who keep two wives or put one away to marry another are to be punished, and goes on to direct that offenders are to be reported to the Bishops, and if they do not punish them, "Justices & c...." are to report them to the Council.⁴ Although as illegitimate sons neither Richard Southwell nor his brother Thomas inherited their father's large property holdings, they did not go unprovided for. For one, and aside from the Norfolk estate of Horsham St. Faith, and according to Blomefield, Richard Southwell "presented as Lord (of Spixworth) in 1567, and 1570".⁵

As a young man Richard Southwell was well educated. He was at Corpus Christi (Benet) College, Cambridge, in 1546 where he had matriculated in 1545. He was admitted to Lincoln's Inn on February 4th 1546/47.⁶ He was still attending Lincoln's Inn by 1549 (see below). Corpus Christi, along with Trinity Hall and Gonville Hall, had special links with the Diocese of Norwich.⁷ His attending Corpus Christi probably introduced Richard Southwell to Protestantism. The College was exposed to Protestant tendencies since the 1520's. In 1525 Dr. Richard Barnes, Prior of the Augustinian Friary near Corpus "made the final step from the New Learning to Protestant Evangelicalism".⁸ His converts included such members of Benet College as William Sowde, (Master of Benet 1523-1544), and Mathew Parker. William Tolwyn, a Norwich man, left Benet in 1535 for London. As Rector of St. Antholin's, he ran into trouble in 1540 for his "errors, heresies and naughty opinions;" for possessing books by Luther and Zwingli, and for giving his parishioners "the pure Worship of God 'rather than' the Pope's swill and dregs".⁹ Benet College, Cambridge - Corpus Christi - first under the Mastership of Sowde, then under Mathew Parker, provided a home for radical Protestants. Both Sowde and Parker were from Norfolk.¹⁰ Among the "eminent gospellers" of Corpus Christi in the 1540's was John Lowthe, Richard Southwell's tutor.

John Lowthe came to Corpus early in 1545, during the first year of Parker's mastership, as private tutor to Sir Richard Southwell's eldest son, Richard Southwell, who studied at Corpus for about a year to prepare for the Inns of Court. By late spring 1546 Lowthe and his pupil moved to London for young Southwell to attend to his studies at Lincoln's Inn.¹¹

There are several reasons which may have moved Sir Richard Southwell to choose John Lowthe, a militant Protestant, as tutor for his son. First, John Lowthe, (b. 1519) was of some gentleness of birth. His great great grandfather, Roger Lowthe, was said (by John Lowthe) to have married "Mary of Henawd, a cousin of Lionel earl of Ulster, and duke of Clarence, son of King Edward the Third".¹² John Lowthe's great grandfather, Lionel Lowthe, married Katherine Dudley, of the Sutton family "barons of parliament and knights of the Garter;" his grandfather, Thomas Lowthe, esq. was possessed of Castle Hedingham, Essex; Creetingham, Suffolk; and Sawtreys Beaumays, Huntingdonshire. A 1613 visitation of Huntingdonshire by Nicholas Charles found the following escutcheous in Sawtreys Manor

House: Lowthe = Stukeley; Lowthe = Mulso; Lowthe = Dudley; Lowthe = Henaud, amongst others. The Lowthe coat of arms was "Sable, a wolf saliant argent and in dexter chief a crescent of the second".¹³

Second, Sir Richard Southwell may have had respect for John Lowthe's father - Edmund Lowthe's - brave defiance of corrupt monastic incumbents; a defiance which eventually cost him his life. In a letter to John Fox entitled "Of the shameful murderynge of one mr. Edmund Loude of Sawtrey by the monkes and preestes of Sawtrey Abbey, aboute a^o13.4. 8, A^o.D^o. 1522", John Lowthe narrates how his father opposed "the wanton mounkes of (Sawtrey) abbey". He describes how "two lewd persons of Sawtrey... hawnted moste shamfully the wyves of mr. Thomas Loude hys tenantes in the towne".¹⁴ Edmund Lowthe watched the monks who, after cavorting "with theyr tenantes' wyves, wolde beate downe the walles, and slypp away to the abbey".¹⁵ Eventually, Sawtrey Abbey succeeded in imprisoning Edmund Lowthe in Cambridge Castle for hitting a monk. The Abbey's attorney, a Richard Wynne, taunted Lowthe with his incarceration: "A! Loude, hadd it not ben better for yow to have lyved quietly at Sawtrey, and hunt and hawke at yowr pleasure, then here to remeyne a prisoner agaynste yowr wylle?" "No." Lowthe replied defiantly. "I am here but for stryking a lecherous knave." Lowthe struck Wynne "and dashed out all hys for-teeth, by wych blow he lyped as longe as he lyved".¹⁶ Henry VIII's Court, (and, presumably, Sir Richard Southwell) heard of this incident. "Thys blow was declared to the chaste clergymen in the country, and by them to the myghty clergy at the courte, and by them... to the kyng".¹⁷ Henry VIII, hearing of this incident "laughted hertely at the pelyng (paltry, contemptible) lawyer's deformitee... I perceave Loude ys a talle (of manly bearing, a good man) jentylman" said the King. "wee do pardon hym of his fawlte and imprisonment".¹⁸

Edmund Lowthe continued, after his release from Cambridge Castle to resist monastic corruption and maintain the King's admiration and respect. One "person of St. Andrew" was described as a "notable horemaster... (who) kyssed many wyves, and among them Kateryn Loude, dawghter to Edmund Loude openly in the church yerde of Allhallows". Edmund Lowthe caught him, and "lyking not his (Lowthe's) lookes, downe upon hys knees, of with his cappe, prayinge hym not to bett hym". Then followed a piece of Chaucerian anecdote which may well have appealed to Henry VIII's sense of humour:- "O

thou bowdy knave" said Lowthe "darest yow kysse my dawghter? ...And seing hys new brode shaven crowne, he toke up a cow cusen or cow turde with his spade and clapped it upon his crowne".¹⁹ The monks, however, had the last word. Carrying his son, John, then aged three, on a daily walk, Edmund Lowthe was set upon by "One Skelton the father, and Skelton the sonne, tenants o the abatt, well-weapened." Severely injured, he died a week later.²⁰

The third reason why Sir Richard Southwell may have chosen John Lowthe as tutor to his son was Lowthe's learning. He attended Winchester College in 1534 at the age of fourteen, where he received his first impression of Protestantism. On July 24th 1540 he became Fellow of New College, Oxford, where he stayed till 1543 and received the degree of Bachelor of Laws.²¹ His academic qualifications, his gentle birth, and his being the son of the courageous Edmund Lowthe who died fighting monastic abuse very probably induced Sir Richard Southwell to take him on as resident tutor to his son, in spite of Lowthe's militant Protestantism. Lowthe related how Sir Richard expressed a grudging admiration for him. "Syr Richard Southwell" wrote Lowthe to John Fox said (of me) he wyll make my boye lyke himselfe to(o) good a Latinyste and to(o) greate an heretycke. In dede" Lowthe adds "Mr. Rychard Southwell was some tyme of good religione, so long as he was my pupyll in Benett Colleage, and in the innes of courte".²² In fact Sir Richard Southwell had two "heretyckes" in his London house in Charterhouse (See Appendix I): John Lowthe, and a William Morice; a prisoner sent by the Privy Council to spend his term in Sir Richard's house.²³ It is possible that John Lowthe was also entrusted to his supervision by the Council.

The two "heretics" in Sir Richard Southwell's house represent the government's alarm at the spread of Protestantism in London in the 1540's. In that decade the council was preoccupied with foreign affairs, which deflected attention from the internal spread of heresy. In 1544 there were few prosecutions under the Act of Six Articles. As a result preachers and "gospellers" had become bolder and converts more numerous. Henry VIII in the last few years of his reign, refrained from antagonizing potential allies on the Continent by an over-zealous anti-heresy drive at home.²⁴ By the end of 1544 London was seething with unrest, tension and rumour. England was at war with France. Its relations with the Holy

Roman Empire were at an all-time low. Fears of French raids on English coasts aroused tensions and anxieties. Subsidies and forced gifts levied by a King whose currency was debased caused grumblings and discontent.²⁵ Inflation and hoarding were rife. Protestant activists like John Lowthe grew bold, encouraged by these worrying and destabilizing events. By the end of 1545, "In London Protestantism thrived and spread as never before:" By 1546 Bishop Edmund Bonner (1500?1569) was complaining of more heretics now than in the last three or four years and his overriding concern, especially after his examination of Anne Askew "was to rid his diocese of heresy".²⁶ When the government did eventually clamp down, Protestant activists like John Lowthe were emboldened enough by previous government laxity not to be intimidated. Anne Askew, the Protestant martyr, was executed at Smithfields on July 16th 1546. Attending the execution was Sir Richard Southwell and his son's tutor John Lowthe. Fearlessly, and under the eye of the council, Lowthe cried out "I axe advenganse of yow all that thus dothe burne Chrystes member".²⁷ This outburst was probably prompted by the protection Sir Richard Southwell gave to his son's tutor. Lowthe was not so much a prisoner as an honoured guest cum tutor, always close to his pupil. "... I lay nyghtlye in my sylke bedd" he recalls "and good lodgying in a parloure... by mr. Rychard Southwell my pupyll".²⁸

John Lowthe taught his pupil "The Latyn tounge, (and) the laws civyll and temporall", and was described by his employer, Sir Richard, as "a quiett man in hys howse and hadd well served hys turne".²⁹

On February 9th 1546-1547 Richard Southwell was admitted to Lincoln's Inn.³⁰ On All Saints day 3rd Edward VI (1549) Lincoln Inn council elected "Mr. Nuance, Mr. Southwell or Mr. Dodmer" as Master(s) of the Revels.³¹ By 1550 Southwell was an inner Barrister of Lincoln Inn and eight years later he was called to the bar, but his name does not occur in Lincoln Inn's records after 1558, and no evidence exists of his taking up law as a profession. He may have spent most of his time at Court. But in the 1550's his name does occur in the Inn's records. At Lincoln's Inn we have an insight into Richard Southwell's character as rather a wilful and self-indulgent person: "Southwell and Walpole each fined 2s. for entering the kitchen and taking a piece of beef from the cook".³² On May 15th 1550 Richard "Southwell (was) fined 6s. 8d. for drawing his dagger on the steward".³³ On November 27th 1550, Lincoln Inn's Council decreed that

Southwell and 31 others "being Inner Barrestors of this Howse, shall pay every of them xxd for the loosse of a mote within the Barre (sic)".³⁴ His pugnacity may have been a demonstration of self-assertion, or was probably due to financial indulgence from his well known father of whom he was boastful. "Among the wealthier classes, financial dependence on parents commonly survived physical separation and lasted much longer than it did further down the social scale".³⁵

Richard Southwell married by December 1555 Bridget Copley as first wife. There are references showing that Richard Southwell was engaged to be married at the time when Horsham St. Faith and other properties in Norfolk were bestowed on him under a settlement of 1545. He (or his brother Thomas) was engaged to Audrey Malte, the illegitimate daughter of the King's tailor. The engagement did not last. Audrey Malte married John Harrington II leaving Richard Southwell "free to espouse the bookish servant of Princess Elizabeth". This alliance with the Copleys appeared to have paid off politically for by March 1553 we find him returned M.P. for the Copley borough of Gatton. Sir Anthony Browne, a kinsman of Richard Southwell had as Sheriff, returned Southwell as M.P. From this first marriage to Bridget Copley Richard Southwell had the following issue: three sons - Richard (married Alice, daughter of Sir Thomas Cornwallis), Thomas, (second son) and our ROBERT, (third son), and five daughters: Elizabeth, (m. as first husband - "_____" Lister, and as second, Giles Nanfan); Anne (m. "_____" Baskerville of Erdsley, Hereford); Francis (m. William Lenthall); Katherine (m. Leonard Mapes of Ipswich.) and Mary (m. Edward Bannister of Iddsworth, Hants.).³⁶ We do not know the exact date of Richard Southwell's marriage, nor his wife's exact date of birth, (see below). The marriage very probably took part in the early years of Mary's reign when his father was at the height of his influence, or during the later years of Edward VI's reign when he was still actually engaged against Somerset (see previous Chapter). During these two reigns Richard Southwell basked in his father's reputation. After Richard Southwell's death in 1564, he tried to carve a name for himself in Norfolk society, as is shown in the shire election held on April 28th 1572.³⁷ On April 17th Edward Clere (1536-1606) wrote to Richard Southwell about his intention to stand as candidate for the election of Knights of the shire "at the motion of sondrie of my

ffrendes"... you with your tenants, and loving neighbours of the freeholders about you" Clere attempted to coerce Southwell to vote for him "you will then accompany me and my ffrendes".³⁸ This "request" was, apparently, based on historical precedent. The Clere family had for generations enfeoffed the Southwells to their various manors, and now Clere was asking Southwell to return favours previously rendered. Elizabeth Clere, widow of Robert Clere of Ormesby, and executrix of his will dated May 17th 1477 (17 Edward IV) "devises all his lands as follows: Recites that Richard Southwell (of Woodrysing, great grandfather of this Richard Southwell presently under consideration) (is) infeoffed (with others) to uses in the manor of Thurston, Norfolk, in lands at Wynterton and Somerton late of Edward Clere (presumably ancestor of the present Edward Clere) ... If the deceased's son... Do(es) not perform the will then the bond... is to go to my trusted cousin and special friend Richard Southwell". Edward Clere's high-handed approach to Richard Southwell was very probably based on Clere being financially secure and well connected. His two elder brothers died young, leaving him the sole heir to a considerable estate. In 1558, after his father was killed in action the previous year, he obtained delivery of his inheritance. Clere's great uncle was Sir James Boleyn from whom he inherited the manor of Blickling which Clere made his home. He was also distantly related to the fourth Duke of Norfolk, and had sat in the last Parliament of Mary's reign. By 1567 Edward Clere had emerged as a leading figure in Norfolk.³⁹ Clere's high-handed approach to Southwell was also probably due to his having financial advantage over him, for he is referred to as one of Southwell's creditors (see below p. 85). Edward Clere was making demands on Richard Southwell during the 1572 elections in payment for services rendered generations ago by the Clere to the Southwell family. Southwell, however, resented Clere's demands. "I being right sorry I can not satisfie your good desires" he replied, but he pointed out "not to impute the lack of my voice at this tyme want of good will". Southwell fancied being elected himself and indirectly told Clere so: "I did, (before I my selfe was spoken to), wishe you the place thinkinge the same, as mete for you, as for any other".⁴⁰ This incensed Clere. He seems to have bitterly complained about Southwell throughout the County. Southwell lectured Clere on calumny as unbecoming a gentleman of his rank in a letter dated

May 5th 1572 and signed it "yore pore neighbor and rashe ffriend, Rich. S. ". He reprimanded Clere on how "it is greate uncurtesie to slander the absente, and that (as I am crediblye enformed) you with other(s) have taken large occason to doe." Clere had accused Southwell of dissembling "I hard you noted me (without deserte) a dissembler".⁴¹ Southwell defended himself against Clere's tirade: "If you judge I did abuse the syde agenst you" he wrote "you deme amysse... Your overt accost? in so open & great an assemblie ... was ... notorious."

Richard Southwell's temperament was summed up succinctly by Clere in a reply dated May 8th. "The best comferte I shall now take of your meaninge is that instabilitie shall make debilitye". It may be that Clere is referring to Southwell's instability of character, rather than to the instability of his political, social and religious positions. However, "Instability" may indeed be seen as a reflection of that factor which weakened Richard Southwell politically and socially, namely his reputation as a member of a Catholic family. Southwell's "debilyte" arose from the instability of his position - social, political, religious. The unfortunate Southwell, says Clere, should be treated patiently: "by pacyence shall the more easelye tolerate your further iniuries". Clere will treat him magnanimously and "showe kyndness for your father's [Sir Richard's] sake".⁴² Southwell replied on May 9th, mingling a conciliatory approach with much logical sophistry:

who performithe his honest promyse dealeth indifferentlye,
I performed myne honest promyse
Ergo - I dealte - Indifferentlye.

Clere retorted stiffly on May 11th:

"If you write ironic(ally) it is but a point of nedeles eloquence, to soche as would have you playne in right sence... I leave to the circumstantibus whether the mines (mires?) of your argument be false or true and so thincke it for the best to leave you, to your replie with sophisticall termes, and let the world judge, how your speache, your dealings and your writinges, ... may remayne in your person without inconvenyence".⁴³

Richard Southwell had been much taken for granted by Edward Clere. The condescension is apparent throughout this correspondence. Even though Southwell, prior and during the 1572 election appeared to be a respectable and prosperous landowner, Clere refers patronizingly to his not wanting to hurt Southwells feelings "for his father's sake". In other words, the main attention Southwell is entitled to is respect for his father's memory. Clere's derogatory reference to Southwell's quality education, to his use of "logicall and sophisticall termes" shows that education in an age in which it is highly prized, does not automatically confer honour and recognition. The main criterion for being accepted socially and politically is conformity in all aspects to the ruling order. Richard Southwell, as a member of the Southwell family "in eclipse" during Elizabeth's reign (See Ch. 2), appears - from the Clere correspondence - as not being fully accepted as a candidate for political advancement. Richard Southwell, in spite of his relative social and religious disadvantages had to struggle as best he could to assert himself, but in this struggle Clere had the edge over him. This edge demonstrated itself sharply through Southwell's eventual indebtedness to Clere (see below).

The significance of Richard Southwell's quarrel with Edward Clere is that it forms the subject-matter of the only tract of extant sustained correspondence between Richard Southwell and anyone else. It's value lies in the light it sheds on Richard Southwell character brought out in this heated and sometimes vituperative exchange. This confrontation between Clere and Southwell reflects the power vacuum created in Norfolk by the execution of the Duke on June 2nd 1572. The gentry were preparing to fill the void which was bound to appear in County society even before the execution.⁴⁴ Thus Edward Clere set about campaigning vigorously for his own election, and coercing such out-of-favour landlords as Southwell to vote for him. Clere was just one of numerous Norfolk gentry who jostled for power. One observer of the scene wrote of "grete preparacyon and working tobtayne the suffrages of the freeholders off the shyer for such as be competitors to be knyghtes of the same".⁴⁵ After the Duke's execution there was yet more acute rivalry amongst the principal gentry for social and political leadership.⁴⁶ During the 1570's conflict between Protestant and Catholic intensified and the Duke's sudden demise removed the one force which might have restrained both sects. The Duke's

"monolithic patronage was replaced by an intricate clientage network which opened up the possibility of local office holding to a great number of aspirants".⁴⁷ The fact that Clere presumed to ask Southwell to round up his tenants and vote for him implied that he was not considered a serious figure in county politics.

Despite political setbacks, Richard Southwell appears in Norfolk documents as a well-established landowner. His main property was the Horsham St. Faith estate. On September 1st 37 Henry VIII a Royal licence was granted whereby Sir Richard Southwell of Woodrysing "may assure various manors including Horsham St. Faith to himself and his heirs male, and in default of such heirs to Richard Southwell gent, alias Richard Darcy son of Mary Darcy now or late the wife of Robert Leche."⁴⁸ A number of documents, mostly property deeds, are extant, showing Richard Southwell's activities as a landowner. These deeds confirm him as a man of property and show that he was active, as a landowner, in leasing land and property to tenants, and selling off other chunks of his inherited property. A significant aspect of the following documents is that they cover deeds of sale, tenancy leases, bonds and grants. They do not include property purchases; an indication perhaps that Richard Southwell was more inclined to dispose, let, or re-allocate rather than acquire property. This tendency may well reflect or be the consequence of his financial difficulties later in life (As I suggest below, his financial problems probably were caused by the improvidence of others rather than his own). The following documents illustrate his activities as a landowner:

1. A lease dated February 20th 1564/5 made by Richard Southwell to Thomas Bolasse, of Horsham St. Faith, husbandman, of a third of a piece of land at a rent of five combs of wheat and thirty combs of barley per annum.⁴⁹
2. A bond dated April 23rd 1564 for payment of £100 by Richard Southwell, esq. of H.S.F. to Thomas Shefolde, esq. of Waterden. Cancelled.⁵⁰
3. A grant dated January 15th 1577/8 by Richard Southwell, senior lord of the manor of H.S.F. and by Richard Southwell junior his son and heir (our Robert Southwell's eldest brother) to Thomas Phillpot of H.S.F., of a messuage in H.S.F.⁵¹
4. A lease dated March 13th 1596/7 by Richard Southwell the elder of H.S.F. esq and by Richard Southwell the younger his son and heir to

John Ripley of H.S.F. Yeoman, of a messuage and land in H.S.F. at £ 40 per annum.⁵²

5. A deed of sale dated March 10th 1598/9 made by Richard Southwell the younger of Spixworth (Richard Southwell's eldest son) to Charles Cornwallis of Norwich, of land in H.S.F.⁵³

As a prosperous landowner, Richard Southwell exerted efforts to establish himself in society by asserting his position as a gentleman. On December 15th 1568 he was granted a certificate of arms by Sr G. Dethick, Herald-at-Arms "and again" on November 30th 1577 by Robert Cooke.⁵⁴

These were the same as the traditional arms of this family of Southwell with the addition of a bordure Gules. (The bordure would have been a difference to show his illegitimacy). The traditional crest of the family was also altered to a demi mountain goat Argent, membered, bearded and eared Gules.⁵⁵

Coats of arms were indispensable to gentlemen aspiring to office like Richard Southwell. John Shakespeare contemplated applying to the Herald's College for a coat of Arms, and Sir John Ferne The Blazon of Gentry (1586) declares that "if any person be advanced into an office or dignity of public administration be it ecclesiastical, martial or civil ... the herald must not refuse to devise to such a public person, upon his instant request and willingness... a coat of arms".⁵⁶ Heralds could register any person of freebirth with £ 10 a year in lands and £ 300 in moveable goods. About 4000 grants of arms were made between 1560 and 1640, and in Norfolk alone 424 people were listed as gentry around 1580.⁵⁷

As a gentleman of means Richard Southwell (or his eldest son Richard) tended towards ostentation, carrying about him expensive ornaments and large amounts of money. On December 1st 1591 one or two labourers of Witham, Essex - Peter Maurice (crossed out in the State Papers) and Richard Watts were indicted for grand larceny for stealing a gold chain worth £ 80 and £ 40 in cash from Richard Southwell.⁵⁸ Either of the two Richard Southwells appeared to spend much time at Katherine Audley's (Sir Richard Southwell's daughter, married to Thomas Audley of Berechurch, Essex) house. He was inclined to get into quarrels for outspoken language. On May 1st 1576 the Council wrote to the Bailiffs at Colchester

"in answer of theirs sent with the examination taken of Gorell and Christmas, conteyning matter against Richard Sowthwell," instructing them "to warne Gorrell and Christmas that they make their apparaunce here as sone as may be."⁵⁹ Richard Southwell (either father or son) had quarrelled with them, and the Council wrote to the bailiffs on May 7th to examine "the causes betwixt Mr. Richard Sowthwell of thone partie and Garrell and Christmas of the other".⁶⁰ That month Southwell got into more trouble for his allegedly outspoken opinions. On May 22nd 1576 Thomas Southwell, his brother, and his brother-in-law Thomas Audley were examined "touching wordes suppose to be spoken by Richard Sowthwell at Berechurch... wherewith he was charged by the testimonie of George Darrell (sic) and John Cristmas".⁶¹ As a result of this accusation, Richard Southwell was imprisoned in the Marshalsea. Meanwhile, it was reported that Thomas Southwell and Audley "both... do affirm that they remember no suche speech as is averred by Dorrell and Christmas." Consequently "Mr. Richard Southwell was discharged out of the Marshalsie" and was directed to appear at the Star Chamber the following Friday.⁶² On May 25th 1576 he was charged "with certain lewde and inconvenient speches used of the Queen's Majestie, for which he had been committed to the Marshall's warde'. However, since his accusers

could not upon examinacion say any thing to the confirmacion (sic) of suche wordes to have been spoken by him, it was thought mete by their Lordships, upon his humble suit ... that he shold be deliverid at libertie upon his bande of CC^{li} to be of good behaviour toward's the Queen's Majestie and the State and to be forthcominge at all tymes hereafter when he shold be called for upon reasonable warninge.⁶³

Although he was released within a month the charge against him was not unlikely. His sister Katherine Audley was a known Catholic, and the charges made against him took place while he was staying with her in Berechurch, Essex. However his being let off relatively lightly shows that the Council still harboured a certain measure of toleration for him. It was this vulnerability to calumny and attack that in all probability caused his son our Robert Southwell deep distress. While the father was

falsely accused, imprisoned and examined, his youngest son and daughter, our Robert and his sister Mary, were probably away in the Southern counties, staying with relatives (See Ch. 5). In fact, his marital connections were probably a drawback. Being married into the strongly recusant Copley family was itself a political and social drawback and hindrance to advancement. This may also explain why he married, after Bridget's death into a Protestant family. Richard Southwell's second wife, Margaret Styles, is erroneously described by Henry Spelman as a "daughter of a Parson of Ellingham:"

"This last Richard (Southwell) ... who for his second wife marrieth his maid, the daughter of one Styles, parson of Ellingham.⁶⁴

There are no references in Norfolk Registers to John Styles as a Parson of Ellingham. A manuscript Compilation - Tanner's Index - of Norfolk Diocesan Registers 1-32 at the Norfolk Record office, do not record a John Styles as an incumbent of any of the three Ellingham's in Norfolk in the Sixteenth century: Ellingham (near Bungay) Great Ellingham, Little Ellingham. Richard Southwell's marriage to Margaret Styles does not appear in the Norfolk Record Office index of licences for this period, but in his will (see below) Southwell mentions his wife Margaret Styles as his sole beneficiary, proof enough that he had married into the Styles family.

John Styles is described in Norfolk documents as "gentleman" not "parson". Apart from the Parish records of the three Ellinghams not recording a John Styles as an incumbent, there is no mention of him in Diocesan Institution books either. However, the 1581 lay subsidy for Great Ellingham included a "John Style", assessed 40s. in lands. This makes John Styles a wealthier member of the Styles family which renders his widow - or daughter - quite attractive in the marriage market.

A John Styles is mentioned in the "Bury Hall manor court proceedings" of September 23rd 27 Elizabeth (1585) as a freeholder of Bury Hall manor. The court proceedings for October 9th 29 Elizabeth mention a Margaret Styles, widow, "Late the wife of John Style(s) (who) acknowledged that she held a freehold of the manor."⁶⁵ This fixes a date for Margaret Styles' widowhood, and thereby, the possible date of her marriage to Richard Southwell within the period 1585-1587 which also could be given as a

possible date for Bridget Southwell's death. However, John Styles had a daughter, also called Margaret. Her grandmother (John Styles mother), Agnes Stile of Great Ellingham, in her will dated November 7th 1580, left to "Margaret, daughter of John S.... a possnet of brasse and latten pot spone".⁶⁶ (See Appendix II, III).

John Style was obviously attractive as a father, or brother-in-law. He inherited all his mother's property in Ellingham. In her will Agnes Stile left "to son John S. all my free lande and copieholde land being in Ellingham according to the last will of my husband James S. (d. 1558) (See Appendix II, III). Spelman mentions Richard Southwell's second wife as daughter of One Styles etc..." (see above). This may, or may not be, accurate. Some doubt remains as to whether Southwell married the mother - the widow - or the daughter. Margaret the mother would have been attractive financially, as she inherited Bury Hall manor and possibly the remaining Styles property in Ellingham after her husband's decease. (Append II, III). However, Spelman describes Margaret Styles as "a maid in his father's (Richard Southwell's) house". The daughter could have been sent for service in the Southwell household and an attachment consequently formed between the two future spouses. One feels tenderness and gratitude for Margaret Styles in Richard Southwell's will of which she was executrix and in which he left her all he had (see below).

No dates are available for either of Richard Southwell's marriages. As to his first marriage, the College of Arms affirms that "while the marriage has been entered in more than one ... register ... no date is given in any of them, and although there is a detailed entry of their eldest son, Richard who married Alice Cornwallis, no date is even given of his birth or marriage".⁶⁷ Richard Southwell's second marriage very probably irked his son Robert and was one of the motives for the stern Epistle to his father. The Styles were a Protestant family and Catholic casuistry expressly forbade marriages between Catholics and Protestants: "Is it lawful to give Catholics in Marriage to heretics?" asks the Catholic casuist rhetorically "To contract marriage marriage with a heretic or a schismatic" he replies "is to sin mortally".⁶⁸

Richard Southwell's marriages may explain his comparative lack of social progress. First, he had married into a strongly Catholic family;

and this became a disadvantage during Elizabeth's reign. Second, he married into an obscure family the Styles, who probably had Protestant affiliations, since Spelman describes John Styles as a "Parson". Marrying into an influential Protestant family would have meant further prosperity, prestige and influence, and consequent protection from calumny and financial insolvency. This is verified by the example of his nephew Sir Robert Southwell, grandson of Sir Robert, and grand-nephew of Sir Richard Southwell, who married into the strongly Protestant "Howards of Effingham" family. The following incident shows how a socially appropriate marriage could protect one from calumny: One "_____" Bacon wrote to Sir Robert Cecil asking for his support in discrediting Sir Robert Southwell, Richard Southwell's nephew. Cecil wrote back to Bacon on May 23rd 1594:

...I am credibly informed that by some occasion of speech in matters of controversy between Sir Robert Southwell and yourself, you have affirmed that you are sure of me in any matter against him whatesoever. Wherein, though I do think it strange why you should use any such speech of assurance, ... of that gentleman, between whom and you I wish there were more friendship... He is a gentleman with whom in my youngest years I was bred... by seeking any way his discredit, you shall do yourself double injury, both to pull upon you the just might of the house he is matched in [the Effingham house], being as you know in a place of great honour, and to stir one that is too wise to give any the least advantage to any man over him, much less of those whom he holds his enemy...⁶⁹

A potentially depressing, distressing effect Richard Southwell had on his youngest son was the frequency with which he was exposed to assaults of calumny, mainly through his Catholicism. One such detractor, Kenelm Berney, alleged on January 29th 1571/72 that "there is not one more enemy to the Queen and State, that he knows, than Richard Southwell, his bastard cousin ... he is so sotted that to have the mass up, he would spend all he hath; for not long since he was determined to steal over the seas to Mr. Copley his brother-in-law".⁷⁰ Probably in the early 1570's Southwell was still a Catholic, and wanted to join the English Catholic refugees on the

Continent and his brother-in-law Thomas Copley. During the long years in exile, Thomas Copley was reaping the honours and recognition that Richard Southwell coveted. Copley was in Paris in 1577, and was received by the French King Henry III (R.1574-1589); having arrived from Flanders early in November. The English Ambassador to France, Sir Amyas Paulet, writing to Sir Francis Walsingham (1530?-1570) on November 19th 1577 reported that "Mr Copley came to this towne xiiij days past and more."⁷¹ The Ambassador further reported that on xxxth of the 1st (November 30th 1577) Copley was at the Court."⁷²

Copley was received by the French King and the English exiles in a manner that would immediately appeal to Richard Southwell's desire for recognition, honour and advancement "... yt ys given out" Paulet reported to Walsingham on December 9th 1577:

by all the Englishe Papists in this towne, that the said Copley was then created Knight and Baron by the Frenche King, with great thanks for his service.... All the Englishe Papists n this towne relye vppon him as if he were some great personage; all the counsells and consultacions are holden at his lodginge...⁷³

However, in spite of his frequent quarrelings and his suffering attacks of calumny, Richard Southwell was moderately successful politically, though perhaps not as much as he thought he deserved to be. He was at Court and appeared to enjoy the Queen's approval as a moderate Catholic.^{sn75} Mauvissere, the French Ambassador, also described Richard Southwell as a Catholic gentleman at Elizabeth's Court who favoured the French marriage (more on this point below). In the 1580's Richard Southwell was reprimanded by the Privy Council for a relatively minor matter. Again, this incident shows that Richard Southwell still retained a measure of toleration from the Council, who let him ^{off} yet again with a mere rap. The incident also suggests that he was a conforming member of the established Church for him to voice his disapproval of a local clergyman so vociferously.^{sn76} On February 5th 1587 the Council wrote to him - and the parishioners of Horsford - concerning one Robert Wythers', (clerke) entitlements to the vicarage of Horsford. For two years Wythers had been "molested and wronged therein by them, onelie to th' intente for to wearie

him with large expense of suite".⁷⁷ Southwell and the parishioners of Horsham were ordered "to permytt the said Wytheres without any further troubles... quietlie to possesse and enjoy the said viccaridge".⁷⁸

Relative lack of social progress and promotion led to family quarrels. In the late 1580's Richard Southwell was involved in entangled litigation with his brother Thomas. Primogeniture and the need to provide for younger sons' careers and positions, may have led to property disputes. Richard Southwell may well have needed money to maintain his position at Court. A Thomas Southwell - perhaps his brother - had acquired a position in Ireland by 1598 (see below). Richard Southwell's second son, Thomas, sought service abroad with the Duke of Brandenburg (see below). Very probably they all needed property to finance their own separate careers. It is difficult to tell with certainty whether references to "Richard Southwell" in the State Papers refer to the father or son; and whether references to "Thomas Southwell", apply to Richard Southwell's son or brother. Sometimes, however, Thomas Southwell is mentioned as Richard's brother. On May 27th 1588, Richard Southwell was summoned by the Council to Greenwich "to examine a cause between him and his brother Thomas Southwell".⁷⁹ Thomas had complained to the Council about monies owed to him by Richard. Richard Southwell was by this time so deeply in debt that the Council decreed that "... all others his credytours... baylyfes, sargeauntes or other officers, to forbear to arrest, trouble or impeache him of his libertie for ... forty days untill the said cause might be examyned".⁸⁰ By June 14th 1588 the Council were deeply involved in the quarrel. They wrote to John Mathews, esq. to testify in chancery about the "controversie betweene two brethren Richard and Thomas Southwell".⁸¹ Richard, however, was prepared to settle with his brother. The Council wrote on December 26th 1588 to the Southwell creditors - Sir William Paston, Sir John Payton and Sir Edward Clere about a petition submitted by Richard Southwell indicating his willingness to settle his brother's debts, and had "attended upon some good ende to be made... in that behalfe".⁸² He offered either to charge his owne revenues for the payment of these debts, or to se~~l~~ certain lands which Thomas Southwell had bought and then "conveyed to ... Richard... to satisfie the said credytours." The arrangement was, that Paston, Payton and Clere were "to call... all such credytours as... Richard Southwell should nominate... and

to (en)treat with them in their Lordships' names to yeild unto such condicions as the said Richard offreth to performe for their satisfaction". In other words, he requested that his creditors be summoned and be made to listen to the terms he was prepared to make to settle his debts. This request "in their Lordships view seemed verie reasonable and indifferente".⁸³ It appears that the Council did not treat Richard Southwell too harshly. "it is thought fytt" they wrote "that... the credytours might be dealt with... (in such a way that) neither Richard Southwell, his sureties, or anie other whom the said... debte should concerne, might be molested or anie way troubled in followinge the same".⁸⁴ Richard Southwell's financial difficulties and protracted litigation with his brother do not necessarily indicate a weak or plunging position. However, in the late 1580's especially during and after the Armada, it is reasonable to suppose that his standing even as a moderate Catholic was seriously threatened by the virulent popular anti-Catholicism of the Armada years, and his difficulties - hitherto not unduly serious - were now aggravated by the extremely harsh and critical situation. For it was in 1588 that he sold the family home of Horsham St. Faith to Henry Hobert.

Richard Southwell's finances, by the late 1580's, were in a hopeless state of embarrassment, but perhaps in not much more of such a state than many of his contemporaries. He now applied to the Privy Council for relief; an application not unkindly treated since "he did yeild here before at divers Conferences to conformitie and agreement... their Lordships thought good as he sought to them for releefe in his causes".⁸⁵ The Council advised him, however, "to take some honest course... which he ought in equitie and conscience to performe... otherwise their Lordships shalbe driven to thinke of some other course for the suppliantes releefe".⁸⁶

And yet his financial affairs deteriorated, going from bad to worse. On July 6th 1589 the Council wrote to the Justices of Assizes in Norfolk about his mounting debts. He had been in debt to Henry Doyle and "_____ " Townsend to the value of £9000. He was imprisoned in the Fleet as a debtor, and the Council noted that "Southwell remeyned in the Fleet by meanes of Doy.le and Townsend".⁸⁷ There were also financial disagreements between Richard Southwell and his eldest son Richard on the one hand, and

the second son, Thomas on the other. The History of Parliament suggests that unwise and impetuous financial dealings by his son Thomas forced Richard Southwell to mortgage Horsham St. Faith and his other property to Henry Hobert as a way of paying off Thomas's debts. It is suggested that this worthy step earned him the rebuke of his other son, our Robert, who thought that the funds could have been more worthily used to aid and promote Catholicism. This ^{is} possibly a reference to Southwell's Letter to his father which however makes no such suggestion explicitly. The Council wrote on January 23rd 1590/91 that "divers controversies have of long tyme depended betwixt Thomas Southwel and his father, Richard Southwel his brother, and others" and that "al parties are willing to come to some good end and a final agreement we have thought good to referr the hearing and ordering of al matters in controversie betwixt the said parties unto your paines and dilligence (to find out) in whome the default is".⁸⁸ Thus the Council appears to have taken a lenient and sympathetic view of Richard Southwell's financial difficulties. This understanding view was probably based on the realization, by the Council, that Richard Southwell's financial difficulties arose from the improvidence of others - mainly his son and brother - rather than his own. It appears that the son, Thomas, lost all his property into others' custody. The Council received a letter from his creditors on March 7th 1590/91. "...wee doe Praie your Lordships to sequester into indifferent men's custodies all soche landes, leases and other chattells in controversie which shallbe founde... to belonge to the said Thomas Southwell, to th'end that uppon the fynal conclusion eache partie maie have delivered that which of right to him appertaineth".⁸⁹

This protracted litigation had required urgent, high quality legal advice. On September 2nd 1581 Richard Southwell had signed a deed poll by which he granted the well-connected Sir Edward Coke (1522-1634); judge, law-writer and barrister, an annuity of 40 scudi secured on his lands in Norfolk in return for legal advice.⁹⁰ Richard Southwell's connections and legal training seemed inadequate for his mounting financial entanglements. Richard Southwell's financial difficulties very probably arose from his driving urge to establish himself in Court. Although his associations with Elizabeth's Court are vague, a reference is extant which points to his being linked with the small circle of Catholics or Catholic

sympathizers who were tolerated at Court. The French Ambassador, Maurissiere, in a despatch from London dated January 11th 1581 to Henry III, relates how the Earl of Oxford accused Catholics at Court of Conspiracy, and yet, "... though Lord H. Howard, Arundel and Southwell were Catholics in heart, they were yet in high favour with the queen..."⁹¹ Richard Southwell being "in high favour with the queen" probably explains the leniency he had hitherto received from the Council after his involvement in financial and legal difficulties. His being in "high favour", however, is inconsistent with what we know of Richard Southwell's lack of political advancement, and that he did not get - or indeed was not offered, (apart from his being, briefly an M.P. for Gatton) any position in the State. What Mauvissiere meant by "high favour" was probably that the Queen had enough of a tolerant affectionate approval of him as would keep him at her Court and away from excessive harm should he run into difficulties of one form or another. His main drawback was a religious one. Essentially a Catholic albeit an undoubtedly loyal one, he could not be completely acceptable to the Protestant establishment. There are references to his being a "Church Papist"; one who attended Protestant services. Henry More says: "His sympathies lay with the Catholics, but he kept away from Catholic services to serve the times instead. He enjoyed the protection of the law, which was willing enough that all who conformed with the Protestants at their prayers should be left otherwise unmolested".⁹² John Copley (1577-1662) Thomas Copley's son mentions that "when a boy living with my uncle Mr. Southwell, I was sometimes sent to the Protestant Church; but I was not then responsible. From the age of seven I have always been brought up in the Catholic faith": Copley made this statement in 1599 at the age of twenty-two, which means that Richard Southwell was a "Church Papist", or a conforming Protestant at a time between 1577 and 1582, when John Copley would have been up to five years old.⁹³ Church Papistry such as Richard Southwell's was seriously debated in 'The Synod of Southwark' held at St. Mary Ovaries, Southwark, probably in July 1580, and attended by Robert Persons and all the major Catholic priests and laymen in England. The Synod discussed what to do about the Act of Uniformity of 1559 which prohibited the Mass and enforced attendance of Protestant Services on Sundays and festivals. The question was asked "whether a dispensation might not be obtained from the Pope to

permit Catholic attendance". It was decided that such attendance could not be allowed; "that his Holiness... could not be induced to think of any dispensation... so notorious (as) ... going to the Church of the Contrary religion ... to impugn the truth and deface alienate and bring in hatred Christ's Catholic Church." And therefore it was decided "a Catholic cannot without great impiety bind himself to be present at those acts". The Synod decided that "this should be...(the line) which all priests should teach and insinuate into Catholics in all places". Persons first book A Brief discourse contayning certayne Reasons why Catholiques refuse to go to Church (printed before Nov. 6th 1580) was printed at a time when pressure was applied to Catholics to attend Protestant Services, and gave nine reasons why they should not attend. At that time a MS work was circulating among Catholics saying that such attendance was permissible. This work by Dr. Alban Langdale, chaplain to Lord Montague, had already begun to shake some Catholics' determination on not attending Protestant Services. A "Mr Chambers" wrote to Persons that "Mr. D. Langdale that lived with the Lord Montacute and permitted him as was said to have English Service in his house for his servants, though he himself went to Masse".⁹⁴

In 1580 a pamphlet by Alban Langdale entitled A treatist to prove that attendance at the Protestant church was in itself no sin, and therefore might be lawfully submitted to for the purpose of avoiding a persecution so intolerable at present, and threatening to grow so much more so attempted to justify Catholic attendance of Protestant Services. Langdale states that "good menn and martirs in tyme of persecution haue gon amongst Protestants and Idolators and some tymes to their churches and temples without grudg of consence & were not defiled with their woorkes of Protestantism or Idolatry..."⁹⁵

Richard Southwell's "church-papistry" was probably due to a wishful misconception persisting among Catholics that a papal dispensation was extant permitting attendance at Protestant Services. This laxity was severely reprimanded by hard-line Catholics. Henry Garnet An Apology against the Defence of Schism (1593) asks; "But what reason have you... to defend either your faithlesse practice or wicked doctrine of going to y church with heretickes?" Garnet questions the alleged papal dispensation allowing them to do so. "You say that the chiefe Pastour of God's church

hath approved the fact. Hath he approved it? and how I pray you? By dispensation, or definition?", Garnet then points out that going to Protestant Churches "is alwaies exacted in Contempt of Catholike religion". Attending such churches "is so to obey the prince, that God's church and authority may be contemned". Thus, the Pope could not possibly have given dispensation to attend these churches because "he cannot dispense in the breache of his owne lawe, when it is exacted in contempt." Summing up, Garnet warns Catholics that in attending such services "You sinne mortally". These admonitions by Henry Garnet to lapsed Catholics like Richard Southwell probably explain our Robert Southwell's admonishments in his Epistle to his Father to save his soul and desist from sinful practices. (see below). Richard Southwell and other Catholics' attendance of Protestant churches was probably due to rumours deliberately spread by Elizabeth that the Pope had given dispensations for Catholics to do so. Persons was told by the Spanish Ambassador in 1580 that "She (Elizabeth) told a certain gentleman (who could well have been Richard Southwell) that letters had been given to her from the Supreme Pontiff.. that the Pope was willing to approve all the forms of worship in the Church which the Protestants are using today in England if she, in return for this would restore to him the title of Supreme head of the Church". Persons then remarks that "there is often talk of pretended letters of this sort". But Catholic casuistry allowed a certain amount of leniency in attending Protestant Services. Dr. Peter Holmes found a record of a discussion held in the refectory of the English College, Rheims, on June 13th 1578 and continued on January 27th 1579.

This casuist document, whose contents were intended for priests about to embark for the mission, did allow for certain acts of conformity. Catholic men or women of noble rank were allowed to escort the Queen to chapel with the purpose of carrying such items as books or cushions or to bear a sword before her. Allen and Persons in a joint work entitled "Resolutiones quorandum casuum nationis Anglicanae" dating from the early 1580's in which it was ruled that the Church had no right to order its members to risk death or deprivation in order not to break its canon law and that Catholics attending Protestant Churches out of fear "are not heretics, are not excommunicated and might attend mass." The Pope might give a dispensation, not for conformity in general but to allow those

Catholics under pressure and who had to attend heretical services so as not to reveal their Catholicism and be charged with recusancy. Richard Southwell and other Church papists attendance was probably due to these vague references to Papal dispensations allowing attendance of Protestant services and which other Catholics, such as Garnet closely and severely questioned (see above). For the casuists here mentioned that such a papal dispensation was not in fact necessary, and that a Catholic may attend heretical churches even without Papal dispensation to preserve his life or fortune provided it is done infrequently and only when absolutely necessary; and provided that prayers for protection from heretical infection while attending, be offered, should one's Catholicism be felt to have been affected by such attendance, ^{and} a priest should be consulted after the service. A Bodleian MS of Cases of Conscience, dating from the early 1580's allows noblemen to accompany the Queen to church, citing the example of Lord Montague - Richard Southwell's distant relative - who seems to have accompanied Elizabeth to chapel. Richard Southwell's and others' Church papistry was essentially one of frequency of attendance. As Holmes explains: "But while strongly condemning regular attendance at Protestant Churches, this document unequivocally supports occasional conformity". The rationale behind this leniency was that recusancy laws against Catholic worship were already very coercive, and the Catholic community must be maintained through a more flexible attitude towards Protestant religious laws, i.e. "it was more important for them to preserve and augment the numbers of this community through a careful use of laxity than to maintain its absolute merit and complete alienation from Protestant England".

However, all this was in the way of extenuation to reduce the intolerable pressure exerted on Catholics. The official Catholic line was firm and uncompromising. Robert Persons' A Briefe Discourse containing certaine reasons why Catholikes refuse to god to Church (1580) suggests that Church papists like Richard Southwell attended Protestant churches because "they may... in going to churche... shew themselves conformable men to the proceedings of them of the Contrarie religion". Attendance of Protestant churches for such people arose from the desire "for some worldly respect, as for saving their offices dignities, liberties, credits" , Persons gives seven reasons forbidding such

attendance: First, Protestant doctrine is false doctrine and thus "venemous to the bearer"; second, it is a most heinous sin; third, attendance would mean a Catholic denying his religion. Fourth, heretics deny God's priests; fifth, heretics are damned and their lives are "sinne upon sinne"; sixth, attendance for a Catholic would mean dissimulation, which "is treacherie to almighty God, and a very dangerous matter." Seventh, Protestant services are "nought and dishonourable to God; therefore, no man can come to it or heare it, or seeme to allow of it by his presence without great offence to God". Robert Southwell's Epistle to his Father in which he severely reprimanded his father's sinfulness, may have been largely based on Richard Southwell's church papistry which was objected to for such reasons as Persons mentions above.⁹⁶

Richard Southwell's inclinations as a church-papist may have helped his attending Elizabeth's Court. His role in Court took the form of voicing support for Elizabeth's proposed marriage to the French Duke of Anjou. By the end of 1580 the marriage was about to take place, but leading Protestants, like Walsingham, Leicester and Philip Sydney opposed it.⁹⁷ Mauvissiere wrote to Catherine de Medici on November 24th 1577 that Elizabeth was in favour of it and so were English Catholics, who now began to appear at Court. Previously they had looked towards Spain for support, but throughout the summer and autumn of 1578 and till the end of 1580, negotiations for the match were in progress, and Catholics at Court and in Professor Bossy's words, "had hopes of making a substantial improvement in their situation through the marriage, and pressing the Queen to go through with it".⁹⁸ In January 1579 Anjou sent his master of the wardrobe, Jehan Simier, to England where he was feted and honoured and everything was done "to persuade him of Elizabeth's desire for marriage to his master".⁹⁹

However, Catholics at Court were let down by the Earl of Oxford whom they had staunchly supported. Oxford accused them of "conspiring against the state by making profession of their Catholic religion".¹⁰⁰ As a result Elizabeth suddenly recoiled from her Catholic admirers at Court and "put them under arrest. Lord Henry Howard in the hands of the Chancellor; Charles Arundel in the hands of Sir Christopher Hatton captain of the guard, and Mr. Southwell in the hands of Sir Francis Walsingham".¹⁰¹ All three were closely examined on charges made against them by Oxford and

they cleared themselves very well".¹⁰²

Mauvissiere describes Richard Southwell's political inclinations and standing at Court: Though Lord Henry Howard, Arundel and Southwell were Catholics in heart, the Ambassador observed, "they were yet in high favour with the queen, because they and their friends were always partisans of the marriage and of the French alliance".¹⁰³ Richard Southwell was closest to fame and fortune, honour and position, when his enthusiasm for the French marriage corresponded with Elizabeth's own ardour for the match. "The queen appeared as deeply in love (with Anjou) as any school-girl" wrote Mauvissiere.¹⁰⁴

As soon as Anjou's emissary arrived at Court "Entertainments of the most extravagant kind - feasting, dancing, jousting, masques were lavished on the Frenchman": Elizabeth constantly passed little gifts - handkerchiefs, gloves, miniatures, on to Simier to send to Anjou, talking about the marriage incessantly "to anyone who would listen".¹⁰⁵ The marriage, however, was a political, not a romantic one, and previous attempts to solder such an alliance had been made. In March 1571 Catherine de Medicis had made a formal proposal of marriage to Elizabeth for Henry, Duke of Anjou (Charles IX's younger brother), a match that would bind England and France so closely that neither need fear Spain anymore. Elizabeth favoured it. It would be a stinging blow to the Papacy so soon after her excommunication; ruin Mary Stewart's prospects in England, and assure toleration for the Huguenots in France.¹⁰⁶

However, to Catholics at Court the proposed match was not seen in such sinister lights. It was, first and foremost a marriage with a Catholic prince and a most welcome step for Elizabeth's reconciliation to the Catholic Church. Elizabeth, on her part, favoured those Catholics who favoured the French marriage. It was in her interest to keep moderate Catholics like Richard Southwell at hand as useful allies and contacts. Her real enemies were Catholics who supported the militant Guise faction and were implicated in attempts to assassinate her. The Papal Nuncio in Paris, Castelli, wrote to the Cardinal of Como on May 2 1583:

The Dukes of Guise and Maine tell me that they have a plan (maneggio) for killing the Queen of England. One of her household who conceals his Catholicism, hates the Queen... because she has executed one of his relatives ... He was

sent here, and it has been agreed that the Duke of Guise shall give him a bond for 50,000 franks (1 frank = 2 shillings) and that he shall see 50,000 franks deposited with the Archbishop of Glasgow.¹⁰⁷

Elizabeth was prepared to tolerate moderate Catholics like Southwell who, having been closely examined, were found clean of any conspiratorial complicity. But his attendance at Court may have caused Richard Southwell's eventual ruin. As Lawrence Stone points out "Attendance at Court was more than a duty and a pleasure: it was also a necessity". A wide range of gifts and emoluments flowed from the Court. One had to have influence there if one was to survive and prosper. "As fishes are gotten with baytes" Burleigh remarked in 1568 "so ar offices caught with sekying", adding that a man without a friend at Court was like a "hop without a pole".¹⁰⁸

It was thus essential for Richard Southwell to attend Court if he was to clinch a position, and attendance at Court involved much expense in clothing, jewelry, entertainment, gifts etc... A Thomas Southwell had secured a position in Ireland, for which favour he extends fulsome praise to Sir Robert Cecil, to whom he wrote on November 22nd 1598 thanking the Council for the decision to "employ (him) for her Majesty's service in Ireland". We know nothing of this appointment apart from this casual reference to it in the State Papers. Our Robert Southwell's own nephew (son of our Robert's eldest brother Richard and Alice Cornwallis) was also described as "Sir Thomas Sowthwell of Ireland, Knt", and it is not quite clear whether the brother or the nephew thanked Cecil for the appointment.¹⁰⁹ *The appointment could have been secured through the influence of John Dee.* In Summer 1588, while in Trebona Castle, Southern Bohemia, John Dee (1527-1608), Elizabeth's astrologer had a stream of English visitors including "Mr. Thomas Southwell, his friend". In 1598 Thomas Southwell (Richard Southwell's son) visited Dee in his house in Bremen. "From Mr. Southwell Dee had news that Edward Dyer was sent on a mission to Denmark".^{sn110} Frances Yates mentions "that Dee had contacts with nearly everyone of importance in the age".¹¹¹ Dee was a respected and a highly valuable contact to have. He had been commissioned by Robert Dudley in 1558 to name an auspicious day for Elizabeth's coronation and he chose January 14th 1559; his calculations "seem to have impressed the

Queen and all her courtiers".¹¹² Thomas Southwell also had links with Walsingham, to whom he wrote on November 3rd 1589 assuring him of "his devotion to his honour's prosperity and his loyalty to her Majesty wherein none shall excede him" and "Hopes soon to send him some fruits of his jealous love."¹¹³

The Queen's toleration of Richard Southwell and other moderate Catholics at Court was not based only on their support of the French marriages or on personal ties, such as those which bound her to Richard Southwell's wife to whom she was related by blood and with whom she studied Latin. Elizabeth needed moderate Catholics like Southwell at Court as sources of information and as contacts with other Catholics abroad. There is no evidence that Elizabeth used Catholics like the Southwells to collect intelligence. Yet she tolerated and probably encouraged moderate Catholics like Richard Southwell to aspire for advancement at Court. And yet, Catholics working on the Continent like both Thomas Southwells - uncle and brother of our Robert - occasionally served as useful sources of information. Thomas Southwell, Richard Southwell's second eldest son had sought service abroad. On April 13th 1596 Thomas Ferrers wrote to the Queen about Thomas Southwell's association with the Duke of Brandenburg: "I having had lately occasion to write unto Mr. Thomas Southwell, an English gentleman who is with the Duke of Brandenburg and in very great favour." Complying with Ferrers request for information, Thomas Southwell wrote to him (a letter which Ferrers forwarded to the Queen) that the administrator of Saxony, Duke Wymer, is a pensioner of the King of Spain, and has "gathered soldiers for his aid". Other information provided by Thomas Southwell included: "The King of Denmark hath agreed for double tolls to let the Spaniard pass the Sound"; and "The King of Spain is much indebted unto many of the princes and noblemen of Germany".¹¹⁴ Thomas Southwell, his son, continued to serve the Duke of Brandenburg. An undated letter, endorsed in Thomas Phelippes hand in 1600 mentions: "1,000 in gold was sent over three years ago out of Germany by Thomas Southwell, to Thomas Southwell of Moreton, Norfolk, (Richard Southwell's brother) and Thomas Awdeley of Berechurch, Essex, to be employed in apparel and ornaments for the then Marquis's wife of Brandenburg and her daughters, after the English fashion." The outfits were bought, but remained "in the custody of the

above persons unsent for want of direction. as they pretend". As a result, our Richard Southwell's brother Thomas was "imprisoned by the now Marquis of Brandenburg for that matter among others". Philippes mentions that certain lands in England, due to Thomas Southwell, could be used as compensation, for "it would be a great furtherance if satisfaction might be given to the Marquis touching the above apparel etc..."¹¹⁵ Richard Southwell mortgaging Horsham St. Faith to Henry Hobert (see above) may have arisen because of just such unwise financial dealings as Thomas Southwell was engrossed in.

Richard Southwell's eldest son and heir, Richard, having been favoured by primogeniture, probably had depressing effects on his younger brothers. Thomas was to seek his fortune in Germany, and our Robert accompanied his mother in his visits to her relatives in the Southern counties with whom he found hospitality, guidance and affection to compensate for his not being favoured by the rules of inheritance (See Ch. 5). "Male Primogeniture" writes Ralph Houlbrooke "produced a widening gap between the head of the house and his descendants on the one hand and his younger brothers and their descendants on the other".¹¹⁶ Many landowners "did provide generously for younger sons, but such provision depended very much on individual affection and preferences", and not many men "were prepared to endow younger sons on a substantial scale if this could only be done by passing to the eldest an inheritance smaller than that which they had themselves entered upon".¹¹⁷ Primogeniture affected our Robert Southwell in that it "weakened the bonds of kinship and encouraged the flow of younger sons" to other fields¹¹⁸; in Thomas Southwell's case, continental service, and in our Robert Southwell's; closeness to other relatives with whom he sought affinity, and who eventually led him to the Jesuits (See Ch. 5).

Richard Southwell's arduous attempts to carve an even greater name for himself in Court and society than his religious and political circumstances permitted is reflected in his son Robert Southwell's well-known letter addressed to: "The worshipful his very good father Mr. R.S. his dutiful son R.S. wisheth all hapiness" of 1589. In this letter, and by attempting to reconcile his apostate father to the Catholic Church our Southwell sheds extensive light on the character of his father. He shows the essence of Richard Southwell's "Church Papistry"; how he attended

Protestant churches for purposes of worldly advancement. "Although remaining a Catholic at heart", writes Foley following Henry More, "He had neglected his duties, abstaining from the sacraments of the Church". Foley describes Richard Southwell as "a time-server" (who), under cover of the laws (which exempted all those who conformed to the Protestant prayers from proscription)".¹¹⁹

In his Epistle to his father Southwell is very probably referring to his father's futile attempts at worldliness: "To serve the world, you are now unable, and though you were able you have little cause to be willing, seeing that it never gave you but an unhappy welcome, a hurtful entertainment, and now doth abandon you with an unfortunate farewell."¹²⁰ He reproaches his father for his wasteful efforts at temporal advancement. "you have long sowed in a field of flint which could bring you nothing... but a crop of cares and affliction of spirit."¹²¹ "What have you gained" the son asks his dissipated father "by being so long enslaved to the world? What interest have you reaped that can equal your detriment in grace and virtue?"¹²² Southwell is here probably echoing the hard-line Catholic exhortation urging non-attendance of Protestant services (See above).

Richard Southwell died in the Fleet prison in 1600.¹²³ The recovery of the manor of Horsham St. Faith was dated May 5th 1600. ("Thomas Audley esq. & William Robinson gent vs. Leonard Mapes gent, the manor of H. St. F.).¹²⁴ Richard Southwell's will was made on October 17th 1596. He left his wife, Margaret, an annuity of £80 arising out of the manor of Horsham St. Faith, payable bi-annually immediately after his death and till her own death.¹²⁵ (see Ch. 3 - Notes - Appendix I - Richard Southwell's will)

Robert Southwell's Mother - Bridget Copley Southwell

Her date of birth is non-extant. There are no Parish registers available before 1538 and very few before 1588, for Surrey and Sussex.¹²⁶ The Registers of Gatton manor, the Copley property, do not, commence till 1599.¹²⁷ No record of Bridget Copley's birth - or marriage - is available in the College of Arms. But an estimate of her date of birth could be attempted. She was at St. Mary's Abbey, Winchester as a child on May 15th 1536 (28 Hen. VIII) among twenty-six "chylidren of Lords, Knyghtts, and Gentylnen", when the Dissolution Commissioners visited the Abbey.¹²⁸ Thus

she would have been born in the early 1530's or late 1520's. All that is known of her marriage is that she is described as "unmarried in her father's settlement dated 1537 and referred to as "married" in her mother's will dated December 14th 1558.¹²⁹ (See below).

If Bridget Copley was born before 1530 she might have married before 1550. Contemporary research indicates that the marriage age of upper class Sixteenth century English girls was in their early twenties. Among the upper levels of society the marriage age tended to be lower, "as an early and profitable wedding helped secure property".¹³⁰ The mean age of Stratford brides in the 1580's was 20.6 years, and a sample of four London parishes, two rich and two poor, in the period 1580-1659 showed a mean marriage age of 21.3 to 24.7 years; earlier in the century, however the mean appears to have been lower.¹³¹ Ralph Houlbrooke confirms that "evidence so far available suggests that only a very small proportion of the population of Elizabethan England married before the age of twenty".¹³² Thus Bridget Copley's marriage to Richard Southwell would have taken place in the late 1540's or early 1550's. It is not likely that she would have been married by 1546, as John Lowthe mentions that he slept in a parlour "by Mr. Richard Southwell my pupil" which suggests that Richard Southwell was then unmarried.

Some attention had been given to Bridget Copley's education. In the 1530's Erasmian educational ideals were widespread. Erasmus (1466-1536) was preoccupied with the education of girls, especially in his later years. He deplored the pernicious effects of uneducated, frivolous women upon the minds and characteres of small children. New standards of training for motherhood were being demanded. Triviality and indolence were considered the worst enemies of good child rearing. Erasmus's model was based on Thomas More's household in Chelsea.¹³³ Thus Erasmian ideals would have been followed by Catholic families like the Copleys. More's model as seen by Erasmus was one of "home surroundings wholesome and cheerful, yet marked by sober decorum, the mother's wise and unselfish patience guiding rather than repressing the hopes and vitality of youth".¹³⁴ This ideal tallies with what we know of Bridget Southwell's quiet piety, sobriety and love of learning. Generally, children were sent from home at an early age to a noble or episcopal household, and in the case of girls to a neighbouring convent/nunnery.¹³⁵ There, gentry

daughters like Bridget Copley were placed with the lady of a great house "to be reared as in a school of manners, and perhaps to win her help in the crucial business of marriage... for in a world of dependants, independence was a quixotic luxury".¹³⁶ Older county gentry like the Copley, always retained "close links with local houses which had been founded by their forebears".¹³⁷

The Abbey of St. Mary, Winchester, known as "Nunnminster" was situated towards the Eastern part of the city. It was founded either by Alfred the Great or his Queen Ethelswitha, or by both jointly, at the end of the Ninth century.¹³⁸ In 963 Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester appointed one Ethelritha as its abbess, and from then on "this house" says Dugdale "became the resort of many West Saxon ladies of royal or noble parentage."¹³⁹ When Bridget Copley was sent to St. Mary, the abbess was Elizabeth Shelley (elected A.D. 1527).¹⁴⁰ The Shelley family reputedly traced their ancestry back to Alfred the Great, and the Copleys were related to the Shelleys through Sir Roger Copley (1473-1549) - Bridget's father's-marriage to Elizabeth Shelley (d. Dec. 25th 1559). "Through the Shelleys', by her grandmother Alice Shelley nee Belknap, Bridget Copley could claim decent from Alfred the Great..."¹⁴¹

Dame Elizabeth Shelley held the post of Abbess of St. Mary from her election in 1527 till 1539, living in the grand fashion of Pre-Dissolution Abbesses. At the Dissolution she had her own house and staff who included a cook, an under cook, a woman servant, a laundress and a "gentywoman to wait upon her, like any great lady in the world".¹⁴² The twenty-six nuns of St. Mary gathered round them a household of nine women servants, five male chaplains twenty male officers and servants. They boarded and educated twenty-six children, had three "corodiers" and supported thirteen "pore systers". Dame Elizabeth, descending from the wealthy gentry "imparted an unmonastic luxury into their lives".¹⁴³ Dugdale lists the "chyl dren of Lords Knyghtts and Genty lmen brought up yn the sayd monastery" of St. Mary, and the third name on his list is "Brygget Coppeley, dowghter unto Sr Roger Coppeley, knyght".¹⁴⁴

St. Mary's Winchester and Pollesworth Nunnery, Warwickshire appear to have been the two top "girls boarding schools" in England during the 1530's. Pollesworth at the Dissolution had thirty to forty girls described as "genty lmen's children".¹⁴⁵ One of Monasticism's main

contributions to Sixteenth century education was that Nunneries served as high-class girls' boarding schools. Robert Aske, justifying in 1536 his rebellion against the Dissolution said that "in Nunneries their daughters were brought up in virtue".¹⁴⁶ Thomas Fuller in the 1655 edition of his Church History observed that "Nunneries also were good Shee-Schools wherein the girls and maids of the neighbourhood were taught to read and work and some tymes a lyttle Latine was taught them therein. Yea give me leave to say, if such Feminine Foundations has still continued... haply the weaker sex... might be heightened to a higher perfection than hitherto hath been obtained".¹⁴⁷ Between 1270 and 1536, the most prominent and wealthiest of the one hundred thirty eight English Nunneries were South of the Thames.¹⁴⁸ The greatest being the Old Abbeys of Wessex, Shaftesbury, Wilton, Ramsey, Wherwell and St. Mary's Winchester which had an income of £200- 300.¹⁴⁹ Bridget Copley was privileged in being sent to St. Mary's, for admission was difficult and required highly placed references. Even a century before her admission, Bishop William de Wykeham d. (1404) wrote to the Abbess of St. Mary's bidding her admit one Joan Bleden "quest de bone et honeste condition, come nous sumes enformes".¹⁵⁰ Nunneries were essentially aristocratic institutions, the refuge of the gently born.

The main aspect of St. Mary's Nunnery that may have affected the character of Southwell's mother was its air of privilege and exclusiveness. Only the nobles, the gentry and "the Superior rank of burgesses" - the upper and upper-middle classes - sent their daughters to nunneries. No nuns from the lower classes ever seem to have taken the veil. A certain level of education was demanded in a nun before her admission "and the poor man's daughter would have neither the money, the opportunity, nor the leisure to acquire it".¹⁵¹ It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that the effect a convent education had on Southwell's mother which she presumably imparted to her youngest son to whom she was singularly attached, was the equating of religion and piety with class and privilege. The well-born were chosen by God to be devout, pious and learned, and it was their duty to nourish, maintain and develop these divine gifts.

Such feelings of privilege and family attachment was augmented by St. Mary's affluence. It was one of the richest abbeys in the land.

Hampshire Monasteries possessed in 1535 property and incomes valued annually at £6,400 gross and over £5000 net. Their income was estimated as the fifth largest out of a list of twenty-three counties, and their net income the eighth largest, out of thirty-nine counties.¹⁵² St. Mary's covered a five acre site eastwards from the centre of Winchester, "to the northeast of St. Swithin's, and immediately to the east of the New Minster".¹⁵³ The richest house in Hampshire, it was valued by the Suppression Commissioners in May 1536 at £330. 18s. 6¹/₂d. (as "clear yearly value"), the second highest after St. Mary's was Netley Abbey, valued at £181 2s. 8¹/₂d.¹⁵⁴ The Commissioners had a high opinion of St. Mary, and reported that "the seid mostery is in very good astate of repacon (repair)... of a great and large compasse..."; that "the said mostery and religious Psons to be clere oute of dette..."; and "that the said religous Psons haue bene... of very clene, vertuous, honest, and charitable conversacon, order and rule..."¹⁵⁵ However St. Mary's surrender was signed on November 15th 1539 before our Southwell's paternal grand-uncle Sir Robert Southwell and other commissioners and the Abbess was granted a pension of £26.13s. 4d.¹⁵⁶

Thus the probable impression of privilege and prosperity St. Mary left on Southwell's mother would be torn by the harrowing deprivations endured by the Copleys and other recusant families later in Elizabeth's reign. But aside from its air of prosperity and piety, St. Mary's educational accomplishments were questionable. Sixteenth century English nuns - unlike their Saxon predecessors, left no trace of any manuscript copying or illumination as did their German contemporaries, who produced significant mystical writings.¹⁵⁷ As to Nunnery libraries, the Dissolution Commissioners found very few books, mostly connected with Church servics.¹⁵⁸ But, significantly, St. Mary's, out of all other houses, was reported to have had a librarian at a visitaton by a "Dr. Hede in 1501 - "Elia Pitte, the librarian, was also well satisfied with that which was in her charge".¹⁵⁹ In 1517 a translation of St. Benedict's rule was published by Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester for his diocese's nuns "so that... none of them shall... say that she wyste not what she professed", the nuns and Abesses had appealed to him for educational assistance, and Fox had responded to his "ryght dere and well-beloved daughters... the Abasses of the Monastries of Rumsey, Wharwel, Seynt

Maries within the Citie of Winchester".¹⁶⁰

What precisely Bridget Copley had been taught at St. Mary's is not clear. She may have been taught the Lord's prayer; some reading, perhaps some sewing or embroidery. There is no evidence of Latin being taught. The 1526 Curriculum of another school, Childrey, in Berkshire, founded by Sir William Fettiplace, throws some light on the possible subjects Bridget Copley may have been taught at St. Mary's. Childrey school required the priest teaching there to be well-instructed in grammar, to teach the children: the Alphabet; the Lord's prayer in Latin; the Apostles' Creed; "all things necessary for serving at mass"; the "De Profundis"; "Collects for the Departed"; grace for dinner and supper; The Fourteen Articles of Faith, in English; the Ten Commandments; the Seven Deadly Sins; the Seven Sacraments; the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit; The Seven Works of Mercy; the manner of Confession; the good manners and conduct.¹⁶¹

But the Nunnery of St. Mary left Bridget Copley with a craving for learning, especially learning Latin; a craving prompted by its being the scholarly fashion of the age. G.M. Bruto The necessarie, fit, and convenient education of a young Gentlewoman (English Translation 1598. STC-1926-3941) says that "speaking the Latine tongue with a sweet and pleasant stile" is an achievement for a young lady which she should develop, together with speaking her own language properly.¹⁶² William Bercher The Nobyltye of Women (1559. STC 1926-?) cites a list of young women who were a credit to Scholarship. Lady Jane Grey knew Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, Chaldean (?) as well as French and Italian.¹⁶³ Roger Ascham, Elizabeth's tutor, visiting Lady Jane at Bradgate Hall, Leicestershire, in 1550 discovered her there alone, reading Plato's Phaedo in Greek while her family were away hunting.¹⁶⁴ Mary Stuart knew Latin and French. Mary Arundel translated dictes and sayings from Greek and latin. Joanna Lumley translated Greek into Latin.¹⁶⁵ Contemporary writers extolled the marriage prospects of highly educated girls. Sir Thomas Elyot's Defence of Good Women (1540) set in the Third century, shows Zenobia, Queen of the Syrian Kingdom of Palmyra who stayed unmarried till the "advanced" age of twenty.¹⁶⁶ Having devoted her teenage years to the study of moral philosophy, and having acquired proficiency in the Greek, Latin and Egyptian languages, led King Odenatus of Palmyra to ask for her hand.¹⁶⁷ From 1524 till 1640 over fifty women wrote some eighty-

five compositions including sixteen translations of religious works, thirty original non-religious and thirty-six religious compositions.¹⁶⁸ In 1548 John Udall "drew Queen Catherine Parr's attention to 'the great number of noble women at that time in England not only given to the study of humane sciences and strange tongues but also so thoroughly expert in Holy Scriptures that they were able to compare with the best writers'".¹⁶⁹

Bridget Copley, in craving to learn Latin, was partly following the feminine fashions of her time. She was educated during the middle third of the Sixteenth century when there was a vigorous drive for female classical education by Renaissance humanists like Erasmus and Vives. But that was a temporary phenomenon. As Stone points out: "This period when a learned education was given to aristocratic women did not last much longer than forty years, from about 1520 to 1560".¹⁷⁰ This coincided with much of Bridget Copley's life. So marked was this Sixteenth century craze for classical education that it was noted as a curiosity at the end of the next century. In 1694 William Wotton wrote that in the early Sixteenth century learning "was so very modish that the fair sex seemed to believe that Greek and Latin added to their charms; and Plato and Aristotle, untranslated, were frequent ornaments of their closets".¹⁷¹ However, Bridget Copley may have had more sombre reasons for craving to learn Latin. Lady Jane Grey explained to Roger Ascham during his visit to Bradgate Hall in 1550 "that studying with her kind and gentle tutor, John Aylmer, the future Bishop of London, was the only refuge she had from the harshness and physical cruelty of her parents".¹⁷² Bridget Copley may have turned to learning Latin as an escape from the tedium of a house-bound existence. She was favoured in this pursuit by the fashionable quest for knowledge which was part of the educational philosophy of her time. It put before girls a vast curriculum and encouraged them to learn it. The books Vives recommends for a girl include the Gospels; Acts of the Apostles, Old and New Testaments; St. Jerome, St. Cyprian; Augustine, Ambrose, Plato, Cicero, Seneca and "Such others". In this "Plan of Studies for Girls" Vives is emphatic in the demand that the pupil should learn Latin to use it as a medium of conversation, that the writing of Latin should be undertaken as "an active not a passive exercise".¹⁷³ In fact several of Vives' teachings tally perfectly with what has been reasonably supposed of Bridget Copley Southwell's supervision of her

youngest son's education. Vives teaches that if "the mother can (acquire) skill of learning let her teach her little children herselfe ... and that they may love her also the more and learn with better courage and more speed".¹⁷⁴

Bridget Copley Southwell is known historically for only two things: Being Robert Southwell's mother, and being "instructress in Latin to the Princess Elizabeth" which most probably accounted for Elizabeth's toleration and affection for the Southwell family. This claim was first made by the Jesuit historian Henry More who refers to Richard Southwell taking "to wife a lady from the Queen's court who had once tutored Elizabeth in Latin".¹⁷⁵ To have been "Latin instructress to the Princess Elizabeth", herself a proficient Latin scholar, implied that Bridget Southwell was at least equally proficient. Where did she learn her Latin? One source immediately springs to mind - John Lowthe, the heretical yet learned Latin scholar in Sir Richard Southwell, her father-in-law's house. Born Circa 1530 and married circa 1550, Bridget Southwell would have known her husband's tutor for some years. Books, especially Latin works were available in Sir Richard Southwell's library, and were left to Bridget's husband in her father-in-law's will. (See Ch. 2 Appendix I). John Lowthe was resident at Sir Richard Southwell's house in 1546, and presumably throughout the Marian reign. Given the craze for learning Latin mentioned above, the urge for Bridget Southwell to make use of her husband's tutor would have been great; since "To speak nothing but Latin up to seven years of age... was a consummation devoutly to be wished".¹⁷⁶ Lowthe was described by his master Sir Richard Southwell as a "quiett man in my house", and given such comfort and refuge as Lady Jane Grey had in studying with her "kind and gentle" tutor John Aylmer, it could be reasonably assumed that Bridget Southwell avidly sought and benefitted from, studying with her husband's tutor.

While evidence exists linking Bridget Southwell to the Princess Elizabeth through the study of Latin, this - if Henry More is correct - could, in all probability have taken place within a definite period of Elizabeth's life - that of her being placed in the custody of Sir Thomas Pope in the aftermath of the Courtenay affair (See Ch. 2). After her release from Woodstock, Elizabeth was allowed to retire to Hatfield House under the supervision of Sir Thomas Pope.¹⁷⁷ It was during this pleasant

interlude at Hatfield that Elizabeth may have studied Latin with Bridget Southwell. Warton explains that the Queen, her half-sister Mary, had "recommended to her Sir Thomas Pope, as a person with whom the princess was well acquainted, and whose humanity, prudence and other valuable qualifications were all calculated to render her new situation perfectly agreeable".¹⁷⁸ The Princess Elizabeth had leisure at her disposal in agreeable surroundings during her stay at Hatfield. Again, Warton explains:

The four last years of Mary's reign, which the princess Elizabeth passed at Hatfield with Sir Thomas Pope, were by far the most agreeable part of her time, during that turbulent period. ...she was here perfectly at liberty... to prevent suspicion... she abandoned herself entirely to books and amusements. The pleasures of solitude and retirement were now become habitual to her mind.¹⁷⁹

Elizabeth at Hatfield, had turned to scholarly pursuits, especially to Latin studies, partly to while away the time, but more importantly - to be seen as confining herself to a harmless occupation, thereby warding off suspicions. She often expressed interest in Thomas Pope's College recently founded at Oxford - Trinity College. He wrote that Elizabeth "often askyth me about the course I have devysed for my scollers: and that part of myne estatutes respectinge studie I have shewn to her, which she likes well".¹⁸⁰

Elizabeth learnt her Latin from whatever source happened to be available at the time. Some of her tutors were quite obscure. In 1554, when walking in the garden in West Wyckham she asked Sir Henry Bedingfield, who was attending her "if he would make suit to the queen her sister, that she might have one John Picton who had taught her languages in her early days, to wait on her again, as for lack of conference she was likely to lose all she had learned then".¹⁸¹ She also asked him to "apply to Parry her cofferer, for various Latin books, of which he took a list".¹⁸² Bedingfield communicated her requests to the Council. "As touching her request to have John Picton" the Council replied, "we know not the man, and therefore, as yet, can make no answer thereunto".¹⁸³

Sir Henry Bedingfield was a close friend of Sir Richard Southwell. In

his will, Sir Richard referred to Bedingfield as "my Cousin and assured friend" and bequeathed him his harness. (See Ch. 2 Appen. II). It is therefore reasonable to suggest that Bedingfield communicated Elizabeth's desire to study Latin to Sir Richard Southwell, then a senior Marian Privy Councillor who had been directly and deeply involved in interrogating Elizabeth during the Courtenay affair (See Ch. 2). Sir Richard Southwell and Pope were appointed on or about February 11th 1555 to conduct investigations on Elizabeth's alleged complicity with Courteney. (See Ch. 2).

Sir Thomas Pope knew Sir Richard Southwell and thus knew by association of his interest in education; of his tutoring Cromwell's son Gregory, and of the educational opportunities available in the Southwell house in Charterhouse, London. Pope had a stepson, John Basford, son of his third wife, Elizabeth, from a previous marriage. Pope was attached to his stepson who was unhappy as an undergraduate in the newly established Trinity College. Pope wrote to John Basford's Oxford Tutor, Arthur Yeldard on Whit Monday 1558, suggesting as an alternative to his stepson returning to college after holidays, that the boy could "...if he will be content to waight uppon Sr Richard Sowthwell in his chamber, and to lern ther among his Children the Laten tong, the French tonge & to plye at wepons..."¹⁸⁴

It is reasonable to deduce, therefore, that Sir Thomas Pope could either have recommended, that someone well versed in Latin in the Southwell household could attend Elizabeth at Hatfield as a reading companion - Bridget Southwell; or that Elizabeth, should she desire an outing or change of atmosphere, visit the Southwell household at Charterhouse to "lern ther among hys chyl dren". Sir Richard Southwell had a streak of generosity, and Thomas Tusser Five Hundred Points of Good Hysbandrie (1593) describes him as a "most bountiful patron".¹⁸⁵ At his house Elizabeth would find Latin books, and a Latin Scholar to converse with. The library may have included some of the "books of scripture profane stories and other Latin Authors" mentioned in his will. For security reasons, it would have been in Elizabeth's interest to visit Charterhouse when leaving Hatfield. Both Pope and Southwell interrogated her during the Courtenay affair and Wyatts rebellion; both were influential Marian officials, who felt the need to keep Elizabeth under

close but gentle surveillance. This surveillance could not have been better effected than if she were to be under the eyes of Southwell after leaving Pope. Feeling the urgent need to ward off suspicion after the traumatic Wyatt rebellion and Courtenay affair, she could do this most effectively by putting herself in the house of one of Mary's top men. Evidently Elizabeth did not think badly of Sir Richard Southwell, as he mentioned receiving a jug as a New Year's gift from her in 1561. (Ch. 2 Appen. II).

Due to the large set of factors mentioned above, it is very probable that Bridget Copley Southwell and the Princess Elizabeth did get together to read Latin either at the Southwell house at Charterhouse, or at Hatfield. Even if Bridget Southwell was not resident at Charterhouse at the time, she may well have been summoned to attend the Princess. Her father-in-law had a high opinion of her, referring to her affectionately as "My daughter Bridget". He left her all the furniture of Horsham St. Faith and six thousand head of sheep which paid some £840 over seven years and which was to be spent on Bridget's own daughters. (Ch. 2 Appen. II). His opinion of her was high enough to probably make her in his estimation a fit companion for a princess.

The date of Bridget Copley's marriage to Richard Southwell is unknown (See above). Described as "Unm^d in father's sett^t 1537. Marr^d in Mother's Will",¹⁸⁶ the only way to attempt a more precise date for the marriage is to narrow down the unknown time span through examining her mother's will. Her mother, (Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Shelley, Bridget's father's second wife), made her will on December 14th 1558. The codicil to the will, however, is dated July 16th 1559, and both proved on January 9th 1559/60 (P.C.C. 5 Mellershe). The Inquisition Post Mortem was on April 29th 1560. (Chan. 1. 145). The most recent probably date given is that Bridget Copley was married by December 1555.¹⁸⁷

The marriage, like an overwhelming majority of marriages among the propertied gentry was very probably a "collective decision of family and kin, not an individual one".¹⁸⁸ Bridget Copley was not an heiress, and in England up till the Nineteenth century the dowry system was operational. Brides who were not landed heiresses were unable - due to primogeniture - to provide landed property, but were expected to bring a cash sum called a 'portion'.¹⁸⁹ Bridget Copley's portion would have gone to her husband's

father, Sir Richard Southwell who would have used it to marry off one of his own daughters. In return the groom's father guaranteed the bride an annuity called a jointure, if she survived her husband as a widow. Bridget Copley's marriage may thus have involved a transfer of a significant amount of real or personal property from the bride to the groom's family. The marriage would certainly have entailed a search through pedigree and property holdings, as Sixteenth century gentry families like the Copleys and the Southwells were still concerned with "the preservation, increase and transmission through inheritance and marriage of the property and status of the lineage".¹⁹⁰ Property, lineage, authority, and "good lordship" were closely related.¹⁹¹

At her marriage, if Bridget Copley's father was dead, then her brother, Thomas Copley, would have handled the marriage arrangements together with their mother. Her father, Sir Roger Copley, died on September 10th 1549.¹⁹² His will was proved the same year (P.C.C. 38 Popelwell) and the Inquisition Post mortem was dated November 18th 1549 (Chancery 89, 124).¹⁹³ (See above). On the assumption that the marriage took place sometime between 1537 - the date of her father's settlement in which she was mentioned as unmarried - and 1559, the year of her mother's death, then the marriage arrangements would have been conducted with the Southwell family through Thomas Copley as heir to his mother's estate and guardian of his young sister, as well as representative of his mother.

The marriage of Bridget Copley to Richard Southwell was based on a set of common factors that brought the two families together. The Copleys acquired their large property holdings through judicious marriages. Thomas Copley's father and grandfather had, by careful marriages and good business sense (both took up the patrimony of the Mercers Company which they derived from their wool trading forbears) acquired considerable property while linking the family "with men who were to make their mark in Elizabethan England".¹⁹⁴ Both Thomas Copley and Sir Richard Southwell were prominent figures in their separate distinct ways: Sir Richard for his wide ranging political, administrative, military and diplomatic career (see Ch. 2); and Copley for his outstanding eligibility as a son or brother-in-law. (See below). Both the Southwell and Copley families were Catholic, and displayed a certain reforming spirit. This spirit is shown in Southwell's role in the Dissolution and in seeing the decadent aspects

of monasticism, and in Copley's spirit of political versatility. He stood up for Elizabeth in Mary's 1558 Parliament, boldly voicing his "dutiful affection" for the Princess Elizabeth, and his fear that she might be excluded from the succession. His words were seen as a "grievous fault", and on March 5th 1558 he was ordered by the speaker to "absent himself until consultation were had thereof".¹⁹⁵ Conversely, in Elizabeth's reign he announced his re-conversion to Catholicism in 1563, which led to his unlicensed departure overseas in 1569/70.¹⁹⁶ Both Thomas Copley and Sir Richard Southwell were well educated, Southwell attending Lincoln's Inn (See Ch. 2), and Copley admitted to the Inner Temple in November 1547.¹⁹⁷ Thomas Copley, like Sir Richard Southwell who left books to his son in his will, was an avid bibliophile. Copley's library, confiscated by Lord Howard of Effingham after his illicit departure for the Continent was described by Copley's granddaughters as "so fair... that he (Effingham) pleased therewith the universities of England".¹⁹⁸ In his will Copley stated "Item I give all my bookes both in Englande and here (Flanders) to my sonne William, whome as far as I maie I dispose give and dedicate to the s'vice of God in Churche:"¹⁹⁹ As a widely read man and a re-convert to Catholicism, Thomas Copley wrote: Certaine Treaties of the Auncient Holy Fathers, touching the Doctrine of Good Woorkes, etc (1569), which is a supplementary adition to the TREATIE OF IUSTIFICATION of Reginald Pole, and in which Copley sought "to edify his readers and stir their hearts to good works".²⁰⁰ Sir Richard Southwell was also well educated in Latin and French; was tutor to Cromwell's son; Thomas Pope's stepson was directed to his home to learn languages; and his son Richard had a resident tutor at home. Mercantile interests also helped draw the two families together, with especial reference to the wool trade. Sir Richard Southwell owned more than 13,000 head of sheep.²⁰¹ The Copleys were traditionally associated with the Mercer's Company; Copley's grandfather, Sir Roger Copley went to London to seek his fortune in 1456, was admitted to the Mercer's Company and in 1471 was chosen warden.²⁰² His father, also Sir Roger Copley (1473-1549) in turn, took up the patrimony of the Mercer's Company.²⁰³

Genealogies played an important role in Sixteenth century marriages. The Copley's like the Southwells were an ancient family. Through their matrimonial connections with the Shelleys they could boast that their

daughter Bridget could trace her ancestry back to "Alfred the Great, and the Carolingian Kings through her grandmother Alice Shelley nee Belknap." There are references, yet unconfirmed, that "through the Copleys she (Bridget) was a descendant of Alexander, King of Scotland (sic)".²⁰⁴ Other such unconfirmed genealogical connections include: "Bridget's maternal grandfather Judge William Shelley had influence at the Court of Henry VIII... Whilst a collateral ancestor was a famous writer, Robert Grossetete, Bishop of Lincoln (alias Copley)".²⁰⁵ Latin in the Fifteenth century, at the close of the Wars of the Roses a Roger Copley appears at Roughey in Sussex and at Gatton in Surrey, "whose descendants bore the arms of that Yorkshire family which was seated at Batley in the West Riding".²⁰⁶ But it was the reality of contemporary Sixteenth century genealogical connections, rather than any nebulous ones of a remote past that enhanced Bridget Copley's marriage prospects. The Copley family was highly connected matrimonially when her marriage took place. The Copley fortunes were laid by Thomas Copley's grandfather, the first Roger Copley when he married Anne, daughter and co-heir of Thomas Lord Hoo and Hastings K.G. killed at St. Albans in 1455, a magnificent monument to whose memory was erected at Horsham Church.²⁰⁷ Lord Hoo and Hastings owned "large estates at Hoo in Bedfordshire, Knebworth and Herpendon in Hertfordshire, Clopton in Cambridgeshire, Sibthorpe in Oxfordshire, and Roughey in Sussex, besides other estates in the southern and eastern counties, partly the original possessions of the Hoo family, partly acquired by a series of fortunate marriages with heiresses..."²⁰⁸

The Copley connection with the Hoo and Hastings pedigree also connected them, most significantly, with the Boleyn family. The eldest daughter of Lord Hoo and Hastings, Anne, married Sir Geoffrey Boleyn, "citizen and Mercer, Lord Mayor of London in 1457, and was the great grandmother of Anne Boleyn".²⁰⁹ Of Lord Hoo's three daughters by his third wife, the second, also named Anne, married Roger Copley "and carried to him her share of her father's estate, the manor of Roughey; together with other estates in the parish of Horsham, Sussex."²¹⁰ Roger Copley, (b. 1473) eldest son of Sir Roger Copley was also judiciously connected. His daughter Mary, from his first wife, Jane (daughter of Henry Lode of Kingsley, Hants), married Thomas Shelley of Mapledurham, thereby connecting the Copley with the Shelley family. His connection was

augmented by Sir Roger who, becoming a widower at fifty-nine, married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Shelley.²¹¹ The Copleys were also related to the Luttrell family through Thomas Copley's marriage in July 1558 to Catherine Luttrell, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Sir John Luttrell; and to the Gage family, through Margaret Copley (Thomas Copley's Sister) marriage in May 1559 to John Gage of Firle, Sussex."²¹²

As a result of this extensive network of matrimonial connections Thomas Copley acquired extensive property holdings. His mother, Dame Elizabeth Shelley gave in her will dated December 14th 1558, "a large number of legacies to children, grandchildren, and other relatives, friends and servants": As R.C. Christie explained, She "gave her manor of Eyefield, in Norfolk, her manor of Dedham, and her manors and lands in Beddington, Clandon, Gatton, Merstham, and Lee in Surrey, and all other her lands in England to her son Thomas in tail male, with remainder to her daughter Margaret in tail male, with remainder to her daughters Dame Catherine Lane (married to Sir Robert Lane of Horton, Northants) and Bridget Southwell in taile male... and she appointed her son Thomas Copley executor..."²¹³

With all the considerations making for a match between Richard Southwell and Bridget Copley, the financial and property factors were the decisive ones, although they largely accrued through genealogical connections. For example, the important manor of Gatton, came to the Copleys through Sir William Shelley, Bridget's maternal grandfather. How he acquired this manor shows how service to the Crown yields rewards in the form of property; and how transmissions of such properties through marriage are interconnected:- Sir William Shelley was sent by Henry VIII to Wolsey at Esher, to obtain the surrender of York House. "Wolsey demurred, saying that he had no power to alienate the possessions of the Church". Shelley answered "that, having regard to the king's great power, it might better stand with conscience, as he might recompense the church of York with double the value. Shortly after, Shelley obtained a grant from the king of the manor of Gatton, in Surrey, which he is said to have settled on his daughter Elizabeth".²¹⁴

It was Thomas Copley's wealth which largely made his sister Bridget attractive to the Southwells as a daughter-in-law. The marriage if it did involve a transfer of significant amount of property from the bride's to

the groom's family - as Sixteenth century marriages generally did - it would have imposed a weighty economic price on her brother Thomas Copley. In return, however he would be getting "good lordship", i.e. "a reciprocal exchange of patronage, support and hospitality in return for attendance, deference, respect, advice and loyalty".²¹⁵ Whatever economic price the Copleys "paid" for this marriage would have been borne by Thomas Copley's extensive property holdings. The following account of his properties gives a general idea of his wealth both before, during and long after his sister's marriage to Richard Southwell.

He owned Rochester House, London in 1562.²¹⁶ In 1558 Chipsted manor was conveyed by Thomas Matson and Ann his wife to Thomas Copley in mortgage.²¹⁷ The estate of Leigh place was inherited by Thomas Copley through a settlement of 1540 made by his grand-uncle, Edward Shelley on Copley's mother, Elizabeth.²¹⁸ Colley manor, which "lies on a hill North East of Reigate was bought by Thomas Copley in 1566 from Henry, Thirteenth Earl of Arundel."²¹⁹ The messuage of Cockes in Carshalton with two hundred acres of land and two hundred of pasture were inherited by him from his mother who died seised of them.²²⁰ Thomas Copley owned the manor of the maze, London.²²¹ His will provides further information of his vast wealth: "I will and bequeathe to my ...weiff... the Mannours of Merstham and Colly... Beddington and Bandon in ... Surrey... the mannor of Goldwell alias Havenden and Tenderden in Kente... and the Landes called Kings Land in Reygate..."²²² In Thomas Copley's Inquisition Post Mortem after his death on September 25 1584, further properties come to light. Lands in Gatton, in St. Olav's and Battlebridge, Southwark are mentioned. A trust was set up by Sir Roger Copley in May 39 Henry VIII in favour of Thomas Copley, his mother and sisters. Included - aside from properties mentioned above were lands in "Ley, Betchworth, Chaulden, Nutfylde, Charlewoodd, Horley, and the manor of Ospringe, Kent".²²³ Early in Elizabeth's reign he purchased from Sir John Whitt, the manor of Colley in Reigate. On May 26th 1568 "licence was granted to Francis Southwell to alien to Thomas Copley, after the death of Margaret, wife of William Plumbe, who held it for her life, the reversion of the manor of Merstham and 40 messuages, 2 water mills, 2 windmills, 2 dove houses, 40 gardens, 40 orchards, 500 acres of land, 200 acres of pasture, 120 acres of wood, 300 acres of furze and heath, and 16 rent in Merstham, Gatton, Chipstead,

Cowlesdon, Chawldon, Blechingley, Nutfield, Horley, Charlewood and Reigate, and conveyance was accordingly made by bargain and sale dated the 28th December 10th Elizabeth, and enrolled in Chancery".²²⁴ In his will, Copley bequeathed five hundred marks to his daughter Margaret, but later in his will decreed that the sum "shal be bestowed equally amoungest my other twoe daughters for their better preferment".²²⁵

Mercenary considerations loomed very largely in such marriages. Sir Richard Southwell wielded great influence as a Henrican and Marian potentate, and Bridget Copley was thus probably "given" to him as a wife to his son in return for valuable political patronage capable of exerting substantial leverage. The voracious Sir Richard would have seen rich pickings in Copley properties and opportunities for "piling estate upon estate by the judicious choice of brides".²²⁶ If the marriage was a purely arranged one, then Bridget Copley's say in it was minimal. Women, even later in the Sixteenth century, as Stone suggests "did indeed regard their sex role as one of dependence and inferiority".²²⁷ Richard Southwell may also have been dependent on his father as far as his own marriage was concerned. With people like Sir Richard Southwell, the desire was probably always there "to prevent marriage from passing out of family control because of wardship and the financial importance of settlement" which prompted the father to marry his son... during his own lifetime to a woman he had chosen for him".²²⁸ For Richard Southwell as his father's eldest son "freedom of choice was only a little less restricted than it was for daughters". As Stone explains "The son was usually at the mercy of the father since he depended on him for an allowance during the latter's lifetime and for the provision of a jointure for his widow, without either of which marriage was virtually impossible".²²⁹

CHAPTER THREE - SUMMARY AND/OR CONCLUSIONS

Richard Southwell's career with its unfulfilled ambitions, quarrels and litigation had an unsettling and dismaying effect on his son, as is shown in Southwell's "Epistle to his Father". Distress, disappointment and dismay with his father very probably inclined him to his mother, and

evidence shows that he was close to her. His mother's extensive network of family connections in the South would provide those aspects of family life - affection, security, hospitality, religious and educational services - (See Ch. 5) that Southwell felt deprived of due to his father's social, political, and financial difficulties. Being a third son, Southwell suffered all the disadvantages of Sixteenth century primogeniture. We find Richard Southwell - very probably his elder brother - carrying expensive ornaments and large amounts of money. Being the third son of a socially, politically and financially unsuccessful father may well have shown Southwell that his life lies away from his immediate family. Growing close to his mother's rather than his father's relatives paved the way for his Catholic education abroad and eventually to the Jesuits.

CHAPTER FOUR

HORSHAM ST. FAITH - SOUTHWELL'S EARLIEST YEARS

The former Benedictine Priory of Horsham St. Faith, Norfolk, where Southwell was born is situated three to four miles from Norwich.^{sn1} The Priory was built in the Twelfth century in honour of St. Faith. Born at Agen, in Aquitaine at the end of the Third century, St. Faith suffered martyrdom at the age of twelve by being chained to an iron grille and burned to death on October 6th, 287. In the mid Fifth century her remains were deposited by St. Dulcidius, Bishop of Agen in a newly built church at Agen and venerated as a source of miracles. As a child martyr of the first centuries of persecution of Christians, her feast is celebrated on October 6th.² No record of her life, cult or miracles date from before the Eleventh century. Then, the Cluniac monastery in Conques, in Rouergue (a few kilometres north of Rodez) claimed that in 883, one of its monks, Aronside, took the relics of St. Faith from Agen. It was reported "that he was sent from Conques to join the Canons at the shrine of St. Faith in Agen with the intention of stealing the relics".³ St. Faith's relics were inserted in the head of a statue which then became a symbol of her veneration at Conques, and which assumed the entity of a living presence. In land disputes St. Faith was represented at Court. Her statue was brought to church councils "to assist in the proceedings", was carried to disaster zones to help with relief by blessing the afflicted area and was even "carried at the charge to quell a riot in the cloisters".⁴ The statue was guarded night and day and an ex-soldier, Gimon, slept in his armour by it to defend it "against robbers".⁵

St. Faith was keenly venerated by the warring knights of the Rouergue, and her favours to bestow power and free captives were avidly sought. Captives prayed for her intercession in their release and were reported to have had her advice in visions, "and if they escaped thereafter", Sister Benedicta Ward explains "they would bring their fetters to Conques and tell their story".⁶

This is what had happened to Robert Fitzwalter, a Norfolk baron, and Sibila his wife. Returning from a pilgrimage to Rome during Henry I's reign, and on their way through France, they were set upon by robbers and imprisoned till their prayers to God and Saint Faith were answered. Dugdale narrates the whole incident:

In the time of King Henry the First, the sixth yeare of his raigne, that Robert Fitzwalter and Sibill his wife ... purposed them to visit the places of Peter and Paul ... it befell that their pilgrimages so done, as they turned home againe ... it befell upon a day infortune ... they were espied of brigants, and theeves that layne in caves and denns with strength, and waited upon them ... they fell upon them and robbed them and put them in prison, and fettered them with strong irons ... and in the meane time, as they were, they prayed devoutly to God and to the holy virgin Saint Faith to helpe them out of prison; and anon after by a vision Saint Faith appeared unto them and through helpe of God loosed their fetters, and brought them out of prison and theire fetters with them ... and so then the (sic) made a faithfull promise and a voughe to God and to Saint Faith, that as soone as they came into England ... unto their owne manner of Horsford that they should do edify there a monastery in the worship of God and Saint Faith.⁸

Robert and Sibila Fitzwalter, on their return to England, took with them two monks from Conques Abbey, Bernard and Gerald, who began building the Priory at Kirkscroft, near Horsford, but the site was abandoned as unsuitable and work began at Horsham on the monast^ery of Saint Faith. Henry I confirmed the establishment of the monastery to the Abbot of Conques.^{sn9} It was founded to house the standard complement of twelve monks and a prior, to follow the rules of Saint Benedict. From its library a Latin grammar survives - Expositio Remigii Super Focam; folio lb is inscribed "Hic est liber ecclesie sancte Fidis de Horsham".¹⁰

Over the centuries the priory acquired much property, in the form of lands, woods and meadows, thereby eventually making it rich enough to

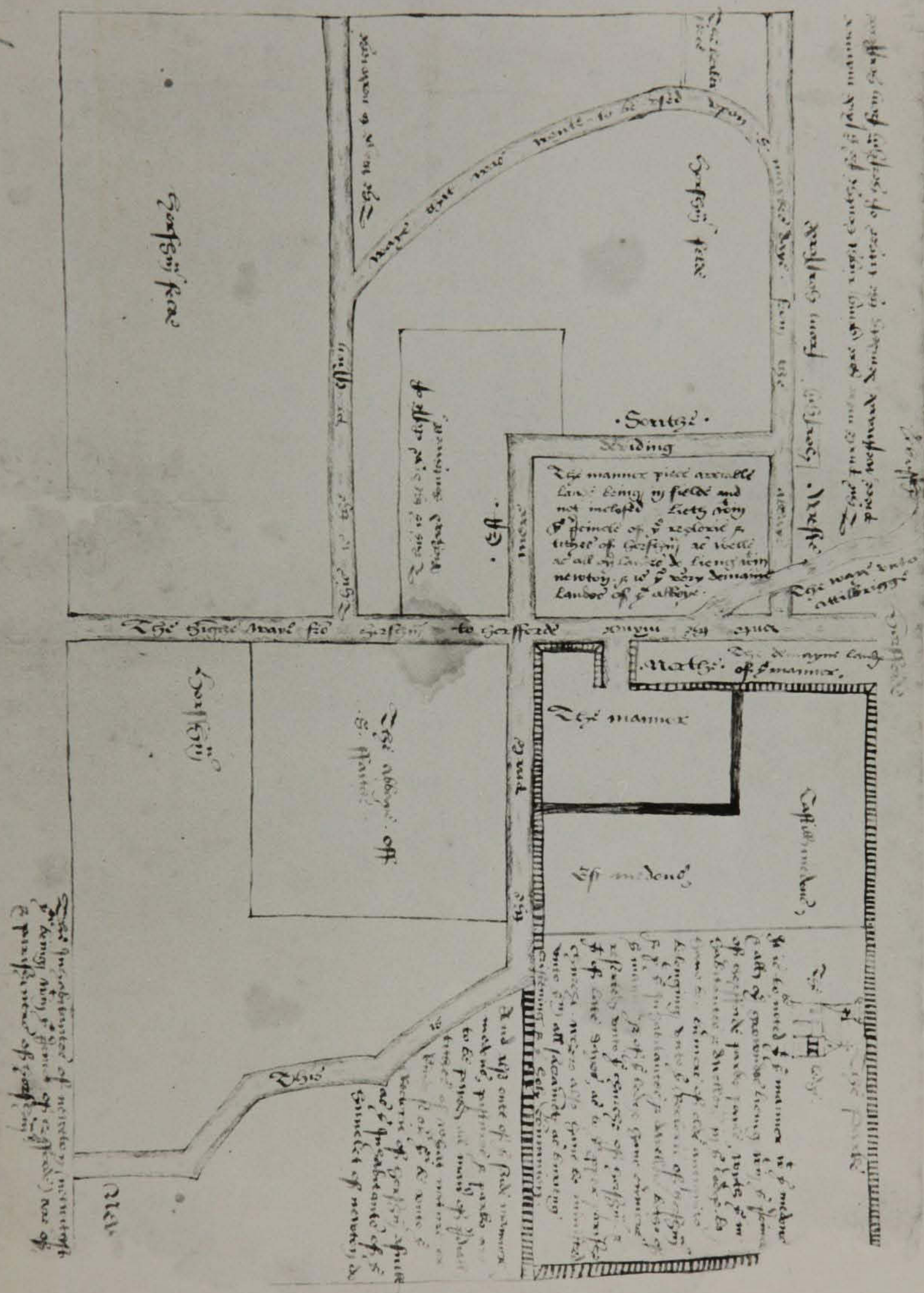


Plate 3 A map of Horsham St. Faith, Norfolk, c. 1550-1560. (The Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington D.C. MS No. X.d.490(21). (Courtesy of Ms. Laetitia Yeandle. MSS Department).

attract the covetous attention of its liquidator, Sir Richard Southwell. Blomefield describes the donations made to the Priory over the centuries: "John, son of Robert, gave by deed sans date 60 acres of land in Horsford, and Horsham, to the said Priory, ... William, son of Robert, confirmed all the donations ... of his father Robert, son of Walter, and Sibilla his mother, in the time of ... King Stephen. Stephen de Cressy ... confirmed the grants by his ancestors, and gave them his wood called ... Suthwod, in Horsham, and pasture for their cattle in his park at Horsford".¹¹

The reason our Southwell was born at Horsham Saint Faith was that it attracted his grandfather's attention through the perseverance with which it was endowed by every generation since its foundation:

"Robert, son of Roger... confirmed also the same, (above) by deed dated at Horsford on the vigil of St. Andrew the apostle, A.D. 1279. William, son of Ralph de Hauville granted by fine, in the 12th Hen. III to ... the Prior the mill of Doketon."¹² Walter de Bernham granted to the monks of Horsham pasture for three hundred sheep on his heathground at Heylesdene in 29th Edward I.¹³ John of Gaunt favoured the Priory with his attention and various improvements were made.¹⁴ In Edward III's reign the Priory suffered financially, paying only £80 in 1338 instead of the £100 the King demanded. In 1390, it was denized, after which its financial affairs appear to have improved.¹⁵ In 14th Richard II the Priory was discharged of its subjugation to Conques Abbey and became an English Priory till the Dissolution. Its last Prior was John Sarisbury "who, with John Attimere and five other monks, resigned this priory to the king, and subscribed to his supremacy Aug. 17th, 1534".¹⁶ On September 1st 37 Henry VIII a royal license was granted whereby Sir Richard Southwell of Woodrising "may assure various manors including Horsham St. Faith to himself and his heirs male, and in default of such heirs to Richard Southwell, gent. alias Richard Darcy ..."¹⁷ (our Southwell's father - see chapter 3). Richard Southwell owned Horsham St Faith until 1588 and then sold it to Sir Henry Hobart, the judge.¹⁸

Horsham St Faith probably imbued Southwell, as a child, with innate solemnity and thoughtfulness. Devlin describes Southwell as a boy, as "perhaps a little lonely and unusually solemn". "Even from my infancy" Southwell wrote to his father late in life "you were wont in merriment to call me Father Robert..."¹⁹ The Priory was lavishly illuminated with wall

paintings of pilgrimage, sacrifice, imprisonment and martyrdom. (See below). One could say that the Priory was imbued with the omnipresent spirit of Saint Faith, always at hand to intervene and intercede to help those who call upon her for assistance, as Benedicta Ward explains:

Saint Faith was endowed by her devotees with capricious power ... she helped her people, "juste and unjuste" ... she (was reported to have) supported for several days on the gallows a man devoted to her, until he was taken down alive and set free (not known where) ... Pilgrims visited her shrine and prayed for her help ... For them she was one of the great saints of heaven who had access to God and could be asked to intercede with him ... The best known miracle of St. Faith was the ... repeated cures of blindness in a local man, Witbert (see below) ... (she was even said to have raised a dead mule) ... She freed captives; she punished her detractors; her sanction controlled the weather, plague, and warfare..."²⁰

It is possible that Southwell, as a small child, had heard these stories and was filled with recognition of the supernatural powers of saints whom he later sought to emulate, an emulation prompted both by such possible tales of the miracles of Saint Faith and by the wall paintings in the former Priory's frater. But Horsham St Faith Priory came into the Southwell family for purely pragmatic and financial reasons. It was chosen by Sir Richard Southwell after the Dissolution as a Norfolk residence for two possible reasons: its wealth and its proximity to Norwich and from there to London. It was probably situated in a wooded copse or small wood. This is shown by Horsham's high wood sales just before the Dissolution; estimated at £20. The second highest wood sales were recorded by Saint Benet's Priory @ £10.19s.4d; followed by Walsingham @ £9.15s.4³/₄d; Norwich Cathedral manors @ £8.6s.8d; Castle Acre @ £5.13s.4d; Westacre @ £4.0.0; West Dereham @ £3.6s.8d; and Bramholm @ £2.13s.11¹/₂d.²¹

Horsham St Faith Priory was one of the richest of the fifty-seven Norfolk houses sequestered at the Dissolution out of a national total of £872.²² Its gross total revenue, being £193.21s.2¹/₂d, was just under the

£ 200 mark, and it was thus due for suppression under the 1536 act. St. Faith's last prior, John Sarisbury, who owed his appointment to Cromwell, wrote to him on November 21st 1535 that the house's "possessions and moveables had been sequestered without just cause through the evil reports of his enemies" and asked for its sequestration to be revoked. The Prior's pleas for intercession had their effects. Through contacts with Cromwell's agents like Sir Richard Southwell, the house was removed from the list of those "due for reforms" at the end of the following September 1536.²³ However, Horsham St. Faith end as a religious house was hastened by reports that monastic houses in Norfolk, panicking at the impending sequestration, were selling off land, property and moveables. early in 1536 it was reported that at Wendling "divers parcelles of londes ys solde to sundry persones ... under covent sale".²⁴ This, however, was quickly stopped. Sir Richard Southwell and Robert Hogan were empowered to deal with all remaining land still in Abbots' hands. Dr. T.H. Swales mentions that in March 1536 Sir Richard Southwell reported to Cromwell that Blackborough, Crabhouse, and Shouldham priories "were making away with all they could at bargain prices", and feared that all their property and goods would soon be dispersed.²⁵ This brought about swift sequestration. The site of Horsham St. Faith with the manor and rectory of Horsham, and the rectory and advowson of Horsford were granted in 1538 to Sir Richard Southwell and Edward Erlington.²⁶ (See illustration - map of Horsham St. Faith). Its net revenue was valued at £162 16s.11¹/₄d, and in 1536 it had four canons and seventeen servants and in 1534 seven monks.²⁷

From his leasing St. Faith Priory in 1538, till he settled the property on his eldest son in 1544, Sir Richard carried out extensive renovations on the former Benedictine Priory, converting it into a residence. "The Priory was originally built of dark pudding stone with levelling courses of knapped (broken) flint and ashlar (square-hewn stone) for jambs (side post of doorway) of doors".²⁸ These are still visible in much of the four walls which form the cloister. "The Priory buildings were laid out around the sides of a cloister about 31 yards square with the church on the south side".²⁹ Its North wall, rebuilt after 1390, was three feet thick "with square hooded windows and buttresses to give a new pattern of bays".³⁰ After the Dissolution the cloister was demolished and the South wall repaired.³¹ The former Priory was converted into a house

"with a first floor, central chimney and stair". It also had a chimney at first floor level and was completely refenestered. "A door was inserted where the lavatorium had been". Sir Richard used brick and re-used ashlar in renovating the former Priory. The windows all had stone surrounds and one with "oak mullions and transoms" survives on the North side. Partitions on the first floor were of "close studding and daub". The doorway between "the dorter and the room above the slype (covered way or passage) was converted into a fireplace, and a fireplace in the attic showed that it was occupied.³²

The house was completely re-tiled. The glazed tiles in one room were of a chequered pattern, set diagonally to the walls, and laid upon a bed of white mortar. Other rooms were tiled in black-and yellow glaze; yellow and-brown; bottle-green; yellow; quarter-circles and round fleur-de-lys.³³ At least part of the house had running water. A lead pipe, discovered during excavations, was assumed to have ran westwards underground from the lavatorium for some twenty-one feet at least.³⁴

The most remarkable aspect of Horsham St. Faith priory was a series of wall paintings on the East Wall of the Refectory Chamber. On the top half of the wall were displayed three large figures of the Crucifixion about sixteen feet high, with the virgin on the right, and St. John on the left, of Christ (see plates 8, 9, 10). On the extreme left, where a door had been put through the wall a female crowned figure was discovered. (See below, and plate 4). On the lower half of that wall, a pictorial representation, a "strip cartoon" of the founding of Horsham St. Faith, was subsequently discovered. (See below and plates 5, 6, 7). They were discovered in 1924 when lightning struck the house and the roof caught fire, which led to the discovery of a large wall painting of the Crucifixion on the upper part of the Refectory Chamber's East Wall.³⁵ Even more remarkable discoveries were made in 1960's during restoration work. As panelling of apparently Jacobean origin was removed the lower part of the same wall revealed, in the words of the Chief Restorer of the Department of the Environment, "a discovery of the utmost importance ... a pictorial history of how the priory came to be founded by Robert ... and his wife Sybilla".³⁶ The story of the founding of Horsham Priory is told in a series of nine pictures, only seven of which survive. The first picture is still hidden in the thickness of the wall. The second was

covered by layers of paint. The third shows travellers surrounded by captors. The fourth shows them imprisoned in a tower with armed guards at the doors. The fifth picture shows them in the chapel of the Castle in which they had been held prisoner, "praying for deliverance". In the sixth we see them back in their cell in the tower with the crowned figure of St. Faith holding the door open for them to escape. The seventh and last painting depicts Robert and Sybilla kneeling before the Abbot of Conques. The next picture, the eighth, is the most attractive, showing the delivered couple sailing away in a ship, with the two monks Bernard and Gerard in the bow. The last one shows the building of the new Priory Church at Horsham.³⁷ (See Plates 4 to 10).

The most significant of these paintings is that of a female crowned figure. In her left hand she holds a book, and in her right a staff or sceptre with a small bird perched on it. As Donovan Purcell observes, the identity of this figure remains uncertain. St. Faith might seem to be a straightforward choice. However, Purcell suggests that all other representations of St. Faith appear with her "depicted with the grille on which she roasted". Following is Purcell's account of the discovery of this female crowned figure and its position on the wall: (see plate 4) "At the South end of the Crucifixion painting (see plates 8, 9, 10) a door has at some time been cut through the wall. Just above this door further cleaning revealed the upper part of a crowned head, and to the side of the door an arm holding either a sword or a sceptre. Below this figure, and overlapping onto the strip cartoon (see above), are the feet of what appears to have been a lion. The rest of the animal is unfortunately missing. At the north end of the same wall it was discovered that the painting continued beyond the junction of this wall and the present north wall, as did the narrative painting below (on Robert & Sybilla). Careful probing into the thickness of this north wall revealed a complete female crowned figure, the head of which is quite exceptionally well preserved. In her left hand she holds a book, and in her right a staff or sceptre on the top of which perches a small bird".³⁸ Purcell suggests the figure depicts St. Margaret, Queen of Scotland, married to the Shakespearean King Malcolm III (1046-1093) and a granddaughter of King Edmund Ironside; and among her children were King David of Scotland and Matilda, wife of Henry I of England.³⁹ Purcell also notes that "the emblems displayed in the



Plate 4 A figure from the lower part of the East Wall of the Refectory of Horsham St. Faith Priory, probably that of St. Margaret of Scotland. (Courtesy of the "National Monuments Record", Ref: BB71/3311. Photograph taken on 4/12/1970).

painting - sceptre and book - correspond with those recorded by Husenbeth as shown on the seal of the Prior of Pluscardine", and that Margaret, Queen of Scotland died in 1093, shortly before the Horsham Priory was built, and was canonised in 1250 "at the beginning of the period which the paintings are ascribed".⁴⁰ Margaret's biographer, Theodoric, Monk of Durham and her confessor, relates how she exerted a benign influence on her illiterate, half-barbarous husband, and the love she inspired in him.⁴¹

Horsham St. Faith, the former Benedictine Priory in which he was born, had a lasting and formative effect on Southwell, such influence was exerted, first, by the wall paintings in the former frater and especially through that of the central crowned figure, possibly that of Queen Margaret of Scotland married to the Shakespearean King Malcolm III (1046-1093) and a grand daughter of King Edmund Ironside. She was widely venerated among the English Catholic refugees on the Continent in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries. As Pierre Janelle pointed out she "must have been one of the topics of the day while Southwell was at the Roman College".⁴² Her relics were removed from Scotland when Mary Stuart's position became difficult. Philip II of Spain acquired what remained of her and King Malcolm's remnants, keeping them at the newly built Church at the Escorial. Janelle suggests that the relics were sent from Scotland while Mary Stuart still enjoyed a certain measure of power, i.e. before her flight to England in 1568. As a result, Janelle deduces, Catholic refugees might have discussed the incident throughout the period between 1578 and 1586 when Southwell was in Rome. St. Margaret's head, kept by a Scottish Benedictine from 1586 to 1597, was then handed to a Scottish Jesuit who brought it to Antwerp and from there was taken to the Scottish College at Douai.⁴³

Pierre Janelle (who could not have known of these paintings) believed that St. Margaret of Scotland perhaps as a result of the initial influence the wall paintings had on Southwell was the subject of certain Latin elegies written by Southwell during his early Roman years and which could not possibly refer to either the Armada or the execution of Mary Stuart. In Elegia VIII Southwell alludes to:

Ortus in occasum Margaris omnis abit...

(In Margaret's setting all rising flees away)



5

Plate 5 A scene from the lower part of the Refectory's Eastwall, showing Robert and Sybilla Fitzwalter surrounded by their captors, all mounted and brandishing their weapons. (Courtesy of the National Monuments Record^m Ref: BB71/3312. Photograph taken on 31/7/1969).



Plate 6 Robert and Sybilla kneeling before the Abbot of Conques, (left). In the centre, the crowned figure of St. Faith is seen holding a door open for their escape. (Courtesy of the "National Monuments Record", Ref: BB71/3313. Photograph taken on 31/7/1969).



Plate 7 Robert and Sybilla on a ship, sailing home (centre). In the ship's bows the cowled figures of two monks, Bernard and Girard, are seen huddled together. Workmen are seen building a church under supervision (right) (National Monuments Record, Ref: BB71/3314.)



Plate 8 The remains of a wall painting of the Crucifixion, discovered in 1924 when the house was struck by lightning and the roof caught fire. The upper part of this painting has disappeared, leaving out the heads of the Virgin, St. John and the upper half of the cross; when the top triangular section of the wall was destroyed either by the 1924 fire or during earlier conversion. (See Donovan Purcell "The Priory of Horsham St. Faith And Its Wallpaintings" Norfolk Archaeology Vol 35, (1973), p. 470). This Crucifixion painting occupied the greater part of the width of the upper east wall of the refectory; the lower part is covered by pictures depicted in plates 4, 5, 6, 7 shown above. The central figure of Christ on the cross extends up into the triangular space formed by the roof; its base being about ten feet above floor level. The figures are about twice life-size, and the crucifix in the centre was originally at least sixteen feet high. (E.W. Tristram "The Wall Painting at Horsham St. Faith, near Norwich" N.A., XXII (1926) pp. 257, 258). Southwell, at Horsham St. Faith, was most probably exposed to this massive painting of religious martyrdom at a very young age. Blood is depicted on the wound in Christ's side and flowing in three streams from the wound in his feet. (National Monument Record, Ref: BB71/3310. Photograph taken on 4/12/1970.)



Plate 9 The figure of the Virgin standing at the right hand side of Christ on the Cross, as depicted in the Crucifixion painting on the upper half of Horsham's Refectory's East Wall. She is clad in a red tunic and green mantle, holding in her right hand a book, with her head resting on her left hand (see Tristram "Wall Painting", N.A., XXII, p. 258.) (National Monuments Record, Ref: BB71/3315. Photograph taken on 31/7/1969.)



Plate 10 The figure of St. John, standing at the left hand side of Christ on the Cross, in the Crucifixion painting in Horsham's Refectory. His hands are clasped over his chest, and holds a book in the hallow of his arm. (Tristram "Wall painting", N.A., XXII, p. 258). (National Monuments Record, Ref: BB71/3316, Photograph taken on 31/7/1969). The effects of this painting of the crucifixion on Southwell may well have been accentuated by the artist's attempts to give it maximum perspective, as it was covered with an ogee pattern.

Elegias VII and VIII are laments for "Margaris" or "Margaretta" expressed by a man "to whom she was very dear" - Theodorics phrase about her attachment to her husband.⁴⁴ Also, St. Margaret of Scotland was a corrector of monastic abuse, an activity which Southwell's grandfather was prominent in and Southwell, in his writings, supported (see ch. 2 - Sir Richard Southwell and monastic abuse). The second chapter in Theodoric's account is entitled "The care taken by Margaret of the honour of the realm and of ecclesiastical discipline: how she corrected abuses".⁴⁵

Another alternative to St. Margaret of Scotland, as subject of the elegies, a less likely one, is Margaret of Denmark who married King James III of Scotland in 1469 at the age of thirteen and died in 1486, two years before her husband. She was known for her virtues and after her death Pope Innocent III was requested to proclaim her a saint. Janelle believes that the question may have been raised again while Southwell was in Rome.⁴⁶

However, it is the general air of saintly intervention to rescue devout pilgrims, and the scenes of majestic and holy figures that probably affected young Southwell more than the historical facts behind each figure. As a sensitive thoughtful child, Southwell may well have felt this animated air of holiness much more than he would have carefully investigated its historical antecedents. The miracles performed by St. Faith were not widely known till early in the Eleventh century. They achieved a literary form between 1013 and 1020, after being investigated by Bernard of Angers, who had heard of St. Faith's miracles and visited the chapel dedicated to her near Chartres. Bernard found the accounts of her miracles "barbarous and superstitious".⁴⁷ He visited Conques three times in an attempt to verify their authenticity. He wrote two books of miracles, drawing his material directly from the shrine "and from the personal witness of the monks and of those cured". Bernard, a precursor of the scholarly hagiographers of the Counter-Reformation closely questioned those who claimed to have benefited from St. Faith's powers. The best known of her powers was her curing a local man, Witbert, of blindness. Witbert still lived at Conques and Bernard interviewed him. Witbert said that "as a youth his guardian had suspected him of adultery with his wife and had blinded him; he attributed his cure to many years of prayer to St. Faith". Witbert lost his eyesight twice and had it restored

through St. Faith's intercession.⁴⁸ Thus, St. Faith's influence would have been accentuated by its verification by a scholar documenting, from living witnesses, the cases in which her miracles had occurred. Southwell's faith in saints' powers was instilled at a very early stage prompting him to emulate their example.

Such was the history, architectural layout, and the artistic representations of pilgrimage, piety and saintly intercession in the house Southwell was born in. Robert Southwell's date of birth was fixed by Pierre Janelle as October 17th 1561. Janelle worked this date out from previous biographies and biographical tracts of Southwell through deduction: Tanner, Societas Jesu militans (p.33 col.2) mentions that Southwell "was no more than twenty five when he departed for England with Fr. Henry Garnet. This was on May 8th 1586". This, Janelle deduces would place his date of birth "no earlier than May 8th 1561". This date tallies with what another biographical source on Southwell - Nathaniel Southwell Catalogus Primorum Patrum (Stonyhurst A IV 3, p.17) - mentions, that Southwell "was about seventeen when admitted into the Society of Jesus on October 17th 1578". He would thus have been born circa October 17th 1561. All the above deductions have been found to be confirmed by Southwell's declaration at his trial on March 3rd 1595, "that he was then about the same age as Christ at his passion". "The point (about Southwell's birth), Janelle concludes, "may therefore be considered as settled".⁴⁹ This is the only source for Southwell's birth. The Horsham Parish registers do not record births before 1620.

The first recorded event in Southwell's life was his being kidnapped as an infant by a gypsy while left unattended by his nurse in his cradle. Henry More narrates the incident:

As a child Robert was extremely beautiful. One day a (gypsy) woman stole him while he was left in his cradle somewhat longer than usual by his nurse, and left her own child in his place. The theft did not long remain hidden. The abductress was caught while begging at a house not far away, and admitted that she had done it for money. The boy was brought back."⁵⁰

This incident verifies to certain extents the probability that he had been influenced by the atmosphere of his birthplace. Henry More explains the effect of this incident on Southwell:

Robert considered this amongst his greatest blessings, and often recalled this divine favour with a lively sense of gratitude ... Eventually, when he became a priest, he would not rest until he found the woman (his nurse) who first discovered the abduction. Recognising in her the instrument of God's mercy, he reconciled her to the Church.⁵¹

More's depiction of Southwell as a beautiful infant may well have been a hagiographical commonplace, a kind of preliminary leading to the kidnapping episode which in itself may have been a form of pious invention concocted by English recusant sources on the Continent according to traditional hagiographical patterns. (See "Introduction," xi, for further details on this point). Hagiographers often portrayed saints as preternaturally beautiful babies. Eustochium Calafato' of Messina (1437-1468) was so lovely that her parents named her "Smaragda" - Emerald. St. Bernard of Siena (1272-1348) was reported to have been a child of remarkable beauty, "with a delicate complexion that blushed at the very hint of blasphemy".⁵² If indeed Southwell was unusually beautiful as an infant, then he may have fulfilled the expectations attached to such comely children as were destined for sainthood. Twentieth century Catholic MS biographies of Southwell, notably the Farm Street MS of J.H. Pollen and Leo Hicks, suggest that his mother was deeply attached to him, her youngest son and that she did all she could to have him educated in faith, piety and learning (see below Ch. 5). If these MS sources, in putting forward such claims, are based on authentic sources that we are not aware of, then Southwell may have fulfilled the expectatons which parents attach to unusually beautiful children whowere thus usually seen as being destined for sainthood. Such parallels are suggested by Professors Weinstein and Bell:-

Parents, usually mothers, encouraged by a sign or by some clue in the child's behaviour to believe that this was a child intended for a religious life, took the decisive

first step: boys were sent to school to learn to read and write Latin; and girls were enrolled in a convent. The future saint obeyed, demonstrating steady and untroubled growth in his spiritual life. For the most part saintly schoolboys were reported as adept at learning, serious to the point of gravity, and attractive to their peers as well as their elders.⁵³

Thus Southwell's probable beauty as a child which motivated the abduction episode may have pointed out to his mother his potentialities for sanctity. The abduction also showed Southwell that he was being saved by providence for eternal salvation. Had he not been rescued he would have been damned. These feelings are expressed vividly by Foley:

The event (the abduction) was to the martyr, in after life, a subject of perpetual gratitude to God. "What", he would exclaim "had I remained with the gipsy? How abject, how void of all knowledge and reverence of God! In what shameful vices, in how great danger of infamy, in how certain danger of an unhappy death and eternal punishment!"⁵⁴

Southwell's horror of his abductress reflects to large extents the "bad publicity" given to gypsies since they entered Western Europe early in the Fifteenth century. They were described as "grete theves specially the wemen". In Switzerland they were described as "... from Egypt, pitiful, black, miserable, ... they stole all they could".⁵⁵ In Paris, they were seen as "very black ... their hair was fuzzled; the women the ugliest that could be seen ... all had their faces covered in wounds (tattoos?) ... the poorest creatures ever seen in France".⁵⁶ The outcry in England against them in the 1520's and 30's was equally great. By 1530, Parliament decreed that "From hensforth no suche Psone be suffred to come within this the Kynge's Realme".⁵⁷ On December 5th 1537 the Bishop of Chester was ordered by Cromwell to hang a group of gypsies - should they refuse to be deported - to protect the King's "poor subiectes (who) be dayly spoyled, robbed and deceyved by them".⁵⁸ Sir John Popham (1531?-1607) the judge who sentenced Southwell to death was reported to have been kidnapped by a

gypsy as an infant.⁵⁹ Southwell's gratitude to his nurse was gratitude for deliverance from the clutches of the alien, the non-conformist, and un-christian - the evil.

Nothing is known about Southwell's nurse. She was very probably his wet nurse. Upper class women usually had their babies suckled by poorer women for a fee.⁶⁰ Sixteenth century wet nurses kept babies at the breast for as long as possible, and Juliet was suckled by her nurse for three years. After weaning, the nurse usually stayed on as nanny during the child's early years, as was probably the case with Southwell. Nurses for upper class Sixteenth century children had to look agreeable, be healthy, speak well, sing pleasantly and be neither a drunk or a glutton. Female breast milk was regarded as possessing magical, mystical qualities, containing the quintessence of the woman, and with it the baby imbibed both the physical appearance and character of his nurse.⁶¹ Southwell may have been exposed to this notion and his urgent quest for his nurse could be seen as a vindication of his belief in the mystical qualities of wet-nurse breast milk.

More probably, Southwell's search for his nurse was based on mere emotional affinity. "A natural affection grew up between the child" writes Ralph Houlbrooke "and the woman who suckled him".⁶² She was possibly a local woman whom his family knew very well and for whom they had a deep affection, since "the gentry commonly entrusted their infants to women living near their country houses, thus making the supervision possible". His attachment to her might reflect the subconscious distress arising from his being removed from her care. In the mid Sixteenth century breast feeding was normally withdrawn in the second year of the infant's life, though withdrawal may take up to three years and it was argued then that the child "might suffer lasting psychological damage when removed from the woman to whom he had become attached during the first year or two of life". Southwell's case, however, reflects the fact that "In some families, the services of wet nurses were remembered with gratitude, sometimes generously rewarded, and they came nearer to being treated like kinsfolk than any other servants".⁶³

The possible feminine influence exerted on Southwell through his nurse may have accentuated his religious perception of the Virgin Mary as a protective maternal figure. It probably also helped him maintain a

matriarchial saintly relationship with the women he was to comfort as priest, such as Ann Dacres, Countess of Arundel (see ch. 9). Devlin suggests that Southwell nurtured strong emotional ties for his mother. Southwell's feelings when leaving England for Douai in 1576 are reflected says Devlin, in Mary's lament for the loss of her child in the Temple. The last lines of the first, and the whole last stanza, run:

If thou be dead, then farewell life for me
And if thou live, why live I not with thee?
And if thou live, how couldst thou leave in woe
Thy mother dear that brought thee first to light?
How couldst thou leave thy mournful parent so,
That for thy weale takes care both day and night?
How couldst thou go some other where to dwell,
And make no stay to bid her once farewell?⁶⁴

The Agrarian Setting of Southwell's earliest years.

Horsham St. Faith lay in a peaceful bucolic setting, flat, quiet and restful. "Swans, woods, mills, fish and home farms" wrote Dr. T.H. Swales, "all bear witness to the predominantly rural side of monastic Norfolk".⁶⁵ This flat, open vulnerability contrasted with the stout, solid impregnability of Norwich city walls a few miles away. Norwich city walls were massive, fearsome and awe-inspiring. Since their construction in 1294 to protect Norwich from rebellious barons, the walls, gates and towers of Norwich were continuously and conscientiously fortified. From 1342 onwards, Manginels capable of discharging huge "gogions" - (stoneballs) - were erected, each with a store of one hundred projectiles. arbalests - huge crossbows - were mounted at regular intervals. The walls were surrounded by a moat. St. Austin's, St. Giles, St. Magdalen's and St. Benet's gates were all lead-reinforced and each was protected by a portcullis.⁶⁶ A tower on the other side of the river was connected to the wall by a chain to prevent ships passing the city without leave. The number of battlements on the city walls as given by Blomefield totalled 1630. Norwich city walls and their fortifications survived intact throughout the reigns of Mary, Elizabeth and James I.⁶⁷ Thus Horsham St. Faith, outside such massive walls, was in an open, and vulnerable position. With the unrest in Norfolk after the Duke of Norfolk's

execution in 1572, the occupants of this isolated residence may well have felt this vulnerability. The effect of such vulnerability on Southwell, while largely conjectural, may sustain further inquiry.

Southwell's Norfolk was a predominantly gentry, manor-owning county, with 1527 manors at the Dissolution, of which the gentry owned 64%. Before the Dissolution the crown owned $41\frac{1}{2}$ manors (approx. $2\frac{3}{4}\%$); the nobility $143\frac{1}{2}$ (approx. $9\frac{1}{2}\%$); the knights and gentry 977 (about 64%); bishops, rectors, vicars, monasteries, guilds and non-academic colleges between them owned 343 (approx. $22\frac{1}{2}\%$). After the Dissolution a large slice of this category was appropriated and redistributed amongst the gentry, thereby increasing their share way above the 64% mark.⁶⁸ Norwich itself had a population which ranged from 12,000 to 17,000 in the 1560's.⁶⁹ The overwhelming majority of the county's population was on the land. Norfolk had "a higher proportion of freeholders than most other English counties".⁷⁰ The Norfolk landscape around Horsham was an agricultural one of mixed farming, while on the South and Southeast wood pasture prevailed.⁷¹ Norwich was a historic centre of Protestantism. It was largely an artisan-based community which depended on the surrounding countryside for raw materials and competed with rural craftsmen. The prosperity of Norwich greatly depended upon a prosperous textile industry being maintained. It was an industry that was widely dispersed throughout East Norfolk where a large number of craftsmen combined cloth manufacture with farming and together with Norwich textile workers depended on the wool growers of Western and Central Norfolk, especially upon the 'wool-brogers' of Mattishall and district who supplied them with wool.⁷²

An Account of the Religious and Political Situation in Norfolk in the 1560's and 1570's

The question of gentry vulnerability to alien, unknown forces becomes prominent after the execution of the Duke of Norfolk on June 2nd 1572. He was the main bastion of stability in Norfolk, who dominated all aspects of life in the county so that nobody could aspire to excessive power and prestige and all "lived within an ordered cosmos in which all change depended on his fiat". Norfolk people like the Southwells regarded themselves as a county community with its own economic, social and political character. Those beyond its borders were foreigners and

strangers.⁷³ The shire was an effective self-contained unit of government capable of satisfying the political aspirations of its members, and it was on this understanding that our Southwell's father was involved in the shire elections. (See Ch. 3 - Richard Southwell and Edward Clere). The Duke presided over and operated this well ordered county machinery. He ruled the county "as if it were his principality".⁷⁴ For an old Norfolk county family like the Southwells such recognition and acceptability within a well-ordered society was a blessing extremely difficult if not impossible to acquire anywhere else. Thus, it could be said that Southwell's family, up to 1572, had led a semblance of a normal life within this well-arranged hierarchical and ordered social and political set-up.

This political and social structure collapsed after the Duke's execution on June 2nd 1572. A drastic change took place in Norfolk society afterwards. The execution was a shattering blow to his subjects. "It is incredible", wrote William Camden, "how dearly the people loved him, whose good will he had gained by a munificence and extraordinary affability suitable to so great a prince": He described the executed Duke as "of an extraordinary good nature, comely personage, and manly presence".⁷⁵ Ballads were composed and sung about him:

O happie theye that quyte their princes soo!
But thus wth me, O wretched man! it frames;
For often well I unrewarded goo,
And for oon evell receyve ten thousand blames.⁷⁶

Aside from being a shattering blow, the execution created a serious power vacuum in Norfolk. No one was powerful enough to fill this vacuum or arrest the clamour and unrest it created. Bishop John Parkhurst of Norwich was incapable of establishing Elizabethan authority in Norfolk as was expected of him. A report reaching the Queen in 1570 said that he had "not been careful in preferryng to offices under [him], of men mete for gravite, lerning and dexterite in government".⁷⁷ Parkhurst showed "reluctance to supervise closely his subordinates, to accept responsibility for their failures, or, when they needed it, to give them proper support".⁷⁸ Parkhurst was a sick man, and from autumn 1571 onwards he was ill practically all the time. Both he and his wife suffered from

gout so constantly that he wrote Latin verses on this illness, sending them in January 1573 to a friend, Josias Simmler (1530-76) of Zurich.⁷⁹

The upshot of Parkhurst's laxity was a proliferation of Puritan influence throughout the Diocese of Norwich. From the 1560's he collated to benefices more Puritans than any other patron. His Puritan proteges included John More (collated to Aldburgh in June 1572); Richard Crick (appointed Parkhurst's chaplain) and Richard Woodes and Edward Reade both of whom he collated to benefices.⁸⁰ Parkhurst's laxity and favouring of Puritans encouraged religious strife. Augustus Jessop, describing the religious geography of Elizabethan Norfolk, speaks of a large pocket of Catholicism in North West Norfolk where the squires "were Catholics almost to a man", and who "had small love for the new order of things and would have welcomed a change to the old regime with something more than equanimity".⁸¹ Puritan influence proliferated in North Norfolk and West Suffolk, where Puritanism was exceptionally strong. And so, as Dr. A.H. Smith observes, "both Catholicism and Puritanism seem to have been strong in the Diocese of Norwich, and by the 1570's zealots on both sides were becoming convinced that 'the state could not longe stand thus and it wold either to papistry or puritanisme'".⁸²

In his first years Southwell would have seen a politically and administratively unstable community racked by religious dissent. He would have experienced a craving for stability in social, political and religious life guaranteed by a solidly formed hierarchical structure. Two years after the Duke's execution religious dissension and unrest was spreading through Norfolk. On February 6th 1574 Parkhurst wrote to a friend in Zurich, Rudolph Gwalter: "Great dissensions have sprung up everywhere, and spring up daily, between protestants and papists. The papists raise [100] crests, and triumph as if they had gained a victory. The protestants lower crests and move on with a downcast countenance. May the Lord give a happy outcome to these turbulent beginnings! Amen. Amen."⁸³ Parkhurst here is indicating Catholic confidence and resurgence, that may have had a confidence-building effect on younger Catholics like Southwell. It provided them with a spring-board for more ambitious religious orientations later in life, such as joining the Jesuits.

This Catholic-Puritan confrontation in Norfolk was not a transient phenomenon but a permanent one which persisted throughout the seventies.

It may thus have shown young Southwell that the battle with heresy is not a quick and easy, but a long, hard, protracted one. The vacuum created by the Duke's removal was filled by a Protestant triumvirate consisting of Bishop Parkhurst, Sir Christopher Heydon and Sir William Butts, and which favoured the Puritans. The pre-eminence of these three men in county politics meant that the Puritans had an added advantage over Catholics.⁸⁴ This triumvirate helped entrench Puritan influence in the county by a careful selection of magistrates. William Heydon, Sir Christopher's son, described as "one of the most hot-headed and militant of the Puritan brethren in North Norfolk" was appointed as J.P. in 1571.⁸⁵ Puritan ascendancy meant Catholic descent. Catholic J.P.'s like Sir Nicholas Le Strange, Chief Seneschal of the Duke of Norfolk, were removed.⁸⁶ Unrest and insecurity were exacerbated by Parkhurst's weak hold. His health was rapidly deteriorating. "No sooner had I begun to be cheerful" he wrote to Rudolph Gwalter on January 20th 1573, "than behold, my familiar executioner the stone suddenly attacked me ... accompanied by a most troublesome fever. Three physicians hastened up ... Many despaired of my health".⁸⁷ He was inundated with a wide range of work. "In England" he wrote to a friend, Hans Wolf, on January 21st 1573 "We bishops are completely overwhelmed, not only with ecclesiastical but also with political affairs and business".⁸⁸

The return of the Marian exiles had vastly increased Protestant influence in Norfolk. The exodus of Marian Protestant refugees from England to the Continent reached a peak by February 1554.⁸⁹ At that time Sir Richard Southwell was at the zenith of his power as Marian Privy councillor and potentate, and the departing refugees may have carried with them into exile impressions of the Southwells as prominent Catholic bastions of the Marian regime. Malevolence towards prominent Catholic families of Mary's reign upon the exiles' return may have been prompted by the sufferings they endured abroad. The Marian exiles suffered much on the Continent. Even the richest of them were unable to acquire adequate accommodation in the crowded walled cities of the Rhine Valley, and were often crammed together, five families to a house.⁹⁰ They suffered "all the evils of over-crowding, from exacerbated tempers to the plague".⁹¹ A prominent friend of theirs, Heinrich Bullinger, complained that the irate restless Englishmen were never satisfied and have always something or

other to complain about".⁹² Parkhurst, a Marian exile himself, wanted Protestantism in England very similar to that of Zurich. "I would want everything to resemble the church of Zurich" he wrote to Rudolf Gwalter (Zwingli's son-in-law and successor to Heinrich Bullinger) on June 30th 1573.⁹³

Much to Catholic dismay and apprehension the returning exiles had brought with them a revolutionary ethos. On the Continent, Calvinism was providing working people with revolutionary dogma. In Lyons, for instance, the printers' journeymen in the 1550's and 1560's were attracted to Calvinism, due to the Calvinist provision for "congregational participation and vernacular liturgy" which satisfied appetites "for belonging to and participating in a meaningful collectivity".⁹⁴ Continental Protestantism considered the quality of religious and moral life an "essential part of the overall health and strength of a city, especially in a plague- and famine - ridden age that still believed deeply in historically displayed providential favor and disfavor".⁹⁵ Consequently, theological questions became important because they affected daily life and "not because they agreed or disagreed with Paul or Augustine".⁹⁶ Protestants, former Marian exiles, were demanding "strong and decisive secular policing of the religious life", since in England, as it was considered on the Protestant Continent, "a religiously 'neutral' magistrate was a dangerous magistrate".⁹⁷ Thus to Catholics heresy may have been seen as taking a frightening, almost totalitarian hold over Norfolk.

Also, the economic situation in Norfolk in the mid 1570's was characterized by shortages and higher prices. "There is over here a very great dearth, not only of corn, but of all things" wrote Parkhurst to Bullinger on February 6th 1574. On June 29th of that year he wrote to Bullinger yet again; "The dearth of all things still continues over here".⁹⁸ Aside from shortages, in Norwich, the domestic situation at Horsham St. Faith's does not appear to have been a prosperous or comfortable one. With the death of the energetic and efficient Sir Richard Southwell, it was likely to have fallen into disrepair. Sir Richard, in his will left his son Richard Southwell a quantity of lead and other building material "to repair his houses at Saint Faith's (see ch. 2 append. II-Sir-Richard Southwell's will); although it is not clear whether

the reference is only to the tenants' houses or to all dwellings including the Southwell family home. Horsham St. Faith was a densely populated residence, judging from the fireplace in the attic. Although Robert Southwell appears to have been born into a "nuclear family" - to use the Twentieth-century term, it is still possible that overcrowding and disrepair would have accentuated a lack of privacy. Such Sixteenth century homes are described by Lawrence Stone as lacking definite family boundaries and "open to support, advice, investigation and interference from outside, from neighbours and from kin, and internal privacy was non-existent".⁹⁹ Richard Southwell's religious career may have played a role in the Southwells moving South from Norfolk. In the early 1570's Richard Southwell was a Catholic, judging from accusations made against him of upholding the Mass and wanting to join his brother-in-law Thomas Copley in exile. (See Ch. 3). Due to this Catholic phase of his religious career, Norfolk in the 1570's may have been incongenial to him and his family. Catholics in exile strongly urged their co-religionists to disobey the authorities should they force them to attend heretical Churches. Henry Garnet An Apology Against the Defence of Schisme (1593) wrote that "although to goe to the Church before with hereticks had not bene (as alwaies it was) an act of religion: now being commanded by the law, as an act of religion (for that is the intent of the law...) it is only a simple act of obedience: but an act of obedience in such matter principally intended, as is the profession of a false religion." Garnet quotes Jerome on obedience; "obey the will of the commauder, but if it be evill: answere him out of the Actes of the Apostles: It behoueth to obey God more then men." Garnet emphasizes that this right to disobey ungodly orders applies to wives and children should husbands and parents choose to give such orders: "This same let vs vnderstand both of seruantes to their maisters, and of wiues to their husbandes, & of children to their parents: that in those things onely they must be subiect to their maisters, husbands, parents, which are not contrary vnto gods commaundementes."¹⁰⁰

Due to all the factors mentioned so far - political, social, religious, economic and domestic, it is reasonable to assume that Bridget Copley Southwell did not feel sufficiently comfortable, safe or settled in Norfolk. She would feel more secure among her own relations in the Southern counties than in her husband's house in a "foreign" county.

Bridget Southwell was far better onnected than her husband. She had an extensive network of relations in Surrey, Sussex and Hampshire (see ch. 5). Her brother Thomas Copley had a circle of possible acquaintances. Before his exile in 1569/70 he attended some nineteen assizes as Justice of the Peace between Februry 17th 1559 and July 8th 1569. On just one of such assizes, that of February 17th 1559 (Southwark 35/1/1) Bridget Southwell's brother would have sat as JP with Sir Nicholas Bacon; William Paulet, Marquis of Winchester; Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel; Anthony Browne, Viscount Montague, Edward Clinton, Lord Clinton; Lord William Howard; Lord Lumley; Sir William Cecil; and Sir Richard Sackville.¹⁰¹ On his last assize before going into exile (Guildford 35/11/5, July 8th 1569) Thomas Copley would have sat with Mathew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury; Sir Nicholas Bacon; William Paulet, (M.^{arquis} of Winchester); William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke; Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel; Anthony Browne, Viscount Montague; Robert Horne, Bishop of Winchester; William Howard, Lord Howard; John Lumley, Lord Lumley; Sir William Cecil, amongst others.¹⁰²

Unlike her husband, Bridget Southwell's brother Thomas Copley in the late 1560's was a wealthy well-connected country gentleman busy with civil duties and county affairs. He signed a letter dated March 19th 1568 with others "Concerning arrangements for executing in the county of Surrey the orders of the cuncil for the suppression of rogues and vagabonds".¹⁰³ Copley in 1569 impetuously left the country for self-exile in Flanders for religious reasons. The Council sent a letter to the sheriffs and justices of Surrey demanding subscription by all to the Act of Uniformity. Copley demurred from subscribing to the Act, insisting on the infallibility of the Church of Rome, and on the impossibility of God "who being truthe it self ... would contrarie to his divine promise, suffer such long and generall error and blindnesse in his churche..."¹⁰⁴ Writing to Sir Henry Weston, Knight, High Sheriff of Surrey and to the "justices of ye peace" on November 23rd 1569, Copley affirmed his unwillingness to submit to the state religion, and that he "cannot yet by any serche fynde suffycient matt' to psuade me wth saif co'science to that w^{ch} is at this present required of me".¹⁰⁵ It was impossible for him to remain in England after that. Early in 1570 he left for the Netherlands where he was soon followed by his wife and children, and his departure was so sudden that he

had to borrow forty pounds for the journey.¹⁰⁶ Shortly after his escape "An Acte Agaynst Fugytives Over the Sea" (13. Eliz c. 3) of 1571 was passed (apparently with Copley very much in mind) which imposed penalties on subjects or denizens leaving the realm without the Queen's licence and not returning within six months after proclamation:

That all and every pson and psons of what Estate, Degree or Condition that be, being the naurall borne Subjectes of or in this Realme of England ... shall passe oute of this Realme ... wthoute and speciall Licence of o^r said Soveraigne Lady ... and shall not returne ... and ... yeelde ... his ... Bodie() to the Custodie and Warde of the Sheryffe of the Countye where such pson ... shall so aryve ... wth in the space of Syxe Monethes next after (this) Pclamation ... shall forfait and lose to our said Soveraigne Ladye the Quene the whole profites of all theyre Manors Landes Tenementes and Hereditamentes during their Lyves...¹⁰⁷

However, the large set of unfavourable political religious social and domestic factors mentioned above must remain conjectural as the cause which prompted Bridget Southwell to leave Norfolk for the Southern Counties. For although her husband appears in Norfolk as a prosperous landowner, politically, he was a nonentity. It was in Surrey, amongst his wife's relatives, that Richard Southwell clinched, briefly, the only recognizable position of his career as an M.P. for Gatton in March 1553, a position he secured due almost entirely to the influence and support of his wife's family. Clinching this post was also aided by his Sussex kinsman (through marriage) Sir Anthony Browne, who as sheriff helped to return Richard Southwell as M.P. for Gatton. Another relation of his wife in the House of Commons was Leonard Dannett, a distant kinsman of Lady Copley. So, by the 1550's before our Robert Southwell was born, his father had struck political roots in the Southern counties due almost exclusively to his wife's connections. Moreover, by the 1570's, Richard Southwell and his wife were residing in the manor of Gatton, having made their home there after Thomas Copley's flight abroad in 1569. The Southwells continued to live in Gatton until they left (not known when),

very probably upon the marriage of Lord Burleigh's son Thomas to Dorothy daughter of Lady Latimer, who wanted to make Gatton her home¹⁰⁸ (see below). Richard Southwell residing at Gatton in the 1570's was probably due to both the adverse conditions in Norfolk mentioned above, and the more favourable openings for political advancement in Surrey as Gatton was a borough capable of returning M.P.'s, while Horsham St. Faith was not.

However, more material as distinct from political aspirations for her husband prompting Bridget Southwell to leave with her youngest children for the Southern counties in the early 1570's was her concern for her brother's properties. After his departure Lord William Howard of Effingham (1509/10-1572), the Lord Chamberlain confiscated the contents of the Copley manor of Gatton, removing, on the testimony of Copley's granddaughters, endless wagon loads of armour and books. Gatton was a very valuable property. Thomas Copley spent more than £2000 re-decorating and furnishing it before his sudden departure for exile in 1569.¹⁰⁹ Thomas Copley had made an enemy of the Lord Chamberlain by rejecting his daughter in marriage in favour of Sir John Luttrell's daughter, (Catherine).¹¹⁰ Lord William Howard was highly favoured by the Queen, "to whom above all other Englishmen" wrote Froude "Elizabeth owed her life and throne".¹¹¹ Froude is referring to the services rendered by Howard to Elizabeth while a prisoner in the Tower in 1555. William Howard is also described as being of an "intrepid" character¹¹², an intrepidity shown in his violent assault on Gatton manor. Aside from motives of retribution for injured pride, Howard wanted Gatton for electoral purposes: "Howard, who already had the patronage of Reigate (borough), and was soon to acquire that of Bletchingly may have had his eye on Gatton as a third borough for which to nominate".¹¹³ In wanting Gatton for electoral purposes he was supported by Lord Burleigh who was described in this context as Howard of Effingham's "electoral partner", as far as Parliamentary nominations for Gatton were concerned. Gatton provided Howard of Effingham with "a welcome opportunity to add to (his) growing electoral patronage ... that would have come to him had his daughter's marriage to Copley taken place".¹¹⁴

Bridget Southwell in leaving Norfolk may well have been greatly distressed that after her brother's hasty departure and the sequestration of Gatton manor by Howard of Effingham, the management of her brother's

de offer with grace (concordly) fly get did only offend me
But here I am I say it and now with the offer (face) of the
hand of feeding the sick with my Samags (and parents)
de of the part of the pleasure & longer into the

Wise by one and one route count

The world of mercy and of love full

Wise Peter seemed to be unprinted

In the holy year (compassion) as the two realms

side, it would make him best that with understanding (of) the

for it from mortal sin open remedy

virtue, which hath found in reb, the rising ^{of} the ^{of} the ^{of} the

to get an end in grace (of) of god) is able to work in man's soul

It is a part of from rising person

The number in last realms hidden lay

at the beginning of the for granted

So quiet melt and resolve in to water

So the fear rising ⁱⁿ the ^{of} the ^{of} the

of Peter upon upon the truth for revealed

the for toward him his side for turned

but quiet upon and into heart's was revealed

The heart or rising word not and with as to be

Wise at the beginning of the for granted

for the ^{of} the ^{of} the ^{of} the

So returns his the grace rising for the left

yet all the for remnant of his left

the one was never more but the for did make

the one was never more but the for did make

and joy upon more heart to his old part

properties was left to his mere servants Thomas Dayley, Humphrey White and Donald Sharples.¹¹⁵ They carried no weight whatever to counter-balance Howard of Effingham. There was no one else who was both close enough to Thomas Copley and with potentialities for tapping connections, other than Bridget Southwell, his sister. In Flanders Thomas Copley was in desperate financial straits. "I have had no pennie of releefe out of Englande sins Maye ws twelve moneth" he wrote pleading with Burleigh on December 27th 1572, "I owe in this towne above 400li". Thomas Copley was related to both the Queen and to Burleigh. Lord Hoo and Hastings' (killed at St. Albans 1455) eldest daughter Ann was the great grandmother of Ann Boleyn, while another daughter, from another wife, also called Anne married (probably in 1472) Roger Copley, our Thomas Copley's direct ancestor.¹¹⁶ His enemies were slandering him maliciously for their profit. He wrote to Elizabeth from Antwerp on December 26th 1572, defending himself against slander, "Your majestie's profite or safetie ... is not that whych moveth them", he appealed, "but the onsatiabie desyre they have to enriche themselves by the spoile of me, who never committe anie offence againste your majestie or my countrie".¹¹⁷

Most of the Copley property was set up in trust by Sir Roger in May 39 Henry VIII in favour of his wife Elizabeth, his son Thomas and his daughters - including Bridget (see Ch. 4 Append. I). Primogeniture automatically considered Thomas Copley the first heir to Gatton and in his absence no one was available to defend the illegally - seized property. Such considerations point to Bridget Southwell doing, in all probability, what she could to save Gatton for her brother. Southwell womenfolk had previously put in appeals to the Queen about manorial disputes. In April 1570, "_____" wrote to William Cecil "touching the delivery of the leases of certain manors to Mrs Southwell";¹¹⁸ the manors concerned are Carbrook, Latymers, and Wodhall in Norfolk. The possibility of Bridget Southwell appealing to the Queen for justice for Gatton is further reinforced by the fact that Gatton was legally in the possession of her brother. "On his marriage to Elizabeth Shelley, Roger Copley settled the manor of Gatton on her, and from his death in 1549 until her own ten years later, it passed to their son Thomas under a settlement of 1539".¹¹⁹ Further evidence proves that

On an inquisition taken on the death of Elizabeth, wife of

Sir Roger Copley of Gatton on the 29th April 1560, it was found that she died seised of this manor (of Gatton) value 70 l. held of the Archbishop of Canterbury in Socage by a rent of 3d ... Sir Thomas Copley died seised of Gatton manor 25 Sept. 26 Elizabeth (1584).¹²⁰

The fact that Thomas Copley died seized of Gatton manor proves that steps had been taken to counter-attack Effingham's assault on it. That Bridget Southwell did appeal for justice concerning Gatton manor and that her request was approved of, which led her South to Surrey with her youngest children, is vindicated progressively by the following sequence of points:

Elizabeth was receptive to the nuance of feeling among her subjects. As Wallace T. MacCaffrey points out "Elizabeth and her minister were as sensitive to every nuance of public feeling, every tremor of discontent, within the limited range of the politically active classes, as any modern democratic government is to the reactions of its electorate". With no standing professional army nor a salaried career civil service, her government rested on a "curiously complex foundation, its maintenance requiring the most assiduous practice of the arts of political persuasion".¹²¹ Allowing Effingham to confiscate Gatton and acquire it for himself would be an unnecessarily cruel act towards a family with whom she was related by blood, with whose daughter she had studied Latin and to the children of whose son - Thomas Copley - she acted as godmother.¹²²

Secondly, evidence shows that Gatton manor was restored, in an unofficial and circuitous way, to the Copley family through Bridget Southwell. This circuitous route was necessary. Thomas Copley was a fugitive. To restore Gatton officially would make nonsense of Elizabeth's law of Fugacy. The only way out was for the Copleys to "have" Gatton through a vague, temporary arrangement; to allow Bridget Southwell to be in possession. This form of propitiation, the ability to conciliate and appease malcontents was a recurrent ploy of Burleigh, and is fully evident in his correspondence with Thomas Copley (see below).

Evidence for a vague arrangement whereby Bridget Southwell was allowed to stay in Gatton comes wholly from Copley's letter to Burleigh of May 18th 1583 from Rouen. It was written on the death of Lady Latimer, widow of Sir John Neville, fourth Baron Latimer whose daughter Dorothy married

Burleigh's eldest son, Thomas. In his letter, Copley mentions that Lady Latimer "had" Gatton at Burleigh's request and after ^{that} Richard and Bridget Southwell had lived there, having been given the "first graunt thereof". Following is the relevant paragraph of this letter:-

"My Lady Latimer at your Lordship's honourable mocon (motion) hadd it (Gatton) with consent of my broother Southwell and my sister (Bridget Southwell) whoo hadd the first graunt thereof and dwelt therein. Her Ladishipp used the matter so honorably as my self was ^{also} well contended with her being thear, for among divers other favors which her Ladyship shewed me, she offred that if at anny time my wife shoolde leeke to repaire home about anny her affaires, her Ladyship wolde leave to her the beste roomes in the house and defray the charges of her and her train so long as she should leeke to remain thear. besides that, her Ladyship so long as she lay thear bought all her woodd and woold not burn one sticke of myn, which shewed in her Ladyship a verie noble and Christian mynde, our Lord reward her for it. Now the house (Gatton) being void again I trust that the right owner's wife, (Catherine, Thomas Copley's wife) one that never offendid and is not abroad but by her Majestie's most gracious licence shall be preferred to the use thereof before any other. If not (whereof I cann come in no doubt) then yet I beseeche your good Lordship it may be retoorned to my sister Southwell her Majestie-s ould servant of neer fortie yeeres continuance, whoo hadd it before and did not leave it to my Lady Latimer but your Lordship's request as I have byn infoormed".¹²³

This suggests that sometime after Effingham's assault on Gatton and while Copley was in exile, Bridget Southwell appealed for justice to save Gatton for her brother, her appeal was granted, and she was allowed to stay in Gatton. Richard Southwell and his wife made their home in Gatton (see above) until the marriage of Burleigh's son Thomas, ^{who} married Dorothy, daughter of Lady Latimer. Then the Southwell's had to leave but were

allowed to return on and off and stay for visits. Copley, in his letter beseeches Burleigh, after Lady Latimer's death, that Gatton be returned to his wife Catherine, and if not, then "to my sister Southwell ... who hadd it before and did not leave it to my Lady Latimer but at your Lordship's request". Catherine Copley had left Gatton to join her husband in exile in 1570 or 1571. She was in London on February 1st 1569. Donald Sharples, the Copley agent, paid 7s.6d. "for horsemeat at the George in Southwark, at my Mistress her coming then to London, and for one horse standing iat Gerates Hall".¹²⁴ It is not clear whether or not she was in London en route to the Continent to join her husband, but it is certain that she had left by 1572, when Sharples "Payd to Mr. Page the post for bringing letters from my Mysteris beyng beyond Seas, to my Lorde of Burley Ld. Treas^r... xxd".¹²⁵ It was sometime between 1569 and 1572 that Bridget Copley would have been in Gatton.

The third point vindicating her sojourn there and/or the accession to her pleas to retain Gatton as her brother's property, was the self-interest Burleigh had in Copley's exile. Burleigh was using Copley's exile to acquire information, and thus had to keep his channels with him open. Too harsh an approach to Copley's property would drive him irretrievably into enemy hands. A gentle gracious approach would encourage more contact through which information could be acquired. This gentle, soothing technique employed by Burleigh is reflected in his letter to Copley of December 28 1574. First, Burleigh begins by acknowledging the ties of kinship that bind him to Copley and how well he thought of him:

Mr. Copley I have of late tyme received a letter from you declaryng the contynynce of your dutye of allegeauce to the Queen's Majesty and this crowne, ... For yourself truly I allwaies before your departure hence had a good opinion of you for your wisdom, verteiw and other good quallities, having never herd yow touched with any spott of dishonesty or disworshipp and I was also the more inclyned to conceave well of yow because I knew yow war of blood and kynred to my wiff so as your children and myne by hir war to be knytt in love and acqueyntance by blood. And in dede as I have good cause to love y wiff well, so

have I allwaies taken comfort in lovyng hir kynred,
shewing to them as I might all good friendshipp...¹²⁶

Burleigh then goes on to assure Copley that he did his very best to defend him against Effingham:

...yet did I at sondry times oppose my self both in counsell and otherwise to my last Lord Howard of Effyngham, whom I fownd many tymes sore bent ageynst yow, and truly upon the knolledg of your first departure out of your natyve contrey, I did affirm to the Queen's majesty that I thought certainly the evill neeghorly usage of my sayd Lord drove you to forsake your countrey...¹²⁷

Burleigh then gets to the point. He wants Copley to help acquire information for him:

The matter is concerning the knollidg that I desyre to have of the authors of certen prynted books both in English and in French dispersed abrode, ageynst the govnmnt of this estate, wherein the authors and compylers spend a gret part of ther labors and bablyngs ageynst my Lord kepar (Nicholas Bacon) and me.¹²⁸

The book Burleigh is referring to here is: First, A treatise of Treasons Against Q. Elizabeth and the Croune of England divided into two partes Whereof the first part answereth certain Treasons pretended, that never were intended: And the Second discoverth greater treasons committed that are by few perceived: Imprinted in the Month of Januarie and in the year of our Lord M.D.LXXII (1572). The book was written to defend Mary Stuart's rights to the throne of England, but, as R.C. Christie explains "it mainly consists of very bitter attacks upon Lord Burleigh and Sir N. Bacon - not, indeed, by name, but by references not to be mistaken". This book, Christie explains "appears to have greatly irritated Lord Burleigh, and forms the subject of a considerable number of letters in 1573, 1574, and 1575", and "Burleigh was most anxious to discover the author of the book, but was entirely unsuccessful".¹²⁹ In his attempts to discover the author, Burleigh asks Copley to be his eyes and ears while in exile; to

find out who wrote such objectionable publications:

... that being in those partes where the most part of our contrey men that be ar persons discontented with this estate and tyme your eares maybe so occoupied with iteration (sic) of lyes there and with sendyg from hence untruthes...¹³⁰

The main significance of this entire letter is that Burleigh is pleading with Copley; protesting his innocence of the charges made in the anonymously published book and sounding as if he was ready to do anything for Copley in return for his cooperation in this matter:-

Nevertheless by this my letter I meane to make proff of your concept and do freely offer unto you hubly to demand by wrytyng of me any maner of thyg in any of those lyeng books, whereof you stand in any doot for my deseuyng and I promiss you that without scruple or offece for your demad or doot I will answer you plainly and directly so as I will gage to you my honesty to be tried thereuppo.¹³¹

A picture thus emerges of Gatton manor and its involved, hectic history in the early 1570's attracting Bridget Copley Southwards probably accompanied by her younger children. Recent biographical works on Southwell point to Bridget Southwell being at Gatton in the early 1570's. Devlin, for one, mentions that "there is evidence that in 1571-2 his mother was living at the Copley house of Gatton so it may be presumed that Robert, aged ten, and his sister May were there with her".¹³² (See Ch. 5 for full details).

CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Southwell's birthplace, Horsham St. Faith in all probability exerted several influences on him. First, the wall paintings in the frater depicting a miracle of St Faith and - probably - St. Margaret of Scotland gave Southwell his first visions of religious heroism. Second, the history of the house, as a former priory dedicated to St. Faith probably imbued him with a precocious solemnity and air of sanctity, as shown in his father calling him, as a small child, "Father Robert". Other factors affecting his character at this early stage were probably, St. Faith's isolated position close to Norwich city walls. Its vulnerability in a lawless and rebellious age may have instilled in Southwell an early craving for security and protection. This craving for security in an insecure age was accentuated by the spread of heresy in Norfolk after the execution of the Duke and the ensuing Catholic - Puritan animosities, fuelled by the weak, ailing and biased Bishop John Parkhurst. These animosities would show the chaos ensuing from the spread of heresy.

Aside from unrest and turbulence in Norfolk and an exposed vulnerable existence in Horsham St. Faith it was mainly the complications arising from Thomas Copley's exile which led to his properties - especially the manor of Gatton - being threatened with confiscation, which led to Bridget Southwell taking her youngest children, including Robert, on frequent visits to her relatives in the south. (See Ch. 5). Primogeniture meant that only Richard Southwell's eldest son - Richard - was well provided for. The younger children including Robert would be left more or less deprived. This was a possible reason why Southwell looked towards his mother's relatives in the South, and explains the motivations of her taking him with her on visits to her relatives - to provide him with prospects of a career largely imposed on him through primogeniture.

CHAPTER FIVE

SOUTHWELL IN THE SOUTHERN COUNTIES - C. 1572-1576

Evidence points to Southwell and his mother and possibly his youngest sister Mary being in the Southern counties of Surrey, Sussex and Hampshire from the early seventies till June 1576, when he left for Douai. The main reasons for Bridget Southwell's departure for Surrey were, very probably, the complications arising from Lord William Howard of Effingham's assaults on Gatton manor after Thomas Copley's exile. That Bridget may have been in Surrey or Sussex in the mid 1570's is shown by Donald Sharples' - the Copley renter (agent) - account book: "1576 Pd the 6 of April for bringing of Letters to Mr. Gage, Mrs. Southwell, and others - xvjd".¹ Biographical accounts of Southwell all accept his being in the three Southern counties in the 1570's: Devlin suggests that Bridget Southwell was in Gatton in 1571-72 "and it may be presumed that Robert, aged ten, and his sister Mary were with her".^{sn2} The most precise date that can be fixed to Bridget Copley's probable residence at Gatton is after 1571. As Katherine C. Dorsey pointed out, "Mrs. Copley (Catherine) joined her husband. This journey took place in 1571, for in 1572 Sharples paid to Mr. page the post, for bringing letters from my mysteres being beyond seas to my Ld. of Burley, Ld. Treasurer, 2d".³

It can thus be taken as likely that young Southwell stayed, on and off, at Gatton or Roughway, or both - in the early to mid 1570's as well as in other estates of the Catholic gentry, his mother's relatives. A modern view suggests that Southwell "spent some of his happiest days" in the Copley manor of Roughway (the modern Roffey Place, three miles on the Crawley Road from Horsham)".⁴ Roughway goes back to pre-conquest times. Ancient records speak of it as a manor surrounded by a moat. It was the home of Sir Roger Copley, Southwell's maternal grandfather.

A small parish two miles North East of Reigate, Gatton is bounded on the North by the manor of Chipstead, on the East by Merstham and on the South by Reigate. The upper part of the parish, on the chalk hills, is more than 700 feet above sea level, and Gatton Park in the V.C.H. is given

as measuring 550 acres, in the centre of the Parish, containing a lake formed by numerous small springs.⁵ Gatton is also described by Manning and Bray:

(Gatton) is situated on and under the range of chalk hills above Reygate, and, though a borough, consists only of a few scattered houses, of which one is a capital mansion called Lower Gatton, and is near th Church. Another capital mansion is called Upper Gatton, and stands on high ground on the side next to Chipstead... Upper Gatton is on the chalk, Lower Gatton is strong ground on a free stone (sic)... The whole Parish contains about 1500 acres... (it) was well known to the Romans whose coins and other remains of antiquity have been found in considerable quantities".⁶

Devlin, however, suggests that it was "from the Copley home at Roughway in West Sussex" that Southwell "would have been introduced to a wide semi-circle of his mother's kinsfolk that stretched along the South Downs to the fringes of the New Forest". He enumerates Southwell's relatives in this area as "Shelley of Michelgrove and Shelley of Petersfield, Gages of West Firle and Gage of Bentley, Cotton of Warblington and many other allied families, who were soon to prove a most formidable rampart of recusant Catholicism".⁷ His movements within the three counties of Surrey, Sussex and Hampshire contributed to the formation of Southwell's character, personality and beliefs. The estates of his mother's relatives scattered over three counties, provided patronage, hospitality, education, religious instruction and ritual, and protection from harassment by the authorities. They implanted in Southwell what he saw as the virtues of Catholicism as represented by the English Catholic gentry.

Southwell's mobility between these recusant estates was facilitated by the existence of Roman roads which made "riding up and down" as the then contemporary phrase went, easier. Gatton itself was linked through Merstham Down to Caterham, through the North Downs Trackway in Surrey.⁸ A Roman road (not far from Caterham) connected London with the Southern Sussex town of Lewes.⁹ Thus a short hike from Caterham would bring one to this North-South roadway leading to Lewes. Lewes was connected to Firle,

the Gage estate of Southwell's relatives by a Roman road described as "a buried metalled roadway or ford, 30ft. wide". This road meets another Roman road proceeding from the Downs in a north-easterly direction. It was a well used thoroughfare, described in a charter of 1252 as "the old road".¹⁰ Conversely, from Firle this road proceeded in a westerly direction across the Downs. In west Sussex, Stane Street linked the Downs to Chichester.¹¹ From Chichester a Roman road ran up to Milland, and Iping Common, South of Milland is only about two or three miles west of Midhurst, seat of the Montagues, Southwell's relatives.¹²

Aside from Roman roads, Southwell may have rambled to his relatives' houses over even more ancient trails, such as the North Downs trackway. This trail falls into six sections in Surrey, the third of which - Dorking (Box Hill) to Colley Hill - which runs into the main London-Reigate road, crosses it, and proceeds till it reaches the entrance to Gatton Park.¹³ At the top of Reigate Hill, the Ridgeway and terrace-way meet "to pursue a joint passage through Gatton Park, "...tradition is insistent" writes the Rev. H.W.R. Lillie "that the way through Gatton Park is very ancient".¹⁴ Along such trackways one is free to wander and have alternative paths all such variations are frequently part of the trackway.

Although the 13,000 - 16,000 km of Roman roads built by A.D. 150 had not been systematically maintained, many remained in use, "providing a basic network".¹⁵ Four centuries ago such roads would have been far more visible and usable, providing Southwell with a communication network connecting the manorial estates of his relatives. Some Roman roads were dead straight (see Plate 13), thus cutting travelling time down to a minimum. Thus, the Southern counties of Surrey and Sussex - and Hampshire - as a unit - could be viewed as Southwell's domicile, rather than any single house or estate such as Gatton or Roughway, Firle or Cawdray.

A General Survey of the Geographic, Economic, Religious and Social Situation of Surrey and Sussex C. 1572-1576

The Southern counties in the 1570's were attractively described by Sixteenth Century writers. Camden describes Surrey as "of no great extent, but very rich".¹⁶ The Holmesdale valley was "diversified with woods, corn fields and meadows ... (with) parks well-stocked with deer, and rivers with fish".¹⁷ The river Mole wound its way close to Stane



Plate 13 Stane Street (15) North of Slindon, West Sussex. This Roman road is dead straight, and described as well-raised and used as a bridle road. In the distance the road continues towards Chichester. (Copyright: Aerofilms, Ltd.) See Richard W. Bagshawe Roman Roads, (Shire Archaeology Series, Aylesbury, 1985), Plate 10. It is very probable that Southwell used such dead-straight roads when he visited his mother's relatives in Surrey, Sussex and Hampshire.

Street not far from the Copley manor of Gatton; hence, the probable source of its name "Gatetun" - the town on the Road.^{sn18}

"South of Surrey" wrote Camden "lies Sussex ... that part of the county which lies on the sea consists of high green hills, called Downes, ... whose soil is a rich chalk and produces plenty of corn. The midland part is beautifully diversified with meads, pastures, cornfields and woods. The hithermost and north part is most pleasantly covered with woods".¹⁹

The South Downs were an extensively farmed region, with "no waste, unimproved heath or scrub". The Sussex Wealds lay to the North and East of the Downs and stretched to the borders of Surrey and Kent. Daniel Defoe, writing many decades after Southwell's sojourn in Sussex, found the weald "almost all over-run with timber never to be destroy'd, but by a general conflagration, and able at this time to supply timber to rebuild all the royal navies in Europe".²⁰ The Downland region in which several of Southwell's relatives lived (see below) "had been closely studded in the early medieval periods with nucleated settlements sited in small, compact manors and parishes. Isolated farms existed, some of great antiquity, others resulting from the amalgamation of small family farms which formerly constituted a hamlet": The Wealdon region inherited from medieval times "a distinctive landscape of isolated farmsteads and hamlets set amid a tangle of small, hedged fields, shaws, woodland, streams and uncultivated heath".²¹

Normally, Sixteenth century Sussex was a thriving county. Its hinterland was serviced by busy ports. Brighton tapped the Downland region, Hastings and Rye the Wealdon hinterland. Wheat, barley and malt from the Downlands were exported through Lewes and Brighton to the other Sussex ports of Rye and Hastings and from there to London, North Eastern Europe and, occasionally, to the Mediterranean. Rye paid local dues in Elizabeth's region "on the export of large timber, woodfuel, planks, logs, laths, posts, rails, arrowtimber, spokes, mats, coopers' boards and whipstocks"; Lewes, Hastings and Rye exported Wealdon wrought-iron, cast iron pots, pans, anvils, anchors, plates, bolts, weights and kettles. Lewes and Rye received imports from France and the Netherlands which included "salt... prunes, vinegar, wine, fish, spices, dried fruit, textiles, glass, paper, coarse canvas and Baltic naval stores".²² "Good

road links with London from Rye and Hastings allowed fresh seafood to be transported to the capital and the royal household within 24 hours".²³ A reprimand was delivered to Rye Corporation on May 26th 1594 by Sir Francis Knollys (1514?-1596) treasurer of the Royal Household at Greenwich Palace "that all the fisherman doe from hencefourth keepe their markettes within one hower after their boates shall returne from sea".²⁴

However, when Southwell was in the Southern counties, Sussex was in deep economic recession. Hardship was aggravated by large-scale immigration of impoverished Protestant refugees from France and the Netherlands, fleeing persecution and religious wars. The recession was caused largely by port and harbour deterioration and decline. Earlier in the Sixteenth century Rye's outer harbour, the Camber, consisted of a large lagoon, easily accessible and capable of receiving up to three-hundred ships; and was the only haven between Portsmouth and the Thames. But by 1590 silting had so affected the harbour that a pilot was appointed to guide ships into an anchorage.²⁵ Silting had been caused by the iron-working gentry, who depleted large areas of timber, which led to soil erosion and then, harbour silting.²⁶ Silting not only affected maritime trade but also the fishing industry. In the 1550's about forty boats sailed from Sussex to Scarborough and Yarmouth, but by 1600-1621 the Yarmouth fleet fell to between fourteen and eighteen boats, and the Scarborough fleet numbered less than ten.²⁷ Sussex's long coastline was subjected to a "persistent eastward drift of shingle which choked river outfalls and overwhelmed quays".²⁸ Camden wrote that "the South-west wind doth tyrannize thereon, casting up beach infinitely".²⁹ The coastal communities, depending on fishing and maritime trade have always provided the dynamic element in Wealdon urban history.³⁰ Maritime prosperity was always precarious being "at the mercy of a shifting coastline and silting estuaries".³¹ The sea fishing industry was labour intensive, and port decline affected entire communities. Fall in fishermen's purchasing power led to a decline in retail trade and a fall in the import of grain, wine and groceries.³²

The recession was aggravated by a large-scale influx of penniless refugees from war-torn France and the Netherlands. On February 15th 1574 Rye Assmby was convened at the Court Hall. It drafted a document expressing its grave concern over this tide of illegal immigration.

Passengers disembarking at Rye after voyages from the Continent, it was decreed, "Shuld (not) bringe or cause to be brought any manner of person or persons whosoever, onles they be marchantes, gentlemen, common postes or messangers and suche leike, of any of the Frenche or Flemishe nation".³³ The mayor and commoners were voicing their outrage against returning passengers who "have brought over great nombers of the Frenche being very poore people, both men, wemen and children, to the great crye and greiff of the inhabitantes of Rye and other places about the same".³⁴

The Religious and Administrative Situation in Sussex

Bishops during the early part of Elizabeth's reign, found difficulties in administering Sussex ecclesiastically. Because social and religious conservatism were strong, it was conceded that social stability should be given primacy over the enforcement of religious uniformity. The transfer of social power from the Catholic nobility and gentry to the new Protestant aristocracy was to be "accomplished in stages and spread over twenty-five years".³⁵ The full weight of the Reformation in Sussex was not felt till the episcopate of Richard Curteys (Episc. 1570-1582), Bishop of Chichester.

Bishop Curteys faced an uphill task in his efforts to impose the Elizabethan religious settlement on Sussex. Gentry self-interest and clannishness made influence difficult to exert. He was not given the respect that was his due. Elizabethan bishops were regarded by influential gentry as little more than "ecclesiastical justices of the peace", and the Episcopal courts of Chichester diocese "could command neither sanction nor respect".³⁶ And yet, Curteys did make an impact on gentry-dominated Sussex. Even before his appointment as Bishop of Chichester he was known as a rigorous enforcer of the Queen's ecclesiastical directives. While on the staff of St. John's College, Cambridge, he reported with satisfaction on December 17th 1565 that nearly all tutors and students had conformed in wearing the surplice "pursuant to the Queen's injunctions".³⁷ He was strongly recommended to the Queen by Archbishop Mathew Parker as an honest learned man. Curteys became chaplain to both Archbishop Parker and the Queen, and in recommending his appointment after the death of Bishop Barlow of Chichester in August 1568, Parker wrote to the Queen: "the choice is not great elsewhere, and, he

being an honest learned man, I would trust that he should well supply it to Gods honour and to the Queen's contentation. He is now but a poor man, and wanteth living; his age is competent".³⁸

As Bishop of Chichester, Curteys was a militant and assiduous preacher:

First, over and beside his ordinary preaching upon Sondays and Holidays, he hath gone three times through this whole diocese of Chichester, preaching himselfe at the greatest towns ... And so, within these six yeares, he hath brought into this diocese... twenty preachers, which be well able to preache in any learned audiance in this realme ... He hath travelled in the suppressing of Machevils, Papistes, Libertines, Atheists, and such other erroneus persons ... for the which good deeds ... most bitter and bad speeches are throwne out agaynst him: yea, and certaine hyred and suborned to go from nobleman to nobleman, from justiciaries to justiciaries, from common table to common table ... from place and person to place and person to carry such tales and surmises...³⁹

Southwell would have been in Sussex when Curteys was Bishop of Chichester, and may thus have felt the heretical Bishop's ways in destroying true religion. As a strict ecclesiastical administrator, Curteys persistently endeavoured to enforce regular attendance at Parish churches. All householders, their children, servants and apprentices, were expected at Church on Sundays and Holy days, "under payne of a statutory fyne" should they fail to do so. Strict rules of behaviour were enforced in church... Worship was not to be disturbed be people walking in and out during service: "...talking or jangling or walking about, or jesting or mocking at the minister, or openly reproving him, or contemning or hurting or striking him" was strictly forbidden.⁴⁰ The private lives and morals of parishioners were subjected to the closest ecclesiastical scrutiny. And yet, Catholicism had so firm a hold that in March 1576-7 Curteys wrote to Sir Francis Walsingham complaining that "those who were backward in religion grew worse and worse".⁴¹ The list of "crymes" a parishioner would commit was lengthy: "gross moral defections; harbouring

of unmarried women, bigamy, theft, all forms of incontinence, every conceivable kind of sin was diligently sought out".⁴² Although the list of religious "crymes" includes much which Catholics themselves would also consider as being religiously criminal, yet they could not accept, it as it was wholly oriented - in its very spirit, - against them. The great sin was papistry. In an effort to root out recusancy and enforce church attendance, Curteys circulated the following questionnaire to parishioners in his Diocese in 1577:

1. How often have you been at Common Prayer in your parish church since the first of January 1576 last?
2. How often have you been partaker of the sacrament, otherwise coena dominica, since the same time?
3. How many sermons have you heard since the same time?
4. Whether do you send any letters or money, or receive any letters from such as be fled beyond seas?
5. Whether do you have any of the books of Harding, Stapleton, Rastell, Saunders, Marshal, or of such others as be supposed to be beyond the seas, not as answered by the learned Father Bishop Jewel, or some other learned men of the religion, or of such, as they have answered, printed without their answers?
6. Whether you do keep in your house any that come not at all to Common Prayer; or whether you do dwell in the house of any that do not come; or doth receive any books or pictures from such as be beyond the seas, since the first of January 1576?⁴³

The Catholic gentry suffered religiously from Curtey's application of the Act of Uniformity. Under this Act, ministers declining to use statutory rites and ceremonies or using others in public worship suffered a progressive scale of punishment ending, for the third offence, in life-imprisonment. Absence from church on Sundays and Holy days incurred ecclesiastical censure and fines levied by churchwardens.⁴⁴ The Book of Common Prayer provided the only services countenanced by the State: Morning and Evening prayers, Holy Communion, Baptism, Confirmation, Matrimony, Churching of Women and Burial of the Dead.⁴⁵ Royal injunctions

forbade the extolling of images and relics, and adoration of miracles. Repeated orders went out to preachers to "forsake superstition and idolatry" and to preach against pilgrimages, praying on beads, setting of candles and such Catholic practices.⁴⁶ All religious art, artifacts and sundry constructions contravening the states' religious laws were to be obliterated: "All shrines, covering of shrines, all tables, candlesticks, trindals, and rolls of wax, pictures, paintings, and all other monuments of feigned miracles, were to be destroyed utterly so that there remain(ed) no memory of the same in walls, glasses, windows, or elsewhere within their churches and houses".⁴⁷ No parishioner was to keep in his house "any images, tables, pictures and other monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry or superstition".⁴⁸ School masters were ordered to stir their pupils to love and revere the religion "set forth by public authority".⁴⁹

In spite of the picturesque natural beauty of areas which Southwell frequented, religious life in Sussex for the Catholic gentry was beginning to take on an increasingly disturbing, and worrying form. Although its full effects were not felt till the 1580's long after Southwell left for Douai, the gentry milieu began to feel Curteys' attempts at ecclesiastical control. They were troubled by a most unwelcome attempt by Curteys to intrude into every aspect of a person's life. Curteys' attempts at rigorous religious restrictions were designed to dominate the soul from the cradle- or even before that - to the grave: "From before his birth till after his death, the temporal and spiritual power combined to regulate the Elizabethan Englishman".⁵⁰ Curteys' authority over his parishioners was reinforced by his empanellment as a Justice of the Peace. He sat biannually at the East Grinstead and Horsham Assizes from February 25th 1569 up to and beyond February 25th 1577. During this period Burleigh sat with Curtys as J.P. on the following Assizes: 35/15/18 (Feb. 23rd 1573); 35/15/5 (June 22nd 1573); 35/17/3 (Feb. 25th 1575); 35/17/7 (July 1st 1575); 35/18/2 (March 12th 1576; 35/19/2 (Feb. 25th 1577).⁵¹ However Southwell was in the Southern counties when Catholic resistance began to stiffen. Recusancy was on the increase after 1570. Although the Act of Uniformity was operational well before the 1570's, according to Dr. R.B. Manning, the first concerted effort to deal with Sussex recusancy did not come until after 1577⁵² - after Southwell left for Douai. Although

detailed legislation against Catholic worship had been issued, a strict enforcement of recusancy laws was yet to be applied. The delay in application was due to "the inefficiency of the episcopal machinery in detecting and punishing recusancy", and to the problems encountered by Bishop Curteys during his episcopate.⁵³ There is no evidence from the Calendars of Assize Records to show that any of Southwell's Catholic relatives; the Gages, the Shelleys and the Copleys, were convicted of recusancy by the Assize Courts in the early and mid 1570's. It is only in the 1580's that members of these families begin to appear in the Assize Records as being indicted for recusancy.

Enforcing the Act of Uniformity was entrusted to bishops at a time when they were ill prepared to take on the burden of detecting and punishing recusants. This task was delegated to churchwardens who were very much socially inferior to the gentry.⁵⁴ Southwell may have been in Sussex when anti-Catholic laws were legislated but not yet enforced. It was thus a period of relative Catholic resistance and defiance which could have bolstered young Southwell's religious propensities. Dr. R.B. Manning explains the recusant gentry situation: "cut off from political power and even deprived of an indirect voice in the affairs of the county and parish,

The natural reaction of the recusant gentry was to draw closer together to preserve their faith in the face of persecution. This they did by the quasi-feudal devices of marital alliances and economic interdependence. The Shelleys of Michelgrove were the most aristocratic of these recusant families in Sussex outside the peerage. The heads of this family were allied by marriage with the Fitzwilliams and the Wriothesleys, successive holders of the earldom of Southampton, who were seated at Tichfield in Hampshire. A strong relationship also existed between the Brownes and the Gages of Firle. The Elizabethan Gages of Firle were cousins by marriage of the first and second Lords Montague and also leased lands from them ... The Gages, the Shelleys and the Copleys of Gatton, Surrey and Roffey, Sussex were extensively intermarried with one another... both the Shelleys and the Gages had numerous

cadet branches. The other branches of the Gages were located at Bentley, Sussex and Haling, Surrey while the Shelleys of Michelgrove had cousins at Warminghurst, Sussex... Together the Brownes, the Shelleys, the Gages, and the Copleys formed a tightly knit clan of recusant families, who provided much of the Catholic leadership in Sussex, Surrey and Hampshire...⁵⁵

However, it was not only the Catholic gentry that provided resistance to Elizabeth's religious uniformity. Most of this resistance was of a non-recusant nature. More numerous than the "Papists" were the "Dont-knows"; "apathetic, bewildered, and tired of change" and dazed by recurrent religious upheavals.⁵⁶ There were also the hard-core Protestants who, though subscribing doctrinally to the established church felt that "the removal of Catholic ceremonies and vestments had not gone far enough".⁵⁷ Thus the Catholic gentry were only one problem with which the Elizabethan bishops had to contend. Other challenges came from "popular conservatism and ignorance, (and) clerical inadequacy".⁵⁸ Thus the hard-core Catholic recusant gentry were a tightly-knit minority amongst numerous other minorities, problems and inadequacies facing Elizabethan bishops, and were protected by their being but one problem amongst many facing the authorities. In Sussex Southwell was pushed by two forces in the direction which eventually led to Douai. The two forces were bishop Curteys's increasing interference in the religious and secular affairs of the gentry on the one hand, and, on the other hand, his inability to effectively enforce coercive religious legislation due to the problems mentioned above. Southwell's Catholic milieu was thus given a respite for inter-community consolidation and planning. This, in turn would require more mobility and consultation between the inter-related Catholic gentry families. [See back-pocket of Vol II of this thesis, Map 1].

It is possible that Southwell spent time with the Gage family, his mother's relatives, at their estate in West Firle.⁵⁹ Three facts corroborate his frequenting this household. First, there are references to his mother and John Gage living in the same "postal district" so to speak. Sharples, the Copley agent, paid twenty five pence on April 6th

1576 "for bringing of letters to Mr. Gage, Mrs Southwell, and others".⁶⁰ Secondly, Southwell was thrice related to the Gage family: Sir John Gage II (d. 1599) grandson of Sir John Gage I (d. 1556), married as first wife, Southwell's aunt Margaret, daughter of Sir Roger Copley. Sir John Gage II's brother, Edward, (b. 1559) married Southwell's kinswoman Margaret, daughter of Sir John Shelley of Michelgrove. The other grandson of Sir John Gage I - John Gage of Haling, married as first wife, Southwell's maternal cousin Margaret, daughter of Thomas Copley - Southwell's uncle.⁶¹ Third, the availability of road communications connecting Firle to other estates in Sussex and Surrey (see above). The fact that fish could be transported from the Sussex coast to London in twenty-four hours (see above) shows the facility of movement between various parts of this county and the outside world.

The manor of "Firle Place" was situated "in a pleasant sheltered spot in a good park, and commands extensive views of the circumjacent countryside and of the weald".⁶² The house had a majestic hall displaying a protrait by Holbein of Sir John Gage I (1479-1556) who assisted Sir Richard Southwell in defending Queen Mary's Palace against rebel troops during Wyatts rebellion (See Ch. 2). The Church at Firle, St. Peter's, was "a large ancient building of chancel, nave with aisles, south porch, and west tower containing two bells".⁶³ It was the ancient burial ground of the Gage family, displaying an altar tomb of Sir John Gage and a recumbent effigy of him and his wife Philippa Guldeford. St. Peter's, Firle, also had brass effigies of Sir Edward Gage (Sir John's son, d. 1568), of his wife, and later, of his son and successor, Southwell's host John Gage (d. 1595) and of his two wives, one of whom was Margaret Copley Gage, Southwell's aunt. Brass effigies of yet more ancient personages were housed in Firle's church. One, dated 1476, depicts Bartholomew Bolney, Sir John Gage II maternal grandfather, and his wife Eleanor.⁶⁴

The Gages of Firle practised hospitality and charity. Sir John Gage, in his will dated February 20th 1556/7 directed that his executors "shall sell my collo^r of golde of thordre of the Gartier, and shall employe the money... towardses the payment of suche money as I have given to poor folkes in almes..."⁶⁵ If John Gage, husband of Southwell's aunt, should die before his father, then the grandfather willed, the inheritance would go "to suche myne heire male as shall fortune to have and enyoie my

mancion howse of Firlez, as I have left yt to hym, so as the said heire male may be able with the said stock and furnytur of his howse and lande, to mayntayn and kepe hospitalitie and household upon that, the whiche I have left hym,..."⁶⁶ Such a concern for hospitality may have contributed to Southwell's picture of Catholic generosity: "Let us consider their large hospitality in housekeeping, their liberality towards the poor and their readiness to all merciful and charitable acts" he wrote in An Epistle of Comfort.⁶⁷

Sir John Gage's will is unique amongst all Sussex wills from 1383 till 1560 in the length, detail and interest of its contents. It gives a vivid picture of Sixteenth century household atmosphere, furnishings and background to domestic life. Though the will is dated 1556, some twenty-odd years before Southwell would have visited his relatives at Firle, it is reasonable to assume that a large part of the furnishings mentioned in the will would still have been in place by the 1570's. Recusancy fines, for one, did not start impoverishing the Catholic gentry till after 1577. (See above).

The tableware Southwell might well have used included gilded basins, ewers, cups, salt cellars, chalices and spoons: "a bason and an ewer ... gilt ... lXV oz", beer jugs, gilt (17 oz); gilt salt-cellars with a cover embossed with antique heads; all gilt chalices; silver spoons of 21 oz gilt; standing cups with a gilt cover of 31 oz; jugs with rybbes and a cover of 33oz; "two drynking cruses of silver all white poiz xxiii ounces."⁶⁸ Table cloths were of damask work, with plain cloth for the parlour and canvas cloth for the waiters. Even towels and napkins were damask. Chinaware was computed by the dozens and fell into "greate plateres of the best sorte" and "olde platers occupied dayly in the kechyn".⁶⁹ Some bed canopies were made of crimson velvet and cloth of gold with fringes of crimson enveloped in curtains of silk. "A tester of murrey velvat and clothe of gold paned wth a frynge of murrey silk with three curtens of chaungable sarcenet". Another bed was described as made of "blacke velvat and clothe of gold paned and frenged wth yellowe and purple silk with iij curtens of purple sarcenet".⁷⁰ Such beds were massive and comfortable and "viii grete fether beddes ... of the beste sorte" are mentioned, with "xxvi pilloes of downe". Even the servants slept well: "xiii good mattresses for ser'untres (servants) and laborers".

Bedroom hangings were lavishly embroidered with animal figures: "xi peces of hanginges for chambers, of tapestrie... A coverlecte of tapestrie, wth beastes and fowles, of the beste sorte". The halls of Firle were laid with Turkey carpets. Cushions were of velvet or embroidered damask. Walls and windows were draped with heavily embroidered curtains. Chairs were covered in velvet, inlaid with ivory, or wainscotted. Tables were made of fir, walnut or beech. Cupboards were joined, with elaborately turned feet. The kitchen was equipped with "one grete brass potte;" Flemish brass pots, skillets, frying, dripping and dairy pans; and shredding, chopping and dressing knives. An iron bar held the pots on the cooking range, and there was a "greate furnase of copper to brewe fyve quarters of maulte in".⁷¹

Although such furnishings date back to Henrician times, indications show that they remained almost intact at the Gage house at Firle, as stipulated in Sir John Gage's will, and as the prosperity of John Gage of Firle (c. 1539-1595) demonstrates. His goods were valued at £500 in 1577 and his income was reported by Bishop Curteys to be around four thousand marks a year.⁷² The effect of such luxury and gracious living on Southwell would have been - in the light of his subsequent exile, impoverishment and distress - harrowing. Southwell's Catholic gentry milieu, as seen from the previous descriptions of the Gage household, enjoyed a luxurious and opulant domestic life-style. While they may well have been invariably ignored, cold shouldered or harassed by the authorities which would have accentuated their introversion and their converse opening up to their own relatives (see below), yet this opulant household standard of living would augment their own feelings of personal worth and stature. Southwell while visiting his mother's relatives, would probably also be imbued with this innate sense of worthiness. In "A Phansie turned to a sinners Complaint" Southwell writes:

"The Peace, the rest, the life,
That I enjoy'd of yore,
Were happy lot, but by their losse,
My smart doth sting the more."⁷³

Southwell's inner life was formed largely by grief arising from

dislocation, deprivation and distress. These may have been caused by his comparing how he had later fared in life, with what his milieu had been accustomed to.

Southwell was also related to the Shelley family, through his grandmother, Dame Elizabeth Shelley. The Shelleys, like the Southwells had refounded their fortunes in Henry VIII's reign. Sir William Shelley of Michelgrove (1480?-1549?) was Recorder of London and a Justice of the Common Pleas.⁷⁴ A younger brother, Edward (d. 1554) was granted the dissolved monastery of Sion of Warminghurst, South of West Grinstead, where he founded a cadet branch of the Shelley family.⁷⁵ There are various references to Shelleys in Sussex in the 1570's. A "Master Shelley" placed in Elizabeth's hands in 1585 a petition on behalf of Lord Vaux, Sir John Arundel, Thomas Tresham and William Catesby. Richard Shelley, son of the above mentioned Edward Shelley, was noted as a recusant and in June of 1574 the Churchwardens of Kirdford reported that he had been living in that parish (Warminghurst) with his family for two years, "but had never come to church or received communion."⁷⁶ He was in financial difficulties, his goods being assessed in 1577 at £ 20; and he evidently did not possess property in Warminghurst. Another branch of the Shelleys, the Shelleys of Michelgrove, were better off. A study of land assessments shows that in 1546, their land assessment was the highest in the area @ £400. In 1560 the highest assessment was of £ 200 on the Gages of Firle, and one in 1572 gives the Shelleys of Michelgrove an assessment of £ 100.⁷⁷ On August 11th 1580 John Gage of Firle, Edward Gage of Bentley, William Shelley of Michelgrove and Richard Shelley of Warminghurst were imprisoned in the Fleet and Marshalsea by the Ecclesiastical Commission. "These four men" writes Dr. R.B. Manning "provided a large measure of the leadership of the more uncompromising members of the Catholic gentry".⁷⁸

These inter-related Catholic gentry families Southwells relatives by maintaining a measure of cohesion and mutual support, were able to run centres of Catholic worship with relative impunity during the 1570's. They freely sheltered Marian priests as chaplains up till Summer 1580 when the Ecclesiastical High Commission took over the duties of punishing religious disaffection.⁷⁹ They considered themselves the legitimate

hereditary gentry on the strength of their bloodlines and service to the kingdom in previous reigns. But in the 1570's they were not recognised as gentry by official circles. None were listed in the visitations of Sussex in the early mid 1570's. Neither the Gages nor the Shelleys are mentioned among the gentry in the 1574 visitation of Sussex.⁸⁰ Queen Elizabeth in her visit to Sussex in 1573 did not call at either the Gage or Shelley families. Though she did stay at "the manor of Cottons" on Saturday August 1st 1573 for dinner, she moved on to the Culpepper house at Bedgebury where she stayed on Saturday August 8th, and then moved on to various other gentry houses in Sussex on her way to Dover, where she arrived on Tuesday August 25th 1573.⁸¹ No mention is made of the Gages or the Shelleys. It is suggested here that being so cruelly ignored by the sovereign to whose father these families had given loyal service and to whom some - like the Copleys - were related by blood caused a large measure of bitterness amongst these Catholic gentry families. This bitterness may well have accentuated their clannish defiance of her religious laws as well as their own introversion. Provocatively ignored by the state on such all-important ceremonial occasions they turned yet deeper towards one another as a reaction against official ostracism. And, by closing in among themselves they would, conversely, open up to their own kith and kin; making young relatives like Southwell even more welcome than they otherwise would have been had official ostracism not taken place. Their introversion would also have been accentuated by Bishop Curteys, who distrusted and disliked them. In 1570 the gentlemen that Curteys trusted most were: William Morley of Glyn, Thomas May of Burwash, and John Pelham and Laughton. "Otherwise", Manning points out, "most of the Sussex gentry were personal enemies of Bishop Curteys, which greatly increased his distrust in them". Among the Catholic gentry he would be rendered even more unpopular by his attempts to bring Protestants from the Cinque Ports into rural areas of Sussex to serve in the magistracy.⁸²

Southwell's Early Education in the Southern Counties

Southwell's early education could not be pinpointed. Catholic biographers have suggested that from his earliest years his mother had instilled in him a love of learning and religion. Leo Hicks mentions that

"thanks largely to his mother's influence, the Martyr's childhood was passed in a thoroughly Catholic household".⁸³ J.H. Pollen surmised that his mother "took care that her son should be brought up in the faith of his ancestors".⁸⁴ Southwell most probably received his early education at home in Norfolk and in Catholic gentry houses in the Southern counties. Leo Hicks mentions "several Marian priests, relatives, who, deprived of their living on Elizabeth's accession sheltered with Southwell's family and relations".⁸⁵ One such priest, a Robert Copley, was deprived in 1561 of the rectory of Walton-on-the-Hill, to which he had been presented by Catherine of Aragon, and a Robert Copley was also rector of Brantsfield (Bramfield), Herts, in the period 1535-1546.⁸⁶ Swithin Wells was tutor at the Earl of Southampton's household at Tichfield, and ran a private Catholic school when Southwell may have been staying with the two Cottons at Warblington, Hants.⁸⁷ (see below). Numerous Marian priests were available doing what they could and as much as their abilities allowed. "We invited from England" wrote William Allen in 1577 to Maurice Chauncey, "some of the older priests who had been ordained many years before and were labouring in the Lord's vineyard but were insufficiently instructed in all the duties of religion and the Church's censures".⁸⁸ Norfolk too was crammed with all forms of tutorial establishments, and Professor Stone mentions that in the first sixty years of the Seventeenth century boys came up to Cambridge "from no fewer than 142 different schools or tutorial establishments in Norfolk".⁸⁹ It is reasonable to suppose that in the last three and a half decades of the previous century at least a fraction of these schools were operational. One reason for Bridget Southwell taking her youngest children south to be educated among her Catholic relatives may have been the difficulty of obtaining Catholic education in Norfolk, following the proliferation of Puritan influence during Parkhurst's episcopate (see Ch. 4).

Numerous itinerant schoolmasters travelled the gentry circuit in Surrey, Sussex and Hampshire in the mid 1570's. Bishop Curteys prepared a list of recusants in 1580, which included "one Colleyns of the parish of Funtington, a scholemaister, [who] is a fugitive from place to place and supposed to be many tymes at Warblyngton in Hampshyre to teache children ther in Mr. Coton's hous".⁹⁰ The 1580 list of recusants also included

Thomas Etheridge "presented (for recusancy) together with various members of the Shelley family, and was probably schoolmaster to their children". The list mentions a Mr. Smyth, scholemaister to the children of Mr. F. Fortescue, gent "who, having absented himself from divine service for a whole year", was excommunicated. Edward Tarry of Battle, Sussex "scolemaster of the age of lxx yeres", had not attended his parish church for twelve years, and refused to swear that "he never had conference with any semenarie preestes Jesuites".⁹¹ Amongst such schoolmasters was one Bywater. In March 1579 John Apsley of Pulborough (1534-1594, Sheriff of Sussex 1568, 69) and husband of an Elizabeth Shelley (sister of Richard Shelley of Warminghurst) was imprisoned for ten days in the Fleet for having "interteyened one Bywater in his house as a scolemaster to teache his children, being suspected to be a massing prest".⁹²

Chantry priests, turned out after the Dissolution, found refuge in Catholic gentry houses, where they were employed to teach children. There was also no shortage of Marian priests for such purposes. As Patrick McGrath and Joy Rowe point out, "Until the end of Elizabeth's reign there were many more Marian priests at work in England than there were Jesuits". A Hugh Isle was ordained on March 11th 1559, and did not die till 1611. In Sussex, six recusant families supported chaplains "who travelled across Sussex and Hampshire, building up a communication system so essential for survival".⁹³ Sussex, as distinct from other counties, had a tradition of education independent of monastic houses. Even before the Dissolution its religious houses did not cater extensively for schooling. The only priory which provided education was Boxgrove which, at the Dissolution, had eight priests, one novice, twenty-eight servants and eight children. The Dissolution had virtually no effect on schools in Sussex. The schools directly affected by the suppression" were either monastic or attached to chantries".⁹⁴ Thus, two self-contained systems of education, one religious the other lay proceeded even before the Dissolution on independent and self-sufficient lines. Catholic education in Sussex in Elizabeth's reign relied heavily on free-lances - the odd chantry priest, Marian clergy, and itinerants. There is a reference in 1575 to an Edward Laughton "licensed to teach Latin within the town and port of Hastings".⁹⁵ Being "licenced", however, he would not be likely to serve Catholic

households enthusiastically. Such households would welcome a "Father Moses, sometimes a friar in Chichester" who "runneth about from one gentleman's house to another with news and letters, being much suspected in religion and bearing a Popish Latin Primer".⁹⁶

Southwell's Movement Westwards to West Sussex and Hampshire

Southwell's sojourn in the Southern counties can be viewed in two ways. The first, put forward by Devlin, implies that Southwell stayed at first at the Copley houses and then moved to Warblington, Hampshire, where he stayed with the Cotton family till he left for seminary training in Douai in June 1576.⁹⁷ The second view, as expanded in this study, suggests that Southwell's domicile during the mid 1570's were the three counties of Surrey, Sussex and Hampshire taken together as a whole; the constituent units of which were the Catholic recusant estates of his mother's relatives, scattered over the three counties. One cannot prove Devlin's theory that he stayed put in Gatton till '72, then moved on to Warblington where he took up permanent residence till his departure. The possibility must remain open that he "rode up and down", to use the current expression (see above), between various recusant estates, if only not to overstay his welcome in any one of them. The availability of a Roman road network would facilitate such mobility.

And yet, evidence suggests that Southwell did move westwards to West Sussex and Hampshire before his departure for Douai. This evidence, as pointed out by Devlin, consists of three points: First, that Southwell arrived in Douai with John Cotton, son of Warblington's owner, George Cotton. Second, that his sister Mary married Edward Bannister of Iddsworth, which is four miles from Warblington. Third, that Southwell took the alias "Cotton" when returning as a priest, which suggests that he held the Cottons in a special affection nurtured through a long and hospitable stay with them.⁹⁸ West Sussex and Hampshire could be seen as a more attractive alternative to East Sussex. The mansions of the Catholic nobility at Tichfield and Cawdray provided a more satisfying educational, social, cultural and religious milieu. Hampshire, with its port city of Southampton, exuded an oceanic, outward-looking atmosphere. Since the Norman Conquest, Southampton was one of England's major ports, the chief link between Winchester and Normandy. Its prosperity depending on

extensive links with Italian ports. From 1428 onwards a Florentine State Galley Fleet visited Southampton annually till 1532 (except for the period 1509-1518) and Italian trade was encouraged by friendly treatment of foreigners in Southampton. Henry VIII welcomed the Florentine Galley in the 1520's. However, Southampton's Italian trade dwindled rapidly after 1587.⁹⁹ But in the 1570's its reputation as an exciting, cosmopolitan port city and its long historic links with Italy, were possible attractions to young Catholics.

Families out of power like the Southwells needed highly placed contacts wielding influence and with whom they were, preferably, connected by blood. Two such powerful contacts, the most influential Catholic noblemen in the South, were Henry Wriothesley, Second Earl of Southampton (1545-1581) of Tichfield whose wife Mary, was the daughter of the other major Catholic potentate Sir Anthony Browne, First Viscount Montague (d. Oct. 9th 1592). The marriage took place on February 19th 1565/5 when Wriothesley was still under age, at Montague's seat at Cawdray.¹⁰⁰ The Southwells were related to the Montague s through the Wriothesleys, Earls of Southampton (see below "The General Religious and Social situation in Hampshire"). But while this milieu was strongly Catholic, it also stressed its loyalty to Elizabeth.

What gave Henry Wriothesley influence was that having been once under suspicion, and having been imprisoned, and thoroughly examined then cleared and exonerated; he enjoyed thereafter Leicester's confidence and trust. Wriothesley had been involved in the attempts to marry Mary Stuart to the Duke of Norfolk. In May/June 1570 he had secret meetings with Mary's Ambassador, the Scottish Bishop of Ross, in Lambeth. In an effort to exculpate himself from this involvement, Ross wrote to William Cecil on November 2nd 1571 about these meetings, about which he would "syncerlie and trewly informe her Majestei".¹⁰¹ Ross reported Wriothesley as saying "I pray God send you good succes for I wishe that Quene your Mistresse Wele and honour".¹⁰² Wriothesley was consequently imprisoned in the Tower, closely watched and his every word monitored. Leicester was extremely suspicious of Wriothesley. On July 9th 1572 Henry Goodyeare and Sir Henry Percy were closely questioned about Wriothesley's utterances concerning the execution of the Duke of Norfolk. However, after the

minutest possible interrogation, Wriothsesley proved his trust in and goodwill towards Leicester. Goodyeare, reported him while in the Tower, to be of "joyfull Countenans;" and "That he never herd the Erle of Sowthampton speake Evell of the Erle of Leicester: But he hath herd hym speake muche Good of the Erle..."¹⁰³

Wriothsesley was consequently released, fully exonerated and enjoyed Leicester's favour and protection. He was given various posts in Hampshire. He was placed on the Commission of Peace, on the Commission for Transport; of Grain; of Musters; and of Suppression of Piracy.¹⁰⁴ First-hand awareness amongst Hampshire gentry and nobility of Leicester's influence goes back to 1569 when Thomas Ponde of Belmont (b. 1539) discovered Leicester's influence during a dancing competition at Court. (Pound will be mentioned later again in another context). Ponde, as a young man was a great favourite with the Queen for his wealth, athletic prowess and lavish expenditure. During a solo dance performance at court, and after repeated encores, Ponde collapsed amidst hoots of derision, and with Leicester standing by the Queen's side. "Rise, Sir Ox" the Queen jibed at him. "Sic transit gloria mundi" he replied and then retired to his estate at Belmont.¹⁰⁵ Ponde's mother, Anne Wriothsesley, was sister of Thomas, First Earl of Southampton, thereby making Thomas Ponde first cousin of the Catholic Henry Wriothsesley, the Second Earl. Thus, both Ponde and Wriothsesley were well aware of Leicester's overbearing influence. Ponde's humiliation at the dancing exhibition at Court elicited Leicester's approval. It draw away his wrath. Richard Simpson explains:

Ponde's discomfiture seems to have disarmed the jealousy which Dudley had probably conceived from the adventure of the hat. [after Ponde collapsed with exhaustion, the Queen took off Leicester's hat and put it on Ponde's head lest he catch cold] and the Earl of Leicester extended his patronage to the young courtier; for we find him at Kenilworth Castle, during the queen's visit there in 1565, acting the part of Mercurius in an interlude, and offering his own poetical effusion as a present to her majesty.¹⁰⁶

Poude and Wriothesley's connections with Leicester, and Leicester's influence with the Queen show the patterns of power-wielding in West Sussex and Hampshire in the 1570's. These connections of patronage were precisely those that a young member of a once powerful family but now out of favour - like Southwell - would need. Such connections as the Hampshire Catholic gentry and aristocracy had forged with Leicester were invaluable. The Earl of Leicester's influence with the Queen was paramount in that period. In the 1570's he was, for all intents and purposes, the power behind the throne. In 1578 the Spanish Ambassador in London wrote to the King of Spain that "Leicester ... is so highly favoured by the Queen, notwithstanding his bad character, that he centres in his hands and those of his friends most of the business of the country".¹⁰⁷ Leicester's influence rendered him unpopular, and his contemporaries, almost without exception, loathed and abhorred him.¹⁰⁸ This arose largely from jealousy. Good looks, athletic prowess, horsemanship; his being an agile dancer, an amusing conversationalist; and the Queen's exact contemporary (both were reported born on the same day); his knowing his sovereign since childhood, and being imprisoned in the Tower together - all these factors brought Leicester close to the Queen.¹⁰⁹ She bestowed on him emoluments worth £50,000 and at his death, she kept at her bedside for the rest of her life a casket containing the last letter he had written to her.¹¹⁰ Elizabeth was a prisoner of her affection for Leicester. The Spanish Ambassador wrote to his King on January 1st 1582 that Elizabeth herself had confessed that she could hardly overthrow Leicester "as he had taken advantage of the authority she had given him to place kinsmen and friends of his in almost every post and principal place in the kingdom".¹¹¹ In Norfolk, Leicester's influence with the Queen was authoritatively felt. Bishop Parkhurst, on November 14th 1572, was severely reprimanded for depriving a Dr. Willoughbie (Ann Boleyn's physician) of certain livings. "The Quene's Majestie" Leicester wrote angrily, "is much offended with you for the same ... her Majestie('s) ... pleasure is that the doctor be either restored to such livinges ... as ... he hath ... lost, or ells that by your aunswere you will shewe some reasonable cause why it shoulde be otherwise".¹¹² In sum Leicester's overwhelming influence with the Queen, and Poude and

Wriothesly's enjoyment of Leicester's approval, enhanced their powers of patronage.

Aside from Pounce and Wriothesly enjoying Leicester's favour, Wriothesly's father-in-law, Anthony Browne, First Viscount Montague enjoyed more widely-based prestige with Elizabeth's government as a whole. Though a Catholic, Montague was allowed a measure of influence unique for a Catholic peer to enjoy.¹¹³ The Montague seat was a centre of the Southern Catholic gentry circuit to whom the Southwell family was related. Southwell was twice related to Henry Wriothesley, Second Earl of Southampton (see below p.174), Montague's son in law. Moreover, it was Montague who returned our Southwell's father as an M.P. for Gatton in March 1553,¹¹⁴ a favour which might have been sufficiently appreciated by Bridget Southwell for her to encourage her son to offer service, or partake of religious services, at Cawdray. Elizabeth was convinced of his deep and genuine patriotism. During the Armada he arrived at Tilbury with a party of horsemen ready to do battle for the Queen:

"...with his band of horsemen, being almost two hundred; the same being led by his own sons, and with them a young child, very comely, seated on horseback, being the heir to his house ... (was) a matter much noted of many ... to see a grandfather, father and son, at one time on horseback, afore a Queen for her services¹¹⁵

The Montague Seat at Cawdray, nicknamed "Little Rome", represented all that a young Catholic boy like Southwell could wish for in the way of patronage, traditional virtue, religious services and hospitality. The house was a haven for Catholics. Montague's wife, Viscountess Montague (1538-1608)

...built a chapel in her house... she built a choir for the singers and set up a pulpit for the priests, ... Here almost every week was a sermon made, and on solemn feasts the sacrifice of the mass was celebrated with singing and musical instruments, ... And such was the concourse and resort of 60 communicants at a time ... had the benefit of the Blessed Sacrament. And such was the number of

Catholics resident in her house and the multitude and note of such as repaired thither, that even the heretics ... gave it the title of 'Little Rome'.¹¹⁶

Southwell may well have sought patronage and freedom of worship at Cawdray. As a Catholic peer Montague was exempted from taking the Oath of Supremacy. He was not debarred per se from holding public office or sitting in the House of Lords; rights which Catholic peers enjoyed till 1678. Roger Manning explains that, "In practise the government might minimize the influence of a Catholic nobleman by excluding him from high Office such as membership of the Privy Council or a lieutenancy; but as long as he possessed lands and wealth, as long as his tenants depended on his goodwill, a Catholic nobleman could continue to exercise his leadership in the rural society of England".¹¹⁷ Catholics, though excluded from the House of Commons by an Act of 1563, were not excluded from the House of Lords.¹¹⁸ Montague justified Elizabeth's trust that the Catholic Laity would be loyal to her. She rewarded him with equal trust, allowing him a large share in county government. He shared the Lieutenancy of Sussex and Surrey with Sir Thomas Sackville from 1569 to 1585, and was "the most important factor in keeping the Catholic gentry in that part of England quiescent during the reign of Elizabeth".¹¹⁹ Lord Montague may well have known of Southwell, as he sat with Thomas Copley on several Assizes: Guildford, July 4th 1559; Croydon July 13th 1563; Kingston February 27, 1567; Croydon July 18th 1567; Southwark, February 26th 1568; Croydon February 28th 1569 and Guildford July 8th 1569.¹²⁰ Lord Montague also sat as a J P on Sussex Assizes with Southwell's other relatives: at Horsham, June 27th 1560 with William Shelley and James Gage; East Grinstead, July 23rd 1562 with William Shelley and Sir Edward Gage; East Grinstead, July 13-15 1564 with Sir Edward Gage and William Shelley. Montague was empanelled on Sussex Assizes with influential figures in Sussex county government. He sat with Richard Curteys - then Dean of Chichester on the East Grinstead Assizes of February 25th 1569; The Horsham Assizes of July 11th 1569; East Grinstead, February 24th 1570; East Grinstead March 16th 1571 (with Curteys as Bishop of Chichester); Horsham July 20th 1571; East Grinstead, February 25th 1572 and East

Grinstead September 5th 1572. Montague also set as J P with Lord Burleigh and Bishop Curteys on the East Grinstead Assizes of February 23rd 1573, and the East Grinstead Assizes of February 25th 1575.¹²¹ Cawdray's attractions to a pious family like Southwell's would have been accentuated by the nobleman's reputation for chastity and virtue!

For, when (his mother being dead) his father kept a concubine, as soon as this young gentleman understood thereof, he went along to his father and on his knees besought him to leave that course of life, so hateful to God... and to take to wife some gentlewoman, with whom he might live honourably...

Montague himself, displayed the virtue of chastity as a young man:

For when afterward he was ambassador in Spain and was fallen into a most perilous and molestful disease, and the physicians gave judgment that he could not recover unless he had the company of a woman,... (opposite his lodgings) a most beautiful English quean (courtesan) who by all lascivious allurements endeavoured to induce him to lewdness,... (but he could not) be moved to prefer the health of his body before the safety of his soul.¹²²

However, it should be pointed out that the Montague biographer was writing at a later date and his praise for their chastity was prompted by the demands of a later English Catholicism which had come more directly under the influence of Rome. Also, the biographer tended to gloss over Montague's faults, as Montague did condone marriage to Protestants (see below). Lady Magdalen equalled her husband in chastity, a much lauded Sixteenth century virtue. At sixteen, and as maid of honour to Queen Mary, one morning King Philip opened a closet window and saw her washing her face and "sportingly putting in his arm ... and she ... having more regard of her own purity than of the King's majesty, she took a staff lying by and strongly struck the King on the arm".¹²³ Other virtues she possessed as would make her an ideal patroness for a young Catholic was her manner of speech, described as "mild and peaceable, and free from all

contention ... Neither did she disdain to speak unto any".¹²⁴ An unpretentious woman with sunny piety and goodness, she dressed simply without any display of ostentation. Her smock was "of rude and coarse linen such as noblewomen would esteem a penance to wear".¹²⁵

Catholics sought protection at Cawdray as a haven, a refuge. Montague acted as a breakwater against the rising swells of anti-Catholicism. His power to protect arose from Protestant respect for his hard distinction between religion and politics. He connected himself to Protestantism through marriage; his grandson Anthony married Buckhurst's daughter. He represented "the religious principles of the Catholic Reformation while rejecting the aggressively political overtones that blew out of Philippine Spain..."¹²⁶ Both he and his wife "drew a careful distinction between what they considered to be legitimate means of preserving their faith and what could only be construed as treason."¹²⁷ A connection thus emerges between continued Catholic strength in parts of West Sussex and the proximity of noble households enjoying internal religious autonomy through a careful observance of distinctions between the spiritual aspects of Catholicism and its political overtones. "But as long as a nobleman was considered loyal, his household continued to enjoy, for all practical purposes, complete exemption from the jurisdiction of local magistrates".¹²⁸ Southwell was very probably encouraged to attend Cawdray on the visible support and patronage Montague gave to Catholics in Sussex. On November 14th 1576 he wrote to William More of Loseley recommending William Dawtrey, a known Catholic, for the office of undersheriff of Sussex and Surrey.¹²⁹ In the 1580's Montague's brother Francis sheltered Southwell in the Close of St. Mary Overy, London where Southwell and Garnet offered their first mass in England which probably took place on Sunday July 10th 1586. Montague had received the grant of the former Priory of St. Mary Overy, Southwark, where he built his town house, Montague Close, which was also known as "little Rome" due to "the continuous resort there of priests and other Catholics".¹³⁰

An important factor in Montague's role as patron and protector of fellow Catholics was his unusual courage. In a historic speech against the Act of Supremacy of 1559 he boldly charged that the Act repealed "all that ever was made for the defence of ye faith against the malignitie of

wicked heresies".¹³¹ An Act of Supremacy, he charged, meant "the masse abrogated, the sacrifice of the Church reiected, the Sacramentes prophaned, the holie Authars destroyed, temples vyolated, mariage of preistes allowed, their Children made legitimate".¹³² Elizabeth swallowed this astounding boldness because it was combined with sincere genuine patriotism. Montague affirmed: "If religion and feare of god mooved me not therin ... yet am I almost as hardly driven by duty to my prynce and Countrie, whom I doo and ought to honour serve and humbly obaye".¹³³ He defended the old religion on the grounds that its change would give the Pope a pretext for attacking England. If England, he argued "should be divided from the universal Church and so excommunicated (w^{ch} our Lord defend)", then England's neighbours, who would otherwise be most willing to assist, would now not dare "give succour or helpe to us in a quarrell of faith".¹³⁴ Throughout his speech, his patriotism and loyalty to his prince rang true: "I feare my Prynces sure estate and ruyne of my native Countrie: maye I then being her true subiect see such perrill growe to her highnes and agree to yt? see the daunger and losse of my Countrie and as yt were betraye yt?"¹³⁵

Apart from Montague's courage, chastity, virtue and patriotism; Cawdray, his Sussex residence, was also an important centre of aristocratic power and patronage. Cawdray was described as "one of the boasts of West Sussex".¹³⁶ It was a major stop-over on Royal visitations of the county. In 1547 Edward VI was "marvellously, yea rather excessively banketed" at Cawdray. In 1591 Elizabeth stayed there for six days, where she slept "in a bed of velvet, in a chamber hung with tapstry taken from Raphael's cartoons"; and her Sunday breakfast included among other items "three oxen and 140 geese!". Its parks were populated, for her entertainment with impersonators of pilgrims, nymphs and wild men; and she hunted deer with a crossbow.¹³⁷ Cawdray's attraction to Southwell whose family had seen greater days but were now suffering from a plunge in fortune, was the magnificent displays of service, attendance and decorum prevailing at Cawdray. His Lordship's gentlemen waiters attended him everywhere, even during his solitary walks in the Cawdray grounds. There, Yeomen of the Chamber waited upon him, "one to carry his cloak, another to clean his bowls (whenever he chose to make that game his pastime)".^{sn138}

Meals at Cawdray were served with the most elaborate pageantry and ritual:-

There were four tables at the Dining Hall at Cawdray. First, the "Steward's Table" (for the steward, superior officers at Cawdray, and strangers); Second, "the Gentlemen Waiters and yeoman officers' table"; Third, "the Clarke of the Kitchen's Table"; and Fourth, "The Gentleman's Servant Table". In the 1590's the Viscount never appeared to have dined in the Hall. He had his meals in "The Great Chamber" either at the upper end of the hall or at the head of the Grand Staircase, a splendid room decorated with Holbein frescoes. Laying the tables for meals was a ceremony in itself. The Usher of the Hall supervises the laying of the Table. The "Yeomen of the Ewer and Pantry", led by the Yeoman Usher, pass through the Great Dining Chamber, stop in the middle of the room, and bow reverently - even if none be at table, - proceed, and bow yet again to the empty table. The Usher, kissing his own hands, places salt cellars and Trenchers on the centre of the Lord's table as a ritual indication to his subordinate, the Yeoman of the Ewer, as to where the table cloth is to be laid. The Yeoman of the Ewer then kisses the table, and spreads the cloth over it.

The Yeoman of the Pantry then steps forth and places the salt trenchers, rolls, knives "hefted with silver", and spoons for the Lord and Lady, making a little obeisance as each article is laid down, and a low bow when all items have been set. The yeoman Usher, the Yeoman of the Ewer and of the Pantry all make "solemn reverences" to the table and retreat in the same order as they entered. Next in succession, the yeoman of the Cellar approaches. He dresses the sideboard or buffet "cupboard" with wines, flaggons, drinking cups and such vessels as are consigned to his charge. He is followed by the yeoman of the Buttery, who brings beer and ale and arranges pewter pots, jugs, etc... on the sideboard.

At dinner time the Gentleman Usher makes sure that the table is ready for his Lordship. He then goes out "to seek the Lord's whereabouts" and "proceeds to take his Lord's commands". If the master is in his private apartments, he knocks respectfully even if the doors be open. Having received his orders to serve dinner, he returns to the Great Hall. All present in the Hall stand up respectfully as the Lord's procession passes

through on its way to the Great Dining Chamber, preceded by the Usher of the Hall. At the Dining Chamber the Procession is met by the Gentleman Usher. The Viscount approaches his table with "stately tread", in doublet and hose, leading the Viscountess who is followed by her gentlewoman.

Dinner over and the cloth removed, the Gentleman Usher having kept a sharp lookout all the while that nothing be purloined, now comes forth with a towel and basins and ewers are produced for the lord and ladies', ablutions which the want of forks rendered the more necessary. Every daily meal is but a repetition of the last except on grand occasions: "...in times of extraordinary action, then there is even greater display", with the Steward and Comptroller appearing in "fair gowns with white wands of office in their hands etc..."¹³⁹

The basis for this detailed household pageantry was the High Medieval ideal of "Order-through-ceremony". In the Preface to his "Booke of Orders and Rules" Anthony Maria Browne, Second Viscount Montague (1572-1629) explains the motives behind such elaborate ceremonial:

For as moche as neither publique weale nor private family can continue or long endure without lawes, ordinances, and statutes to guyde and direct ytt... I therefore being desirous to live orderly and quietly within my lymytte ... have esteemed ytt meete ... to sett downe and declare in his booke of orders ... the manner and order of the government of my private house and family.¹⁴⁰

Part of the attraction of the Cawdray household would be this emphasis on "order of government" within a Catholic milieu. Cawdray would be a miniature of that England now seen by Catholics as almost irretrievably lost, and nostalgically remembered by writers such as Thomas Dorman (See Ch. 1). Service in such a household may well have seemed an honour. At her departure after her visit to Cawdray in 1591, Elizabeth knighted six of the gentlemen-in-waiting who served and attended her.¹⁴¹

The General Religious and Social Situation in Hampshire in the Mid 1570's

Some of Southwell's relatives lived across West Sussex in Hampshire. He was twice related to the Earls of Southampton. His eldest brother Richard married Alice, daughter of Sir Thomas Cornwallis whose wife, Katherine (Alice's mother) was daughter of Thomas Wriothesley, First Earl of Southampton, sister of Henry Wriothesley, our Second Earl mentioned above. Southwell's sister Elizabeth married "_____" Lister, son of Michael Lister the second husband of Margaret, sister to Henry Wriothesley our Second Earl; and daughter of the First Earl Thomas Wriothesley.¹⁴² Southwell's gentry relatives - the Cottons, the Bannisters of Iddsworth, the Shelleys of Mapledurham were all conveniently close to the Sussex border and were thus able to escape to their recusant friends or kinsmen in another diocese whenever they were wanted for one reason or another by ecclesiastical or governmental authorities in their own county.¹⁴³ They also gave refuge and shelter to their kinsmen from Sussex. This subterfuge was known as "riding up and down".¹⁴⁴ Movement between West Sussex and Hampshire was not difficult. Geographically Hampshire (apart from the Isle of Wight) was not a well-defined area. The chalk downlands of central and North Hampshire were a continuation from Kent, Surrey and Sussex; and extending further into Wiltshire.¹⁴⁵ Hampshire rivers flowed South from high chalklands down to flat marshy coastlines and fanned out into wide tidal estuaries in Southampton water. But in their head and mid waters they were narrow and shallow enough not to form insurmountable barriers. North Hampshire formed part of the Southern Vale of Newbury in Berkshire, and its Eastern heath lands were an extension of those in Western Surrey and Sussex.¹⁴⁶ Hampshire, was thus not a remote county shut off behind natural barriers. It was outward looking and its people oceanically-minded. "Hampshire" wrote Grant Allen "is the real original nucleus of the British Empire".¹⁴⁷ Its scenery was as picturesque as that of Sussex or Surrey, and its air even more salubrious. To Southwell, born in the stark residence close to the massive and forbidding Norwich city walls, Hampshire would seem delightfully open, healthy and appealing. Camden describes Hampshire's healthy climate: "The air is pure and piercing, especially on the downs... and it is the best wooded of any in England".¹⁴⁸ Fuller seconds Camden's description of Hampshire. "Most pure and piercing the air of this shire; and none in England hath more

plenty of clear and fresh rivulets of troutful water... The south-west part of the county is called The New Forest, rich in red-deer, and where swine feed in the forests on plenty of acorns... going out lean, return home fat, without either care or cost of their owners": Hampshire was not a large county. "From north into south it extendeth unto fifty-four miles, not stretching above thirty miles from the east to the west thereof".¹⁴⁹

Hampshire, therefore, was similar in various geographical and scenic respects to Sussex and Surrey, and its Catholic milieu (See below also) was closely connected with that of the two other Southern counties. All three counties can thus be envisaged as forming - to the recusant gentry - a single unit geographically and religiously. However, Hampshire's share of these connections was more accentuated than was the case in the other two counties. Geographically, Hampshire had far more extensive albeit illicit links with Catholic Europe from centres such as Southampton and Warblington (See below) than either Sussex or Surrey. Religiously, Cawdray and Tichfield (the Earl of Southampton's seat) provided more Catholic religious ceremonial than was available in Sussex and Surrey. (See above). Genealogically, Southwell was more effectively connected in Hampshire than he was in the two other counties, in the sense that his connections with the Cotton family and their connection with the Earl of Southampton were probably to prove the more effective ones for his departure to Douai.

Hampshire was listed as the most recusant county in England in the late 1570's.¹⁵⁰ In 1576 William Allen described Winchester as a town where priests might effect much good.¹⁵¹ This obstinate recusancy of Hampshire arose from historical factors. Early in the Sixteenth century Hampshire was strongly Catholic in culture and history as other counties were not. Winchester was the ancient Capital of England, crowded with "abbeys, priories, friaries, convents, churches and guilds".¹⁵² With its ancient Cathedral and famous school of medieval origin, Winchester had roots deeply embedded in the past which withstood the onslaught of the Reformation: As Dr. J.E. Paul points out, Strype does not mention the county at all in his account of Marian Protestant martyrs. It was in Winchester, not in London or anywhere else, that Philip and Mary were married in 1554.¹⁵³ Thus Southwell, in moving westwards to stay with the

Cottons at Warblington (See below) was moving into the County retaining far more of England's Catholic past than either Surrey or Sussex.

Another feature of Hampshire was that recusant estates there were often quite close to one another, and communication between them was easy. This was important for maintaining a steady and sustainable practice of religious ritual.¹⁵⁴ The estates of Southwell's Catholic relatives were linked by an old Roman road which ran from Warblington (home of the Cottons), across the Downs and the Forest of Bere, past Iddsworth (Edward Bannister, Southwell's brother-in-law's demesne) to West Mapledurham at Bruriton where the Shelleys sheltered priests on a large scale; and where protection was so strong and skilful that no priest hiding there seems ever to have been discovered.¹⁵⁵ Distances were relatively short. Iddsworth was only six or seven miles South of Mapledurham and practically on the Roman road to Warblington. Henry Shelley of West Mapledurham (Bruriton) was the main recusant member of the Shelley family in Hampshire. His mother was Southwell's aunt, Mary, daughter of Sir Roger Copley. This Shelley manor of West Mapledurham, near Petersfield was mentioned in several spies' reports in the 1580's and 1590's as a haven for priests.¹⁵⁶

One of the main recusant strongholds in Hampshire was Warblington, home of the Cotton family. Devlin suggests that it was from there that Southwell embarked secretly for the Continent with John Cotton, having "spent a good deal of the time between 1573 and 1576 with his second cousins at Warblington".¹⁵⁷ Warblington had a history as a centre of illicit communication with the Continent. By the turn of the Sixteenth century, it was in the possession of Margaret Plantagenet, Countess of Salisbury (daughter of George Plantagenet, Duke of Clarence - brother to Edward IV). She was Reginald Pole's mother, aunt of Henry VIII, and governess to Princess Mary.¹⁵⁸ The Countess used her home, Warblington, to ferry illegal messages to her dissident son, Reginald Pole, then out of favour. This subterfuge was discovered by one Gervaise Tyndale, a schoolmaster of Grantham who came to Warblington to convalesce at a hospital kept there by Margaret Plantagenet. He informed the Council in May/June 1538, and consequently Goeffrey Pole (Reginald's brother) and Hugh Holland, a merchant who ferried the messages, were arrested and

executed. Margaret Plantagenet was executed for treason at 7 o'clock in the morning of May 27th 1541 mainly as a consequence of allowing Warblington to become a centre of subterfuge.¹⁵⁹

Warblington was then granted to Sir Thomas Wriothesley, First Baron Wriothesley of Tichfield, First Earl of Southampton (1505-1550) who subsequently granted it to the Cotton family. Thus Warblington, the point of Southwell's departure, was within the hold of Hampshire's Catholic milieu. The Cottons were originally a Cheshire family. Sir Richard Cotton - like Sir Richard Southwell, was a prominent Henrician figure, and Sheriff of Hampshire. He was granted Warblington Park and the manor in 1551, which was originally parcel of Westbourne in Sussex.¹⁶⁰ The King visited him at Warblington on 2-4 August 1553.¹⁶¹ Queen Elizabeth stayed there for two days during her progress in the Southern Counties in 1586.¹⁶² Camden describes it as "a village chiefly noted for its lords... Here was a fair house of Sir Richard Cotton's".¹⁶³ Warblington Castle, rebuilt towards the end of the Fifteenth century, consisted of a great square court with four towers at the angles, and was surrounded by a deep moat. It was still in good order by 1633, but was dismantled during Cromwell's Commonwealth.¹⁶⁴

Warblington implanted several probable ideas in Southwell's mind. First, its history of secret communication with English Catholic exiles in Europe may have given Southwell his first idea of secret escape to the Continent. Second, having been granted by the Hampshire Catholic nobility (First Earl of Southampton) to the Hampshire Catholic gentry (Sir Richard Cotton, George Cotton's father), very probably demonstrated to Southwell, yet again, the virtues of solidarity among Catholics. Solidarity among Hampshire recusants helped them consolidate their faith by maintaining their wealth and privilege through their network of patronage and interconnections. George Cotton of Warblington paid £260 annually between 1587 and 1607 in recusancy fines, handing over to the crown in twenty years a conservatively estimated one million pounds in today's currency (or £50,000 in 1903 and £169,000 in 1959 money) "just for the privilege of not attending his parish Church".¹⁶⁵ Third, Warblington was a representation of Catholic entrenchment in the face of vigorous Protestant onslaught. In the 1560's Protestants in Hampshire were a minority. A closely knit community, their leaders included Sir William Paulet, Sir

Adryan Poynings (Captain of Portsmouth) and Sir Henry Seymour, a younger brother of the Protector. Like the Catholics their community was based on local kinship and friendship. Protestants too intermarried on apparently sectarian lines: Richard Gifford married his daughter Catherine to Henry, son of Oliver Wallop who was to have married Anne, daughter of Thomas Wriothsesley, First Earl of Southampton but the marriage was later cancelled "indicating an estrangement between the Wallops and the Wriothsesleys possibly over religion".¹⁶⁶

The consecration of Robert Horne as Bishop of Winchester by Archbishop Mathew Parker on February 16th 1561 constituted a direct threat to Hampshire Catholicism. As a "puritanical fanatic" Horne in his visitations to Cathedrals and Colleges, ordered "the destruction of every picture, painted window, image, vestment, ornament or architectural structure he regarded as superstitious". As Dean of Durham Cathedral in 1550 he removed, with his own hands, St. Cuthbert's tomb in the cloisters. In Hampshire he was loathed by Catholics as "a dwarfish and deformed person".¹⁶⁷ A wealthy man, Horne allied himself closely with Hampshire's prosperous Protestant gentry. By the 1570's the Protestants had secured a firm hold over county affairs through a combination of: a) a vigorous wealthy bishop, and b) prosperous and judicious marriages which increased their number and power. As a result, recusancy laws were enforced with a vengeance born of inter-communal animosities. From January 1571-2 to November 1574 there were 145 non-communicants and 42 recusants in 51 parishes. From April 1575 to March 1579 there were 200 citations in the Act Books of the county's Consistory Courts: 103 for not receiving communion and 97 for recusancy.¹⁶⁸ Numerically, however, the Protestant and Catholic gentry were approaching equality to one another. Of a list of 245 principal nobles, gentleman, yeomen and franklins of Hampshire in 1572, 143 were marked out as Catholics.¹⁶⁹

It was from Warblington, that Southwell might have been introduced to the Jesuits through Thomas Pounce. George Cotton of Warblington, and Thomas Pounce of Belmont, Farlington, near Havant were the most active, and among the wealthiest of Hampshire recusants. There appears to have been, as Dr. J.E. Paul observes "a constant interchange along the short stretch of the narrow coast roads between the estates of the two

recusants". Pounce's father, William Pounce married Anne, sister of Thomas Wriothesley, First Earl of Southampton. Thomas Pounce was thus first cousin of the Catholic Henry, Second Earl.¹⁷⁰ (See Above). George Cotton married Southwell's relative, Mary daughter of John Shelley of Michelgrove. Both Cotton and Pounce were summoned by Bishop Horne to Winchester in 1576 amongst a group of Hampshire recusants. Thomas Stephens, a jesuit writing to Rome in 1578 reported that Pounce defended his faith with great ability, thereby provoking the bishop, who was unable to answer him; and people left the Court "favourably inclined to Catholicism".¹⁷¹

Thomas Pounce had previously formed an acquaintance with Thomas Stephens who later became a notable Jesuit missionary to Goa, and is described as "der erste Englische Jesuit in Indien".¹⁷² Thomas Stephens (or Stevens) was born in 1549 in Bushton, Wiltshire. He studied Latin and Greek and joined the Jesuits in Rome on October 20th 1575. On April 4th 1579 he left from Lisbon for Goa. Before leaving for the East Stephens and Pounce travelled "up and down the Kingdom" and at Stephens' exhortation, Pounce "sold off great part of his property, and went up to London to prepare for going over sea to the seminary".¹⁷³ Later, in 1578, Stephens wrote a series of letters to the Jesuit General, Mercurian, recommending Pounce's admission to the Society.¹⁷⁴ Thus Southwell's first possible contact with the Jesuits was George Cotton's and Thomas Pounce's association with Thomas Stephens.

In the early 1570's another jesuit, the Portugeuse Fr. Henry Alvarez was carried ashore in Southampton Water on his way from Rome to "India" Devlin suggests that Thomas Pounce had read Alvarez's letters from India, conferred with him, and conceiving a passion for the Jesuits, he began to organize a number of young men whom he would lead into Flanders and Rome, to join the new Order".¹⁷⁵ If Southwell knew Pounce personally, as it was likely, and if he encountered and heard of Alvarez and Stephens which is also possible, his interest in being a missionary may well stem from this period of his life as Devlin suggests. Through Alvarez, Southwell would have had an introduction to the exotic East. His friend in Douai, John Deckers, mentions Southwell speaking of "hoping to leave for India and its savage race of cannibals". Deckers explains that "the reason why he

(Southwell) set out for Rome (from Douai) with the idea of entering the society was that "he hoped to leave there sometime for India and its savage race of Cannibals where he might drink that chalice of Christ's passions which he was doubtful of obtaining in his own country".¹⁷⁶ It is not quite clear, however, whether this passage refers to Southwell's Continental adolescence or to his boyhood in England. The "Cannibal" reference may suggest American rather than Oriental missionary projects. In his Spiritual Exercises, Southwell writes: "Think, for example, what would be required in one who was to deal with Indians, what patience he should have, what careful moderation in his words, gestures and all his actions."¹⁷⁷

Another prominent Hampshire recusant already referred to was Swithin Wells, a tutor in Southampton's household, who was "virtuously educated from his infancy, and carefully instructed in all manner of learning fitting his age and condition".¹⁷⁸ After being instructed at home in the liberal sciences he went to Rome "partly to learn the language, and partly to visit the holy places": Returning to England, "he was employed in the service of several persons of quality; and after some time, for his skill in languages and for his eloquence, was desired, by the most noble earl of Southampton ... to live in his house, as he did... for several years".¹⁷⁹ Swithin Wells was described as "very pregnant of wit & vnderstanding".¹⁸⁰ He was a conscientious scholar who "by his especiall industry and diligence ... became so singularlie qualified, especially in the studies of humanitie ..."¹⁸¹ Wells had taught "the Belles Lettres and music;" assisted by Mr. Woodfen, and had "comfort of training up many ... in the true faith ... several who were afterwards priests, and religious, and some martyrs".¹⁸² Later, in the 1580's we find him setting up school at Monkton Farleigh, Wiltshire. On May 25th 1582, the Council ordered the Sheriff of Wiltshire to search for "Wells the scholemaister".¹⁸³

He was the ideal schoolmaster for gentry youngsters like Southwell; a local Hampshire man, with a comprehensive education and who had travelled overseas. He was the sporty outdoor type with whom pupils could enjoy a day in the country, as he "much delighted in hawking, hunting and other such gentleman-like sportes".¹⁸⁴ Wells's possible influence on Southwell was a heady mixture of a sporty outdoor love of the English countryside, an enthusiasm for continental education, as well as tuition in Latin and

the liberal arts. A successful teacher, Wells's abilities led to "such happy successes that his Schoole hath byn... a fruitful Seminary to... the Catholik Church".¹⁸⁵ As an itinerant, he moved about amongst Catholic gentry houses: in March 1587 he stayed with both the Cottons of Warblington and the Shelleys of Michelgrove:

I have made my abode at Weton in Berks at the howse of Francis Pakins, esquire my nephue ... from whose howse I came on Shrift Munday last to Mr. Pawlet of Heryote, where I lay that night. From thens the next morninge I came to Mr. Coles howse in the Parishe of Berington ... the next day I came to my cosin George Cottons of Warblington, ... from thens to Mr. Kempes of Slindon ... The next day to Michelgrove where I have remained till this day ... my cominge to Mychelgrove was to see my frends, with intent not to stay longer than fowr or fyve daies at the moste.¹⁸⁶

Southwell's Departure for Douai

Southwell's admission to the class of Poetry on arrival at Douai shows that he had received a good grounding in classical studies, very probably in the recusant milieu of the Southern counties. Thirst for religious education was the main motive for the despatch of young Catholics for seminary education in Catholic Europe. The Catholic nobility in Hampshire did provide a measure of religious ceremony, but it was the full freedom of parochial services available on the Continent that English Catholics missed. In Catholic Europe, bishops imposed "a system of parochial conformity similar in character to that which the contemporary church in England was seeking to impose, though much more comprehensive in detail". John Bossy explains further that "the faithful Catholic was to attend mass every Sunday and holy days in his Parish Church; receive the Church sacraments ... from his parish priest who would baptize him, marry him, give him extreme unction ... and bury him".¹⁸⁷ This was precisely what the recusant gentry in Hampshire sought to organize at their risk - effective parochial units. The flourishing of Catholic art on the Continent was another attraction. It rendered England, in Catholic eyes a

drab, stifling backwater: "few periods have been more inimical to the visual arts" writes Roy Strong "than the middle years of the sixteenth century in England".¹⁸⁸ The despatch of student priests for seminary training on the continent may also have been a manifestation of the general Catholic urge to escape abroad to defend and preserve personal dignity and honour against the intolerable effrontery of heresy. Gregory Martin, in a letter to his sisters describes how he sacrificed everything after the demise of his Catholic patron, the Duke of Norfolk, and fled abroad to preserve the honour of his religious beliefs; the position of many English Catholic refugees:

... it pleaseth the Duke to make me, though unworthy, tutor to the Erle his sonne: as long as his grace did prosper, I liued in his howse to my conscience without trouble: when he was in the Tower & other men ruled his howse, I was willed to receive, the Communion, or to depart: if I would have yeelded, I had very large offers which I need not tell. It pleased God to stayer me so with his grace that I chose rather to forsake all then to doe agaynst my beleefe, agaynst my knowledge, agaynst my Conscience, agaynst the law of almighty God: For a time I lay secretly in England afterwards I came beyond the seas into these Catholicks countries, out of schisme and heresie: for the which I do thake almighty God much more than for all the estimation that I had or mighte have had in Englande. Whatsoever my estate is here, I doe more esteem it, then all the riches of England as it now standeth."¹⁸⁹

Catholic writers like Thomas Hide A Consolatorie Epistle (1580) linked justice to faith. "Where there is not a sound faith" he writes "there cannot be iustice, for ye iust man liueth by faith". To practice one's religion freely among friends outweighs the distress of banishment.

"Yet it is our benefite to be where we may liue in unitie, wher we may serue God openly and confesse our faith freely. If it be a punishment to back the companie

and comfort of our friends, yet is it our benefite to be out of the Companie of Schismatikwes and heretikes".

There may not have been systematic persecution of Catholics in Sussex or Hampshire in the 1570's, but the encroaching clouds of such persecutions were looming on the horizon. This led to an inner forboding and apprehension of impending sin in Catholic minds: 'were there no outward persecution, yet is this an inward persecution' writes Hide "to heare the disorders, and to see the outrages of euill men". Living among heretics is in itself an intolerable oppression. "What an exercise is it to the Catholike to liue among uncivill Protestantes, to liue among such as be not so litle as Heretikes." It was not so much actual persecution that drove Catholics into exile in the 1570's but the intolerable challenge to their beliefs: "what man that is of any christian sense, or Catholike zeale, can heare with patient eares Goddes annoynted priest and prince of his people to be called antichriste, Christ's saints to be dishonoured, Christ's Sacraments to be contemned... to the good and godly this is a persecution, though there were no other persecution."¹⁹⁰

Persons, writing to the Rector of the English College, Rome, from London on Nov. 17th 1580 said:

"we hear that a month ago the names of 50,000 (Catholics) had already been given in, who were refusing to attend the Churches of the heretics... so many are found openly to incur the risk of losing their liues and all their fortunes rather than consent even to go beneath the roofs of the heretics meeting places".

Persons relates the offer made to some imprisoned Catholic gentlemen "that, if they would attend the Churches of the heretics once a year only... they would be immediately released from prison."¹⁹¹

However, sending a young boy for Seminary training to the Continent was a move in which political considerations of patronage and protection loomed large. Political links were necessary for settling in Europe. English emigres - politicians, priests, writers etc. - depended heavily on the goodwill "of foreign governments whose goodwill was far from automatic".¹⁹² If Southwell was to be sent to William Allen's Seminary at

Douai, Allen's position itself, in Flanders, may well have been examined by Southwell's milieu. It was difficult for an English Catholic to survive in Europe without highpowered political connections through which he could prove his usefulness. Allen was supported by Spain (See Ch. 6), and Allen's politics were part and parcel of the education to which Southwell was being sent to partake of. "Political thought and action" writes Professor Bossy "was an indispensable adjunct to the Catholic exiles' seminarian activity". Neither William Allen nor Robert Persons, believed that political action could solve the problems of English Catholicism "but the alternative to politics was quietism and a passive trust in providence, and if they had thought in these terms they would never have begun the mission at all".¹⁹³ So going into self-exile in Europe was a high-risk undertaking, politically. However, such high risks were reduced in Southwell's case by the fact that he did have a guardian on the Continent, his uncle Thomas Copley, self exiled in Flanders since 1569.

Sending student priests to seminaries in Europe encountered increasing difficulties in the 1570's. This probably accounts for Southwell not leaving for Douai till 1576 at the age of fifteen, although Tridentine decrees fixed the minimum entrance age to seminaries at twelve.¹⁹⁴ Elizabethan surveillance over ports and shipping was growing more strict by the year. The government was fully alerted to the danger posed by Continental-trained priests. Although such priests were hunted down, imprisoned and executed, the laity entertaining them in their houses "were rarely considered thereby to have become colored with a suspicion of treason".¹⁹⁵ This may have encouraged the Catholic laity to both help despatch Southwell to the Continent, and harbour him when he returned. However, sending him across to Douai illicitly was a dangerous task. Spies operated from Continental as well as from English ships and ports. In 1570 Cecil's agents lured Dr. John Storey - a naturalized Spanish subject - on board an English ship in Antwerp shortly before sailing with a cargo of Catholic books, and Storey was charged with high treason.¹⁹⁶

Thus, a whole set of factors, religious, political as well as those of family connections and influences prepared Southwell for Seminary training on the Continent. But getting Southwell over to the Continent required careful planning. He could not embark from a channel port. He had to be

shipped away secretly from a coastal creek or cove with the help of friends. We do not know for certain that Southwell actually did leave for Douai from Warblington. But assuming that Devlin's opinion that he did is correct, then Southwell appeared to have left for Douai from Warblington for the following reasons:-

1. Geographic: Warblington, the Cotton's home, lies opposite Hayling Island (See Maps 2,3). between the two is a stretch of shallow mud flats through which a large number of creeks flow into a channel called Sweare Deep. These numerous creeks and channels all heading for the sea, make it difficult for a spy to trace a coaster's destination or its point of departure. The waters around Hayling Island were notoriously rough, and continuous bad weather makes spying difficult. Before 1823 when a bridge was to be built across Langstone Harbour, Hayling Island was inaccessible in bad weather.¹⁹⁷ The sea ravaged the island considerably. As far back as 1324-5 the losses of Hayling Priory due to ravages of the sea was estimated at £ 42, and in 1346 it was reported "to have been laid waste daily".¹⁹⁸ Also, the Cotton family would have legitimate reasons for movement on both sides of Warblington, since they owned Emmsworth, originally a tithing and Hamlet of Warblington, and which was included in the compounded lands of Sir Richard Cotton.¹⁹⁹ So, geographically, Warblington with its neighbouring multiplicity of creeks, channels, islands mostly battered by heavy seas, was the ideal place for a surreptitious crossing to the Continent.

However, in the 1570's the Hampshire coast acquired a greater strategic significance, and was not merely viewed as a place for illegal communications with Europe. Spain was giving serious thought to a naval invasion of England. The Isle of Wight, immediately facing the Hampshire coast, acquired an urgent strategic priority [See back pocket, Vol II of this thesis, Map 2]. It would receive the first blow during an invasion, and was seen as a haven where invasion fleets coming up the Channel could find harbour. Spanish naval strategists in 1574 advised seizing a port as far West as possible to establish a naval supply base. With the Isle of Wight seized, Spain could stand fast till concerted action with the Duke of Parma operating from the Netherlands could be adjusted".²⁰⁰ Camden describes the Isle of Wight as not lacking in "natural fortifications,

being surrounded by a continued range of rocks..."²⁰¹ Robert Persons in a letter dated March 8th 1584 wrote from Flanders "For only yesterday there came here an English Catholic gentleman, a native of the Isle of Wight - bringing a safe plan for the capture of the Island with a handful of men. And the Prince of Parma here was very pleased with it, and there upon at once wrote a report on the whole matter to the King".²⁰²

Fears of invasion prompted the Elizabethan authorities to redouble their watch on the Hampshire coastline. Warblington was especially watched due to both its position and its previous history of illicit communication. In January 1577, the Privy Council took bond of Humphrey White "for conveying letters and messages to and from Her Majesty's evilly disposed subjectes remaining in the parts beyond the seas".²⁰³ However, it was only in the mid 1580's that the Elizabethan authorities were alerted to the danger of coastal creeks as venues for illegal communication, as distinct from the coastline itself. On April 13th 1585 Nichols Berden, the spy, reported one William Braye a servant of the Earl of Arundel "and a common conveyor of priests and recusants". Berden warned Walsingham "to look towards the creeks near Arundel and towards Portsmouth". As a result Braye was arrested where Berden said he would be found.²⁰⁴

However, the sheer intricate geography of the Hampshire coastline, of recusant residences such as Warblington being near the shore, the coast's proximity to France, and that the authorities in 1576 were not as fully informed about the situation as they were to be a decade later - all enabled illicit cross channel traffic to continue in spite of government vigilance.

2. The Availability of Suitable Pretexts at Warblington for Illicit Traffic with the Continent

Due to surveillance, and to Warblington's history of illicit cross-channel communication, Southwell's crossing from Warblington to Europe had to be done under elaborate cover. Evidence suggests that such cover took the form of legitimate trade. Hampshire kersies, for instance, were exported as far afield as Italy and Hungary.²⁰⁵ Salt-making was practised on the coast, and since 1565 iron pans for salt-production were imported from the Netherlands and the recusant gentry living near the coast took

part in salt production.²⁰⁶ George Cotton was also known to have dealt in the livestock export trade. In 1597 William Uvedale, J.P. questioning two French sailors while on his way to Langstone harbour, was told that they had stayed for a night at "Mr. George Cotton of Warblington"; had come to buy horses from him, and brought money to pay Cotton for the livestock. Further questioning revealed that a "M. Lalore, Deputy-Lieutenant of Normandy" came over in the barque and "was at Court with the object of obtaining a licence to transport the horses". The sailors also said that in the previous year they bought "nine or ten horses" from Cotton. Dr. J.E. Paul believes that "in addition to the horses, missionary priests or children from the colleges had been carried from (or to) France".²⁰⁷ Thus it is very probable that Southwell together with George Cotton's son John were hurried secretly abroad a barque that was loading such commodities as salt, kersies or livestock for export, or aboard a vessel that had unloaded and was about to sail. And yet sending Southwell across to Douai was not an easy task. As Richard Simpson explained graphically "The preliminaries ... of sending off a few youths for education beyond sea were as much matters of secret conclave and dark-lanterns as the Gunpowder Plot itself".²⁰⁸

The actual transportation of Southwell to the Continent was only one link in a chain of arrangements that had to be made before student priests arrived at their seminary. John Bossy explains:

All along the north-west coast of Europe, from Antwerp to San Lucar de Barrameda, merchants and agents oiled the wheels of (this) enterprise: English or half-English, men who had been trading there for years or new men put there for the purpose, but in either case men who knew the world of commerce and long-range communication. They operated at the junction between the continental network and the routes in and out of England; they arranged passages, gave directions, lent money saw to its conveyance, received under their own name goods to be sold for the benefit of an emigre, cashed bills of exchange; they received and forwarded letters, gathered news and passed it along the

line to Douai, Rheims or Rome... Without them, and without the network of communications on which they operated, the (English) mission is inconceivable.²⁰⁹

CHAPTER FIVE - SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In ^{the} Southern counties Southwell could have been in contact with a distinctively loyalist Catholic milieu. Many of his relations however were full-blown recusants, exiles and included the Jesuit Thomas Pounce. It would appear that Robert Southwell perhaps under his mother's - rather than his father's - influence was drawn towards what was later to be the more intransigent wing of Elizabethan Catholicism. Evidence suggests that Southwell led a mobile life in the Southern counties of Surrey, Sussex and Hampshire, gravitating Westwards from the relative provincialism of Sussex to the more satisfying atmosphere available in the Catholic nobility's households at Tichfield and Cawdray. These years were formative ones. The Catholic gentry and aristocratic centres oriented Southwell's adolescence towards religion. Given his own particular circumstances, a life of religion was the only way out for him: "The life of religion, whether in a monastery, in a hermitage, or on the pilgrim road, was a compelling alternative to that of a soldier, a housewife, or a peasant - even to the life of a prince - and countless young men, and women responded to its attractions during their years of formation and decision".²¹⁰ In the Southern counties Southwell was between the ages of eleven and seventeen, "a time for self-discovery and commitment, ... characterized by both internal conflict and family contest. The drama of internal conflict was played out over the teenager's acceptance or rejection of the world, symbolized most typically by the choice between chastity and unchastity",²¹¹ and in the Sixteenth century Catholic context that involved the priestly vow of celibacy. The net effect of Southwell's sojourn in the Southern counties emanated from both the gentry and noble milieu. The reduced political stature of his gentry relatives may have showed him "how vulnerable life and religion could be without political power". Cawdray and Tichfield demonstrated, on the other hand how religion, with the protection of political power, could safely survive. An element of rebelliousness against alienation is embodied in Southwell's departure for Douai. Both the Fifteenth and Sixteenth centuries saw the rise and triumph of rebellious teenagers "who stood their ground and ended

by converting their parents" (as Southwell tried to convert his father), and in so doing were encouraged in their quest for perfection by, among other things, the availability "of advanced religious education".²¹²

CHAPTER SIX

DOUAI - 1576

The General Situation in the Netherlands on Southwell's Arrival

A portrait of Philip II of Spain (1527-1598) by Pantoja de la Cruz shows a gaunt intense man in his sixties, displaying that proud Castilian composure called "Sosiego", aggressively clad in black from head to foot. No embellishments seem to brighten the dreary black attire of the ageing sovereign, not even a crucifix. However, a careful scrutiny of this portrait would reveal a tiny bauble suspended by a black ribbon hung round the neck:- The Medal of the Order of the Golden Fleece.¹

The Order of the Golden Fleece was a symbol of the anomaly of Spanish rule in the Netherlands, a society of highly developed economic, social and cultural patterns. Through historical and genealogical flukes it was ruled by a distant and alien South European nation. The Golden Fleece was an emblem of a decaying chivalric order which in the Sixteenth century symbolised an attempt to bring the two disparate European entities together, and its failure was both a cause and effect of forcing such an impractical unity on the Netherlands. Founded by Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy on his marriage on January 10th 1429, as a secular chivalric order, the Golden Fleece became a symbol of Burgundian power. It outshined other orders of chivalry, and one of its main functions "was to unite the nobility of the different Burgundian territories and bind them in close personal dependence on the duke".² The Order came to symbolize the link, tenuous as it was, between Hapsburg and Burgundian. Mary, only daughter of Charles the Bold of Burgundy married Maximilian of Austria, elected Emperor in 1494 and he claimed the right to interfere in Netherlands affairs as regent for his son, Philip, who married Juana the Mad, daughter and heiress of Ferdinand and Isabella. When Philip I died in 1506 his son Charles V (1500-1558), born in Ghent, succeeded him as Duke of Brabant and Count of Holland, which became his hereditary title and that of his son Philip II.³ The Burgundian advisors of both Charles V and his son Philip prodded the two monarchs to retain their Netherlands

possessions. Guillaume De Croy, Seigneur de Chievres, Charles V's Burgundian adviser pointed out Spain's responsibility towards its Netherlands subjects, and the Hapsburg obligation to revive the splendours of the ancient Dukes of Burgundy.⁴ Philip II own Burgundian advisor, Granvelle, wanted Spain to concentrate on the Netherlands and Atlantic affairs and assume a strictly defensive role in the Mediterranean.⁵ Philip II was urged to incorporate the Low Countries into the Spanish Empire. He was encouraged by the Netherlands enthusiasm for this union during his father's reign. As R.B. Merriman explained: "The Netherlands regarded the acquisition of the Spanish inheritance for their sovereign as a point of honour, and felt that a union of both peoples under a single ruler would work to the advantage of both".⁶ The Golden Fleece had given a national outlook to local Netherlands magnates, but its success was closely tied to its Burgundian origins, and after Charles V's death, the Order was no longer identified with Burgundy, but had become Hapsburg, Imperial, Spanish. Under Charles V, "this difference remained hidden and the nobility served him with entire conviction. Under his successor (Philip II) the contrast was soon to come to light".⁷ Philip II's harshness towards the Netherlands nobility who were members of the Order of the Golden Fleece contributed to its downfall, thereby weakening yet further the Order as a symbol of Spain's links with the Netherlands. The Duke of Alba, entering Brussels on August 22nd 1567 was ordered by Philip II to punish the leaders of the rebellion against him, amongst whom were the Counts of Egmont and Hoorne, both knights of the Golden Fleece and sworn Catholics. Both were arrested in September 1567, put on trial for treason and executed in June 1568.⁸ Philip II persisted in his attempts to fuse the two disparate entities - Spain and the Netherlands. The Revolt of the Netherlands, one result of this attempt, reached a crescendo of bloody ferocity during the very months Southwell was in Flanders.

The above account of Spanish-Netherlands relations through the order of the Golden Fleece; the failure of the order, the Revolt of the Netherlands, the retribution and ferocity, may have seemed to English Catholic eyes an aggravating parallel to the situation in England. It probably showed Southwell that life gets worse, not better, that "breeders of strife" are everywhere, that today is better than tomorrow, that escape abroad may well be less wise than staying at home. The Order of the

Golden Fleece, once a symbol of noble brotherhood and knightly unity had become a painful travesty of the chivalry it once purported to represent. The agony of the Netherlands was compounded by its relatively small area, its high standards of development and its density of urbanization. It was approximately 3/5 the size of England, with a population in 1525 of 1.85 million rising to a probable 3 million in 1600, half of whom lived in the Southern Provinces.⁹ Flanders was densely populated. "In that part of Belgique that obeyeth K. Philip" wrote Ludovico Guicciardini later in the Sixteenth century "there are walled townes 208; townes priuiledged as walled townes 150; villages with Parish churches, aboue 6300 ... and 60 strong places (citadels) with garisons"¹⁰ Southwards, "The aire is very wholesom ... The countrey flat, the soil fruitfull, but especially towards the sea and Towardes France."¹¹

The seventeen Netherlands provinces have been described as "the most advanced economy in the world;" and London as "Antwerp's Satellite".¹² From 1553 to 1564 Sir Thomas Gresham (1519?1579) "The Crown Merchant" negotiated in Antwerp about £750,000 in loans to be spent mainly on purchasing arms, ammunition and other military equipment.¹³ At its peak (1500-1575) Antwerp did more trade in a fortnight than Venice did in a year.¹⁴ Over 1,000 freight wagons a week came into the city from Germany, France and the Low Countries making Antwerp Europe's richest and busiest market.¹⁵ The Netherlands and England in the 1570's may be respectively compared to our contemporary developed and underdeveloped countries, the latter depending on the former for loans, military equipment and capital goods. The Netherlands during both Charles V and Philip II's reigns have been described as "a prosperous and highly cultured people".¹⁶ Young Southwell arriving in the Netherlands, would have noticed its advanced stage of development. In contrast to the booming modern industry, shipping and commerce of the Netherlands, Sussex was a backwater, its few industries of fishing, farming and iron smelting were in decline, and its thick virgin woodlands were ferociously ravaged by the iron smelting gentry as was described in verse by Thomas Fuller:

Jove's oak, the warlike ash, veined elm, the softer beech,
Short hazel, maple plain, light asp, the bending wych,
Tough holly, and smooth birch, must altogether burn:
What should the builders serve, supplies the forger's turn;

When under public good, base private gain takes hold,
And we poor woful Woods to ruin lastly sold".¹⁷

The main Sussex industry of iron-smelting accentuated its general economic decline by depleting woodlands and thereby increasing port and harbour silting through soil erosion (See Ch. 5). Its towns differed greatly from Flemish walled towns and cities. Sussex towns in the 1520's (as they appeared to have remained till the 1570's) were part of the countryside. "From the market place in the middle of the town to the fields was literally a stone's throw in many places, and the craftsman could without inconvenience, regularly close up his shop in order to put a few hours tending his strips in the common field".^{sn18} Surrey and Hampshire - aside from Southampton - were as underdeveloped as Sussex when compared with the Netherlands. Fuller describes Hampshire's "Commodities" as being red-deer, honey and hogs, although some cloth and salt were produced. Surrey produced nothing more than "Fuller's earth" (used in cloth making) walnuts and boxwood.¹⁹ The three counties were largely rural, picturesque, gentry-dominated, backward, easy-going, stable, hospitable, and reactionary. "Must we please the people?" asked an alderman during a stormy Chichester election. "No, no, the people must be governed not pleased" was the indignant reply.²⁰ Southwell probably left the three counties with a predilection for the relaxed, the contented and the generous propensities in human nature.

Flanders was to be a rude shock to him. It was the opposite of his former milieu. First it was in a much higher state of development than the rural hinterlands he was brought up in, and thus the tempo and genre of life would be more vigorous, wilful and far less relaxed. He would be struck by the combined social, political and ethical peculiarities of the Netherlands people. Unlike England, a single nation-state subdivided administratively into counties, the Netherlands were a miscellaneous collection of entities bound together by purely personal ties. They included four duchies, five lordships, six counties and two margravates. The inhabitants of Flemish and Brabant towns were industrious, intelligent, comfortably housed, well-clad and economically prosperous, and government was best that could keep them in such prosperity.²¹ The wealthy Flemish towns were "peopled by an independent race of traders and

craftsmen"; by "militant weavers, carpenters, fishermen and dock workers... a turbulent and diversified society enjoying a unique and highly individual culture of its own".²² The manors, messuages and hamlets that Southwell knew were in an altogether different world.

More disturbing for Southwell would be the ingrained Netherlandish toleration of heresy. This spirit of religious toleration is best represented by William of Orange, who advocated Protestant-Catholic understanding, heard mass daily while his wife and daughter openly embraced Lutheranism; was so discreet religiously that very few knew his real inclinations; who fervently believed that judgment of religion should be left for God alone - all exemplify the essence of Netherland religious toleration.²³ William of Orange represented the "Augsburg Spirit". The Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555) tacitly presupposed that princes could settle whether Lutheranism or Catholicism was to be their principality's religion - *Cujus Regio, Ejus Religio*.²⁴ To Catholics like Southwell, such toleration was an appeasement of heresy at the expense of the sacred principles of the Catholic Church.

But the most striking aspect of the Netherlands in 1576 was the trauma of revolution and bloodshed that was tearing the Low Countries. As Southwell arrived during the second week of June, Spanish troops were about to besiege the town of Alost, (about 25 km from Ghent). Almost every month since June brought blood-curdling reports of mass slaughter. In September Spanish mutineers seized Maastricht, massacring the garrison and inhabitants. October witnessed the notorious sack of Antwerp, when Spanish troops killed 8,000 civilians; and was followed by the pacification of Ghent whereby all provinces united to expel the Spaniards.²⁵ Philip II was stuck in the Netherlands quagmire which he ruled in "flat defiance of the most obvious dictates of racial, geographical and political expediency", alternatively trying terrorism and conciliation. He "miserably failed in both".²⁶ Spain justified its suppression of the Netherlands through the belief that Habsburg power was a house of cards - the Netherland card falling, the whole house collapses.²⁷ The thriving economic ties between Spain and the Netherlands was a form of suicide pact, with lucrative trade aggravating unwanted political ties. Spain exported to the Low Countries raw materials such as merino wool, oil, wine, salt, cochineal (a scarlet dye) iron, hides and

sugar; and imported large quantities of high-quality woollen and linen cloth and fabrics amounting to almost 30% of Antwerp's textile exports. Spain also imported from the Netherlands metal products for domestic and colonial agriculture and industry; arms and weapons; mercury for silver mines, cereals and naval stores. The balance of trade was overwhelmingly in the Low Countries favour, an imbalance settled by Spain in hard cash. Economically, the Netherlands needed the Spanish connection.²⁸

The most distressing aspect of Flanders in 1576 was the behaviour of the Spanish soldiery. Spain's 800 year confrontation with the Moors nourished religious and military enthusiasm as well as notions of racial superiority - "Limpieza de Sangre" (purity of blood).²⁹ By 1576, however, Spain's military thinking was still medieval. Prisoners were exchanged after each campaign. Direct trade with the enemy was tolerated. Primitive supply services and pitiful pay meant subsistence existence for soldiers which led to looting and mutiny. Spanish garrisons in the Netherlands consisted of "bored, impoverished, but well-armed young men," who "inevitably formed a pool of lawlessness, of gambling and vice, crime and cruelty, lechery and licence in the centre of every community".³⁰ Troop lawlessness and indiscipline was aggravated by the recruitment of criminals and convicts. The soldiery often turned on the local peasantry and burghers "with the savagery which... they were paid to inflict on the enemy".³¹ Low pay, well below subsistence level, was a main cause of indiscipline. "Everything is so expensive" complained a Captain-General on September 19th 1574 "that even if wages could be paid in full every month (the soldiers) could not live on three times as much because even the most ... frugal soldier needs just for food 10 pattards a day and his wages are 4; and the light cavalry trooper, who causes the greatest resentment here, needs almost 30 pattards daily to feed himself, his horse and his lackey, and his wage amounts to no more than 9."³² The result was looting and brutality that became legendary even in Spain, giving rise to the saying "Estamos aqui o en Flandes?" (Are we here or in Flanders?) meaning "Is this a proper way to behave?" Spain's soldiery ravaged the Netherlands with a vengeance. "They acted as if they were in enemy territory" wrote the Archbishop of Cambrai in August 1577 "saying that everyone is a heretic, that the Netherlands have wealth and ought to lose it".³³ Spain became synonymous with horror. "In the Netherlands" Don

John wrote to Philip II "the name of your majesty is as much abhorred and despised as that of the Prince of Orange is loved and feared".³⁴ The most probable effect of the general situation in the Netherlands on Southwell was to demonstrate the consequences of the spread of heresy, and the ravages which follow efforts to eradicate it.

Southwell in Douai, Walloon Flanders: June to November 1576

Flanders lies on the shore of the North Sea, bounded by Zealand on the North, Brabant on the East, Walloon Flanders and Artois on the South. Its length "from Antwerp to the New Fosse is 33 leagues, the breadth ... 30 leagues".³⁵ A flat country of rich soil, it was densely populated and studded with walled towns. "In Flanders" wrote Guicciardini "there are 28 walled townes - all the which are faire townes".³⁶ Flanders had 1154 vilages, 48 abbeys and nunneries and an "infinite" number of priories, canonical colleges and monasteries. So densely urbanized was Flanders that the Spaniards, says Guicciardini, "at first coming... seeing such a multitude of towns, villages, monasteries and buildings said that all Flanders was but one cittie". He called Flanders "the mightiest countie in Christendome as Milan is the mightiest Dutchye and France the mightiest realme".³⁷

Walloon Flanders, in which Douai is situated, has Flanders to the North and Northwest, Hainaut and Tournai to the East, Artois to the South and Southwest and Cambresis to the South east. Though small in size yet by the mid Sixteenth century it included almost one-tenth of the inhabitants of the Low Countries - 150,000 out of a total Netherland population of two million. Further South the population became sparser, settlements smaller and further apart than in the Northern part of the province. This tiny province had its own representative at the "Estates" - the central government, which appointed a governor who headed an administrative system called "the Gouvernance". Through this system Walloon Flanders was politically integrated into the Spanish Netherlands.³⁸

The walled town of Douai lay on the river Scarpe at a crossroads where a route from Champagne to the North intersected one connecting Artois and Hainaut. Douai was positioned between two agricultural regions: Southwards lay fine soils for growing grain, much of it shipped by river

to Flemish cities through Douai. The river Scarpe was navigable only up to Douai, which made the town probably the largest grain market in Sixteenth century Netherlands. "Douai" affirmed Margaret of Parma, Regent of the Netherlands on September 18th 1566, "is the principal staple town for growing grain in the Low Countries".³⁹ In 1575, 30,557,520 litres of grain were sold on the Douai staple market. [30,315 "muids" were sold. 1 muid = 12 Raisieres, 1 Rasiere = roughly 84 litres].⁴⁰ "At Douay" writes Guicciardini "is a staple of Corne, brought thither out of diuers countreys, whereof as also of diuers other merchandizes there is great traffique in this towne".⁴¹

Surrounding the walled town was the "chatellenie" or "plat-pays" of rural Walloon Flanders in which 160 communities flourished containing, by the mid Sixteenth century, some 17600 households. The surrounding settlements sold in Douai such items as pastel; madder-wort (a red dye plant), grain, horses, wood, flax, stone and vegetables.⁴²

Douai was a major frontier post. Close to the French border, and a road and river communication centre, the town was strategically situated, and always on the alert against threats of invasion from France. It was also significant religiously in its location. Walloon Flanders was dangerously near the French border. The Government feared that France would attract the Walloons spiritually and educationally. Louvain was there to counterbalance French educational influence but was proving to be inadequate, and the Hapsburgs were afraid that Rheims might shine as the cultural mecca for Walloon Flanders. This prompted Charles V to choose Douai as an educational and seminarian centre to counterbalance Rheims.

A General Description of Douai

Douai was an ancient town, strongly protected by an outer wall. Guicciardini described it as "a good and a stronge towne hauing many fountaynes & faire (though ancient) buidings".⁴³ In 1578 Douai had some 1550 houses and a population of 10,000. Taken with the staff and student numbers at the University and its allied institutions, the total population of the town may have touched the 12,000 mark.⁴⁴ The majority of its inhabitants were independent artisans or merchants making and vending wares in small, self-contained shops. Very few of them owned much wealth, but most owned the bare essentials of existence - the houses they

lived in and the tools of their trade. They were neither well-off nor poor-house paupers. Conditions in Douai, even in the darkest days, rarely led to hard times for the masses. But though spared the horrors of pauperdom and destitution, its people were constantly at the mercy of market and political conditions. Any disruption in these areas deprived Douai's artisans of prosperity.⁴⁵ After the decline of the cloth industry earlier in the century, by the 1570's Douai's economy depended largely on grain, goods and services; although a small cloth industry making new textiles like "bourgettes" and "tripe de velours" (velveteen) continued to function.⁴⁶ The contraction of the cloth industry made Douai increasingly dependent on the surrounding countryside for trade. In prosperous peaceful times, peasants drove hundreds of wagons heavily laden with grain through the town gates to the market squares. Having sold their grain, their wallets bulged with cash which they promptly spent on items such as shoes, hose, clothing and tavern drinking; thereby providing employment for about 150 households. However, by 1576 the Spanish soldiery saw attractive targets for plunder in the rich Flemish countryside, and as was the case in the late medieval and early modern period, it became virtually impossible to work the land. Populations fled to the walled safety of the towns, causing dense concentrations of urban population and declining agricultural production.⁴⁸

Douai had, effectively, two social classes. The artisans, small merchants, hotelieres, tavern keepers etc... formed the lower class. The upper class consisted of heavily intermarried grain wholesalers, high ranking central government officials, a few professional men such as lawyers and some rich traders and farmers. There was no gentry with whom Southwell could feel an affinity, mix with socially, or rely on - through introduction - for friendship, protection and support. Douai, in the mid Sixteenth century, was ruled by a group of fourteen listed families, who dominated town government. These families were: the Aparisis family; the Bonnenuict; Commelin; de Bon; Marchie; de Cantin; de Raismes; de Vermelles; du Crocquet; Lalloe; Le Main; Pannequin; Sallé Vaillant and Wion.⁴⁹ The singular aspect of Douai's town government was its exclusiveness. Popular participation was not encouraged. "Accountability flowed upwards, towards the central government, not downward through the townspeople".⁵⁰ Trade guilds in Douai were under town government -

"magistrat" - control, whereas in other towns like Ghent, the Guilds controlled town government.⁵¹

Douai was ruled by a tightly-knit merchant clique quite alien to Southwell's background. The magistrat ruled the town with iron fists. They had no qualms about expelling any foreigner who had been in residence for up to three yeras. In 1557 individuals receiving charity for two years in town were told to leave within eight days or be considered rebels. In summer 1569 all who immigrated into Douai within the three previous years without Magistrat permission had to leave. All who entered since 1564 when agitation in the Netherlands began were summoned to explain themselves and what they were doing in Douai.⁵² In the 1570's rules were tightened still further. All newcomers had to declare themselves. Hotel keepers had to make daily reports on lodgers. Militia captains kept registers of all strangers in their districts. An "alien" came to mean anyone who is not a citizen of Douai. As far back as 1562 even temporary visitors had to state their "quality" by filling out forms stating their birthplace, present residence, where they came from, how long they intended to stay and date of departure. They had to provide references, mainly in the form of letters from their pastors to prove their Catholicism. These procedures applied to everyone, including foreign students and were in force till the 1580's.⁵³

Douai was hypersensitive about its security. In the walled towns of the Netherlands urban security was of topmost importance; more important than the danger posed by external enemies. The rivers by which walled towns like Douai were built could become a menace to security as potential avenues of infiltration. Town morale was very important and extra security was needed to maintain it. A survey in 1566 showed 430 men available for service, and watch and guard duties were organized. This state of emrgency exacerbated tempers and led to the victimization of foreign students (See below). Militiamen had to be alert to every danger that might threaten the town. They also resented being taken away from their normal employment for guard duty. A mixture of stress and boredom had detrimental effects on town security. Early in 1577 armed guards in the squares and at the Town gates were shooting at house cornices, statues and signposts from sheer boredom. They began extorting money from peasants bringing in their produce, who retaliated by bringing their own

guns when driving wagons into town.⁵⁴

The nervousness and stress felt by the town guards was reflected in the general apprehension of the townspeople about the growing number of foreign students many years before Southwell's arrival. A significant proportion of foreign students were of British origin. Sixteenth century Flemings did not think much about English vigour and industry, and thus may have looked down on English students as burdensome drones. Emmanuel Van Meteren, an Antwerp Merchant, travelling across England wrote in 1575 a tract entitled "The Pictures of the English in Queen Elizabeth's reign" in which he refers to the English as "...not so... industrious as the Netherlanders or French, as they lead for the most part an indolent life, like the Spaniards; the most toilsome, difficult and skilful works are chiefly performed by foreigners, as among the idle Spaniards".⁵⁵ Local animosities against both English and Spaniard erupted in 1576, the year of Southwell's arrival and one of the most traumatic in Flemish history. Southwell's stay in Douai coincided almost to the month with "The Spanish Fury of Alost". The Spaniards took the town of Alost on July 25th 1576 - about six weeks after Southwell's arrival - and occupied it till November 3rd 1576.⁵⁶ During this period, local xenophobia in Douai took on its most virulent form. The Sack of Alost in June and July was followed by the Sack of Antwerp in October and November 1576. The Flemish townspeople were driven half-mad with grief at the horrors inflicted on their towns and cities. Earlier, the poetess Anna Bijns (1495-1575) cried out in anguish:

"The world is full of error, where shall we flee
Where have we come to! May God take pity on us".⁵⁷

Watchmen on guard duty in Douai were drowning their sorrows in drink and venting their anger and frustration at passing clergymen and students. Criminal records show that in summer 1576 repeated incidents of guard laxity, intoxication and neglect appeared regularly. There were brawls at the gates, in the squares, alleys and by the walls when those insulted or abused answered back and got into fights with watchmen or militiamen on duty. Records also show the nature of the offences changing from 1576 to 1578. Arrests for theft, prostitution and drunkenness - the standard offences for previous years - had given way to arrests for insulting or

threatening behaviour towards clergymen and students, as well as for rumour-mongering, sedition or suspicion of it. "Anti-social behaviour yielded primacy to more political conduct".⁵⁸

Following are examples of such incidents:-

1. During guard duty on August 6th 1577, a brewer was said to have insulted a Jesuit to his face, but was not punished.
2. By the end of August 1577, "four men were found guilty of conspiring to waylay and beat up university students caught outside the town walls".
3. A roofer was executed on November 16th 1577 for boasting that he could raise 500 men "to pillage university property and kill off all outsiders connected with its institutions".
4. A boatman was whipped on September 30th 1578 for saying, in public, that he hoped that "all professors and students of divinity connected with the university be banished".⁵⁹

These incidents reflect a backlash of xenophobia after Southwell left. yet xenophobia was very much in evidence before and during his six month stay in Douai. On October 5th 1576, five months after Southwell's arrival, a law had been passed forbidding townspeople to "mal dire ou mal faire" towards English, Irish and Scottish students most of whom studied theology.⁶⁰ Rumours that Don John had taken Louvain - as he was to do next spring - prompted the Douai militia to throw cordons of armed men around every college, threatening to expel all their occupants. The townspeople had assumed that ecclesiastical students had aided in Louvain's fall. As Dr. Saint-Cyr Duplessis points out, their "fears were not unfounded": Don John was advised to direct Jesuits, Franciscans and other orders to remain in Douai and to continue preaching "without regard for estates or others".⁶¹

As to why English, Irish and Scots students should be singled out for vengeance for Spanish atrocities, the explanation is simple. They were seen to be proteges of the widely unpopular figure of Philip II. William Allen, Rector of the English College had been a distributor of alms donated by Philip II to the English exiles in Flanders, thereby attracting hostile local attention. "We are said to be partisans of the Spaniards who were killed anywhere by anyone with impunity" an English voice

complains, and when news of the Sack of Antwerp by Spanish Troops on Nov. 4th 1576 came through "every sign of cheerfulness visible in an Englishman was misinterpreted as an indication that he was triumphing over the calamities of Belgium". English Catholics were aware that they were liable to be persecuted both by Catholics and Protestants while they were in exile. Thomas Hide A Consolatorie Epistle writes: "We haue bene griued not only by the heretik, whose treasons we misliked but by the Catholike also to whom we fled to be releued. And we haue bene so griued by both that necessitie forced to change our place, hardly were we suffered to remaine in place, and not without trouble in whatsoeuer place." But in spite of the distress of exile and its tribulations, Catholics taught themselves to endure it as the lesser of many other evils. Gregory Martin in "A Letter Sente by M. Licentiate Martin to a married priest his frende." writes: "But I thinke I may saye of vs all which are here so smal number, if we should die in banishment, if we were driuen to begge among strangers, if any miserie should befall vs, yet if we continue Catholike and in the feare of God, al is our ioy, our Crowne, our triumphe. But to say trulie, we haue all sufficientlye and my selfe was neuer in so good state in England, as here I am in all respects".⁶²

However, hostility towards foreign students was not due exclusively to political factors. Xenophobia was aggravated by local behavioural patterns. Douai, like most Flemish towns suffered from widespread drunkenness. Drinking accompanied all aspects of life in Douai. To seal a deal, "une licope" - a drink - was obligatory. Building workers having completed a construction project had to celebrate with a drinking session. During and after processions, feasts, solemnities, and other various occasions, participants refreshed themselves copiously with drink. Even after a burial, it was obligatory for mourners to adjourn to a tavern,⁶³ and at times of stress it was a very probable component of the xenophobia meted out to foreign students. Such hostility was also part of Douai's youth's "Machismo" (See below).

Since early in the Sixteenth century life in Douai was community minded. Numerous feasts and public ceremonies kept the populace entertained: "The Feast of the Donkeys" on January 1st; "St. Peter's Fair" on August 1st; "St. Remy's Feast" on October 1st; and Processions during Corpus Christi. Numerous receptions and festivities were held every year

to welcome visiting VIPs, to celebrate births in the Count of Flander's family, victories, or peace treaties, as well as local town events such as laying of foundation stones, completion of new buildings, weddings etc. Such ceremonies were celebrated in four ways: banquets and wine receptions; games and performances; processions and religious ceremonies; illuminations and bonfires. Such ceremonies often brought the whole town together: Burgomasters, bailiffs, town officers, religious fraternities, youth groups, guilds and invited guests from other towns.⁶⁴ Music, songs and dancing normally enlivened festive occasions and public celebrations: Some Flemish towns even maintained a quarter or six musicians to give concerta at gala banquets and at fairs. During processions, sabre dances and single-stick and moorish dancing were performed. Such festivities were manifestations of collective urban sociability, where expressions of collective awareness and solidarity were stimulated.⁶⁵

However, during times of stress when such festivities happened to take place, another of Douai's endemic social problems which contributed to foreign student distress manifested itself-youth hooliganism. Douai's youth were noticeable by their "macho" behaviour in a milieu saturated with aggressiveness. They distinguished themselves by a specific brutality in the face of which the authorities showed a relative tolerance, indeed a certain indulgence.⁶⁶ Violence among adolescents was not regarded as delinquency, but more as an element of urban stability. Youth needed to impress itself on the world, and was thus allowed to possess and mark out territory "in a spatial, temporal and psychological sense of the word".⁶⁷ As a result, Douai was notable for the violence of its inhabitants. Between 1496 and 1519, 668 "crimes of blood" were committed at Douai, of which 45 led to death, giving Douai a homicide rate of 19 per 100,000 inhabitants per annum. In Paris this rate was only 2.6 in 1882-1886 and 1.1 in 1963-1966. In 1976-1978 the rate did not reach 1 for the whole of France.⁶⁸ Douai youths were split into rival gangs, the butchers' sons, students, etc... Their ages varied between 18-22 years, and they were referred to as "men of marriageable age" in official documents.⁶⁹ Quarrels, brawls, challenges and fights between bands of youths recurred continuously in Sixteenth century Douai. Pretexts did not matter; it was enough to engage in a proof of strength with another "youth of marriageable age", then to join forces and fight it out as a "collective

night battle", to test "who could dominate whom".⁷⁰ As Claude Fouret points out, aggression was a recourse against anxiety and compensation for the frustrations of life (L'aggression etait un recours contre l'angoisse et la compensation des frustrations de l'existence). It was tolerated as a necessary transition between adolescence and maturity. Youth violence was often a manifestation of sexual frustration. Marriages in Douai took place relatively late; the norm being 27 years for a young man. Puberty and marriage were separated by a long and frustrating waiting period.⁷¹

The nocturnal violence of these gangs of youths would make Douai a frightening place to wander through after dark. Gangs took over urban space vacated by adults:-

"They would cut across ... streets and lanes, hang about in squares or in cemeteries especially after feasts or processions. They moved about in small groups on the lookout for "good fortune" - to give a blow with the sword or to receive one. They were all armed with swords, knives, sticks and bones ... generally the authorities scarcely ventured into their night haunts. The violence of the young was to prove to others that they existed".⁷²

Thrashing the guard on watch duty was a favourite distraction. On February 21st (year unknown) at midnight, a guard on watch duty was confronted by a gang of young roughs, one of whom stared provocatively in the guards face. Angrily asking what he was staring at, "I'm staring at a glorious Prince" the hooligan replied. Swords were immediately brandished, and the guard was mortally wounded. The authorities had to turn half a blind eye to such incidents, as it was necessary to allow young bachelors an area of freedom to let off their frustrations, "so that they might better accept the strict obedience of the town's daily life".⁷³ A very different kind of "youth culture" existed within the walls of the English College.

Southwell at the English College, Douai

Southwell registered at the English College, Douai on June 10th 1576. The College Diary reads for that date: "10^o die Mr. Cottonus et Mr Southwellus, nobiles utrique adolescentes, per communem quendam Angliae

nuncium ad nos adducti sunt".⁷⁴ (10th day Mr. Cotton and Mr. Southwell, both noble youths, were brought to us by the same messenger from England.) That month Southwell was given Catechetical instruction, privately, by Dr. Richard Bristow in his own room.⁷⁵ A fellow of Exeter College Oxford since 1567, Bristow left voluntarily for Douai in 1570.⁷⁶ He and Edmund Campion have been described as "the two brightest men in the University (Oxford)" and were thus chosen to entertain Elizabeth with a public disputation when she visited Oxford in September 1566. Bristow was also Allen's Prefect of Studies at Douai and "his right hand".⁷⁷ The arrangement for Southwell was for him to have board and lodging at the English College and attend classes at the Jesuit College, the foremost of its kind in Belgium, with an enrollment of a thousand pupils.⁷⁸ The English College, founded in 1568, was not intended to produce theologians but missionaries for England. "Our students" wrote William Allen in 1578 or 1580 "being intended for the English harvest, are not required to excel or be great proficient in theological science ... but they must abound in zeal for God's house, charity and thirst for souls".⁷⁹ The aim of the College, as expounded by Allen was to stir up "a zealous and just indignation against the heretics". This was to be done by displays of "the exceeding majesty of the ceremonial of the Catholic Church in the place where we live, the great dignity of the holy sacrifice and sacrament".⁸⁰ Aside from the positive influence of teaching Catholic ritual, the College taught how herey was doing such harm in England. "We picture to them" Allen explains "the mournful contrast visible at home, the utter desolation of all things sacred which there exists". The College, Allen explains, shows "our country once so famed for its religion and only before God now void of all religion, our friends and kinsfolk, all our dear ones and countless souls besides perishing in schism and godlessness, every jail and dungeon filled to overflowing, not with thieves and villains, but with Christ's priests and servants, nay, with our parents and kinsmen".⁸¹

A significant aspect of this "hate-the-heretics" instruction is the power of atonement such indoctrination releases. Allen sought to explain "that all these things have come upon our country through our sins".⁸² Sin was the linchpin that bound history to politics and then to personal salvation through atonement. "We ought, therefore, to do penance" Allen

writes 'and confess our sins not in a perfunctory way as we used to ... once a year; but we should go into our whole past life and perform the spiritual exercises under the fathers of the Society in order to the perfect examination of our consciences, and choose a holier state of life and one more fitted to secure our own salvation and that of others".⁸³

The English College provided accommodation and general catechetical and ritual instruction while the Jesuit College provided the solid academic education. Every day at the English College, during dinner and supper, students were given an exegesis of one chapter of the Old and another of the New Testament. Notes were taken of passages of Scripture which could support the Catholic cause or refute that of the heretics. These passages were then defended by students in a weekly disputation both from the Protestant and Catholic view points, "that they may all know better how to prove our doctrines by argument and to refute the contrary opinions".⁸⁴ Teachers supervised these disputations carefully, never allowing anything to pass uncriticised by either side without meticulous examination. In another exercise held twice a week a student delivered a sermon with intent to persuade an audience. On Sundays and feast days sermons - in English - were preached by advanced students on the gospel, epistles, or other subjects appropriate to the day, designed to "inflame the hearts of all with piety ... and zeal ... for bringing England back to the path of Salvation". Greek and Hebrew were also taught "so far as is required to read and understand the Scriptures of both Testaments in the original". There were two lectures a week and a weekly disputation on specially chosen articles of the "Summa" of Aquinas.⁸⁵ Great care was taken in instructing students how to hear confession, and were thus given instruction in the Catechism, the Sacraments and in pastoral matters. Observance of all forms of Church discipline was enforced. The power and authority of the Pope was to be made known and honoured. Allen attributed the "present miserable desolation" of England to the "exceeding neglect and contempt with which this (Papal Supremacy) was treated by Pastors and people alike".⁸⁶

But before being instructed in any of the above fields students were fully grounded in the Catechism of Peter Canisius. This explains why Southwell and other new arrivals were given Catechetical instruction privately in Bristow's room. Then they were instructed in methods of

reading the breviary, saying mass, and in using the rosary and meditations. The manual of Dr. Martin Azpilcueta (1493-1586) - "The Doctor of Nvarre" - entitled Manuale Sive Enchiridion Confessariorum et Poenitentium (Salamanca 1557) is read for an hour twice a week. Students were invited to ask questions freely about doubtful points. Otherwise, the teacher asks questions and a student answers.

William Allen's admiration for Spanish scholars and his subsequent Hispanophilic inclinations go back originally to his earlier years at Oxford. Reginald Pole, as Marian Chancellor of both Universities introduced two Spanish Scholars to Oxford: Peter de Soto who, finding traditional theology much neglected, suggested to Pole it would be useful to appoint an interpreter of the medieval doctrines of Peter Lombard. Pole also brought in Fra Bartolomeo Miranda, later Archbishop of Toledo. Pole deeply respected both de Soto and Miranda, inviting them to attend the Synod of Westminster which opened on November 4th 1555. It appears that Allen profited more than anyone else from this Spanish oriented renewal of theological learning. Allen, in 1556, at the early age of twenty-four was chosen principal of St. Mary's Hall and University Proctor and was nominated by Pole for the Mastership of Trinity College.⁸⁷ "Field cases" from England were also dealt with. The College was often consulted about various aspects of life in England. Such cases were individually discussed and then recorded in a book taken to England by priests about to embark on the English mission. Reading lists were provided for private study. High on such lists were the dogmas of the Council of Trent; "Linwood's collections from English Provincial Councils"; Bede's "Church History"; included "in order to show our countrymen from it that our nation did not receive in the beginning any other than the Catholic faith". Also included in the curriculum were the works of St. Augustine against the heretics, especially his treatise on the Unity of the Church, so that students can "acquire acuteness in discussion, knowledge of the heretical mind; Cyprian on the Unity of the Church; St. Jerome's work on Vigilantius and Jovinianus, and the work of Thomas Waldensis "who has most learnedly refuted all the tenets of the modern heretics in their parent Wickliff".⁸⁸

Students were given a thorough knowledge of the Protestant mind, how it works its inclinations and nuances. "...by frequent familiar

conversations we make our students thoroughly acquainted with the chief impieties, blasphemies, absurdities, cheats and trickeries of the English heretics, as well as with their ridiculous writings, sayings and doings".⁸⁹ Everyone hears mass very day at five a.m. The Canonical hours were said every day and confession took place every Sunday. High mass was attended by all on the feasts of St. Gregory, St. Augustine and St. Thomas of Caterbury, "to pray for the most holy Gregory our founder, for the conversion of our country, and the peace of the whole church and the place ... we live in exile". Fasting took place twice a week for the same purpose.⁹⁰

At the Jesuit College, on the other hand, Latin - Ciceronian Latin - was the principal subject taught. Epistles and speeches of Cicero, the simpler books of Virgil (such as the Georgics), extracts from Horace, Ovid and Catallus figured prominently in the Latin curriculum. Greek was a subsidiary subject taught through such original texts as Chrysostom's homilies and the New Testament.⁹¹ Other subjects such as History, Geography, etc... were mere areas of illustration for Latin, destined mainly to augment and enrich Latin vocabulary and provide Latin technical terms. In Geography the Jesuits were at an advantage, bringing back through their missionary network first-hand information about distant hitherto unknown lands. But the overall emphasis was on latin, latin style and syntax; with every author's nuances carefully expounded by the teacher.

Day boys arrived at the Jesuit College at 7.45 a.m. Classes went on from 8.00 till 10.30. High mass and dinner followed. Recreation hours took place from 1.30 till 4.00 p.m. There were one and a half hours of study in the evening.⁹² Back at the English College, students sat about ten to a table for their evening meal. Their numbers were rising continuously. By May 16th 1576, 80 students were in the seminary and 160 in the University. Four months later they totalled about 120.⁹³ Food at the English College was simple, "a little broth thickened merely with the commnest roots". Every Saturday and vigil or a Saint's day at 1.00 p.m. a sermon or exhortation was delivered in the refectory, attended by all English exiles living in Douai.⁹⁴

Southwell did well in his studies in Douai. He was rapidly promoted from "Humanities" (or poetry) to "Rhetoric" the top class in Jesuit

schools.⁹⁵ He was probably at least partially comforted by his uncle Thomas Copley, as Devlin suggests. Copley had a house in Antwerp, and was living at the time with his family at Louvain, and could easily have visited the school.⁹⁶ He was on close terms with Allen, from whom he borrowed 100 florins (date unknown) and ordered the debt to be repaid in his will: "I will that my sayde executor repaye to the right Reverend Mr. Doctor Allyn one hundred ffloorins w^{ch} he lente me", and "to my dere friend Mr. Doctor Stapleton ... twentie florens".⁹⁷

The English College in Douai had a formative influence on Southwell in two ways: first, the upheavals and xenophobia foreign students experienced in Flanders drove them closer to their compatriots for mutual protection. Second, William Allen provided those qualities which Southwell needed to draw upon as an English Catholic student exile. There are extensive parallels between Allen's background and Southwell's own. Moreover, Allen had been extensively praised by other Catholic sources on the Continent in a manner almost identical to the manner suggested here in which Southwell was influenced by Allen. Southwell does not appear to have subscribed to Allen's views, but was very probably influenced by him as a Rector. In the Humble Supplication Southwell writes:-

The Cardinalls Grace is of good auntient anhouse, and every way as worshipfully allied, as some of the highest Counsellors were in their meaner fortunes, till your Maiesties favour and their rare habilities made them steps to clymbe to their present honors. And whether of likelihood he might haue carried as high a saile, if the tyme had equally seconded him with as favourable gales, I leave to their Iudgments who are privy to his present estate, greater than England can afford to any Clergy man. For your Maiestie being as able to know, and noe lesse willing to vse the excellencies of your Subiects then other Princes, it may be iustly presumed, that he might as well haue entered into Credit at home, if his Faith had not drawen his foote from the first stepp, as with strangers in a forrayne Cuntrie, where neither familiarity with the Peeres, nor acquaintance with the Prince, but the only fame of his worthines sent an admiration and love of him into

their hearts. And whosoever considereth the manner of his advancement, being Created Cardnall alone, out of the ordinary tymes (a prerogatiue seldome yealded but to spetiall persons) who marketh his wisdome to haue bene in such reverence, that in Pope Gregories the 14. his sicknes, he thought the fittest among all the Colledge of Cardinalls to be his Vicegerent in all spirituall Causes: who knoweth the small Cause that our Cuntrie (by Lawes, Libells, and all other meanes, seeking to vndermyne the Popes Sea) hath given him to reward his subiects with soe high promotions: Finally, who weigheth the endeavours of our Counsell to hinder his preferrment, and darken his vertues with hard Informations, shall easily belieue the man to be of rare and singuler perfections, that having noe other wings to beare vp his Credit, but learning and vertue, could reach to soe high points of favour, not withstanding soe forcible and mightie letts.

Allen's own background was almost identical to that of Southwell. Allen's milieu was that of post-medieval, early Tudor England - pious, primeval, isolated, hospitable, provincial and unworldly. In this century, Allen has been described as "more learned than Wolsey; as rich in virtues and rare endowments of mind as Reginald Pole, with much the same sweetness and winning charm of demeanour".⁹⁸ Allen held strong notions of legitimacy which invigorated his and his students' faith in the reconversion of England. Rebels against legitimate rulers, along with heretics were - in his view - the very worst of offenders. Writing to Sir William Stanley in support of his surrendering Deventer to the Spaniards, he affirmed that English interference in the Wars of the Low Countries was most unjust. The Netherlands provinces belonged legally to the King of Spain, his Catholic Majesty's "auncient and undoubtful inheritance": to defend the Spanish King's rebels against their sovereign as England was doing, was unlawful and dishonourable. The Dutch rebels had no legal authority to yield their sovereign's towns and ports into his enemies hands.⁹⁹ Allen firmly believed that the State was temporal, the Church eternal and spiritual, and that in Knox's words "the temporal power should yield to

the spiritual and the natural to the supernatural".¹⁰⁰ To English Catholics generally, Allen exuded an aura of piety, giving the impression of having the stuff of which saints are made; one whose tomb could be a potential shrine. On August 3rd 1577 Mary Queen of Scots wrote to him, in cipher, from Sheffield "... of the many good reports and multitude of rare virtues flowing in you, which long ago have made your name be known not only unto me, but to... everyone of good in Christendom".¹⁰¹ Robert Persons, writing to the Nuncio at Paris in May 1583 describes Allen as possessing "the hearts of all": "Allen enjoys such authority and respect with the whole nation that his mere presence ... will weigh more with the English than several thousand soldiers ... all the exiles bear him such reverence that at a mere word from him there is nothing they would not do".¹⁰² Southwell himself deeply venerated Allen. In a letter from England to Agazario in Rome dated December 22nd 1586, he referred to "Dr. Allen, the father of his country, to whom must be ascribed whatever good we are here able to do".¹⁰³ Allen's sense of loyalty and commitment which very probably impressed Southwell as a young exile was shown in his attachment to the Douai Seminary, its staff and students. Months before his death he wrote on March 16th 1594 to a "Father Mush" a priest in England: "I pray both yourself and the fathers of the Company, and all other my godly friends, priests or laymen, that they extend their hands and hearts of compassion towards the maintenance of the seminay of Douai, which is as dear to me as my own life".¹⁰⁴

What also probably endeared Allen to Southwell as an exile was Allen's personal, non-hierarchical, non-coercive, non-disciplinarian approach to his students. Writing to a Mr. Hopkins on April 5th 1579 about the college, Allen explains that "A little government there is and order but no bondage ... There is neither oath nor statute nor other bridle nor chastisement; but reason and every man's conscience in honest superiority and subalternation each one towards other".¹⁰⁵ A Dr. Worthington, once a student under Allen in Douai wrote that:

"there was no need of any written law to keep the members in discipline... If a question arose about anything it was decided by the President, Allen, whose will was law to all ... He alone prescribed the laws of study and piety. He taught ... by example, by word of mouth ... Everyone

depended on his will like sons, and that too most readily".¹⁰⁶

Dr. Humphrey Ely describes how the students at Allen's College "lived very quietly without rigorous rules and penances or 'dicitur culpa', governed and ruled by the countenance and look of one man whom all from the highest to the lowest did love and highly reverence".¹⁰⁷ Everyone depended emotionally on Allen for consolation and comfort, and all the more so since all were constantly threatened with deportation. On May 3rd 1574 Elizabeth wrote to Don Requesens governor of the Spanish Netherlands demanding that he should hand over, or expel from Spanish territory all English rebels and exiles.¹⁰⁸ Supervising a community of exiles was not easy and Allen was indispensable to gather them all together through a mixture of persuasion and patriarchal authority. As T.F. Knox explains, "A strong, but loving, hand must maintain order, and by personal influence supply the place of an unbending law".¹⁰⁹ Southwell's admiration for Allen sprang from such gifts as enabled Allen to gather, supervise and rule over a diverse community of exiles. T.F. Knox explains further still:

It needed no ordinary gifts to be the animating and guiding spirit of an institution such as this (the English College, Douai). To govern men who are under no vow or obligation is in itself no easy task; but it is far harder to keep them together and direct their energies to one common end amid hardships, poverty and uncertainty about the future. Moreover, those with whom Allen had to deal were exiles, and about such he writes to F. Agazzari on May 28, 1552 "I know for certain and from experience that it would be easier to guide to salvation a thousand souls in England than a hundred in this exile, which of itself breeds murmurings, complainings, contradictions and discontent."¹¹⁰

Aside from Allen's firm yet gentle patience, piety and saintly demeanour, Douai shepherded Southwell towards the Jesuit order by the relationships which tutors had with students; thereby holding up a life of religion as

an adequate compensation for loss of home, family and country. Allen encouraged this closeness between staff and students. Many of his staff had been at Oxford where close tutor-student ties prevailed among Catholics. A noted Oxford tutor was John Bavant of St. John's College, whose students included Gregory Martin and Edmund Campion, (M.A. Feb. 17th 1552/3) who left the College c. 1566 for Rome. John Bridgewater, Rector of Lincoln 1563-74, fled to Douai in 1574 with his student, William Gifford, later Archbishop of Rheims. Among such Catholic tutors at Oxford who crossed to Douai in 1570 was Thomas Forde, fellow of Trinity 1564-70, who was hanged drawn and quartered at Tyburn on May 28th 1582.¹¹¹ The Benedictine, Augustine Baker describes in his Autobiography his tutor, William Prichard, as learned and accessible; and how he "loved and was tender to the good of his pupile..."¹¹² "The relationship between tutor and student was so close and intimate" writes Dr. J.F.C. Swan "that a really formative influence could be exerted".¹¹³

The significance of Allen's influence on Southwell was that it had both its positive aspects - those so far mentioned - as well as negative ones. Indications point to Allen having made an erroneous assessment of the real situation in England. Allen was not politically acute; his mind was not at its best when grappling with politics. A.L. Rowse accurately describes him as "a mild, scholarly, rather dull man, more fit for the university than for international politics".¹¹⁴ He clung with pious tenacity to high medieval Catholic ideals, which made him unaware of the changes taking place in England; T.F. Knox explains:-

... the England of Allen's first impressions was still in outward seeming and to his youthful apprehension the Catholic England of earlier times. No spectacle of a heretical worship battling with or hindering the full manifestation of the Catholic faith marred for him the majestic beauty or weakened the attractive power of the one catholic and apostolic church.¹¹⁵

Of all his weaknesses "the most serious... was a failure to realize that as the years go by, a country and its people may so change as to become wholly different": Like all political exiles, he saw England as he wished it to be rather than as what it had actually become. He was not aware of

the directions in which people's feelings moved, and his mind was "frozen" with the feelings with which he first left England. He had left his country for the last time in 1565 at the age of thirty-three. For the next twelve years Protestantism was in possession of the Church, the State, the law, the universities, the pulpits and the press. A steady growth of Protestant prestige was taking place. "Catholicism disappeared ever more deeply underground."¹¹⁷ As an exile in Flanders he could nor did not make contact with reality in England. As Philip Hughes observed "Had he been able, in 1577, to spend six months wandering about England, what a different thing English history might have been!"¹¹⁸

It is suggested here that Southwell may well have been affected by Allen's myopic and subjective view concerning the real situation in England. As shown above, Southwell venerated Allen and through this veneration Allen's impression and views very probably seeped through into Southwell. The most probable of Allen's views affecting Southwell was the one of England being temporarily taken over, illegally, by a usurping heretical clique. Allen saw Protestantism taking over England through sheer trickery. The minority who had usurped power and triumphed momentarily would not last, and this sorrowful state of affairs would not endure but would be rectified in time through patience, prayer, the work of exiled colleges and the support of Catholic princes. On the eve of the Armada Allen issued his "Admonition to the Nobility and People of England" in which Elizabeth was described as a "most unjust usurper and injurer of all nations, an infamous, depraved, accursed, excommunicate heretic, the very shame of her sex and princely name, the chief spectacle of sin and abomination in this our age and the only poison and calamity, and destruction of our noble church and country".¹¹⁹ Southwell's mission to England in 1586 was itself a practical manifestation of Allen's attempt to re-convert England back to Catholicism.

The educational facilities in Douai were to be the weapons used to eventually reclaim England. The English College was heavily staffed by English Catholic academics, especially from Oxford. By 1569 some one hundred and thirteen Catholics had left that University.¹²⁰ Oxford had been heavily staffed by Catholic academics and others "indifferent of description" who, up to 1570, still formed a majority amongst Oxford's teaching staff.¹²¹ The English College, Douai - the "other Oxford" -

"formed a rallying point for those not satisfied with the conditions of Oxford and Cambridge".¹²² Douai's educational influence on Southwell, was very probably one of holding up the example of eminent scholars engaged in serious research as an encouragement to Southwell to develop and perfect his own literary and scholarly potentialities. While Southwell was in Douai Gregory Martin was engaged in translating the Bible, and was described as keeping up "all the stations of academic learning".¹²³ Taken into the family of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk as tutor to his children, during a visit with the Duke to Oxford, Gregory Martin was lauded in a speech by a fellow of St. John who addressed the Duke: "Habes, Illustrissime Dux, Hebraeum nostrum, Graecum nostrum, Poetam nostrum, decus et gloriam nostrum". Martin had crossed over to Douai in 1570 where Allen and other acquaintances at Oxford "received him with open arms".¹²⁴

The translation of the Bible into the vernacular was a major battle in the Counter-Reformation's war against Protestantism, and Southwell was in Douai when the group of translators, headed by Gregory Martin were at work. Translating the Bible into the vernacular was a watershed between traditional Catholicism's strictures on rendering the Scriptures in the vernacular, and contemporary Sixteenth century pressures on Catholicism to combat Protestantism. Since the Thirteenth century the laity were forbidden to have scripture in translation. The Council of Toulouse in 1229, in its fourteenth canon "prohibited the laity from possessing either the Old Testament or the New; but only a Psalter or a Breviary or "The Hours of the Virgin Mary" and even these "were most strictly forbidden to be had in the Vulgar tongue": The Catholic Church up till Southwell's time never "publicly condemned that canon, and promulgated another, declaring that the Laity had full right to the possession of the Scriptures as well as the clergy".¹²⁵ Aside from Gregory Martin, other scholars in Douai were actively engaged in advocating translating the Bible, though for the exclusive benefit of the Clergy. Thomas Stapleton translated Bede's Ecclesiastical History, and was described as "One of the most learned men of his time, and a considerable writer in the Latin and English tongues", and his works were collected in 1620 by Henry Holland in four large volumes. He was closely associated with Allen in founding Douai's English College where he taught for some twenty years.¹²⁶ (See above). In one of his works The Apologie of Fridericus Staphylus (1565),

Stapleton shows how Staphylus finds great fault with the English Bibles of 1549, 1551, 1562, maintaining that it is dangerous for the laity to have scripture, but that priests and bishops "always have the grace of God assisting them to interpret and expound the "misteries" of Holy Scripture by parables unto the people, as far as for them is requisite".¹²⁷ Stapleton may have been the first priest Southwell met who was also a man of letters and may thus have been an important example for him to emulate later. "I am convinced" Stapleton wrote later on in 1580, "that I must devote myself to study and literary labour in which alone I can be of service to the Church of God". Stapleton was primarily a literary man. During the twenty-one years he spent in Douai he wrote voluminously. His Latin works added up to almost five million words and his English ones to another million. His English style though complex has a charming Elizabethan rhythm, and his Latin style usually elegant and clear echoes both the Scholastic and humanist traditions. More important, Stapleton was a staunch supporter of the Jesuits and a particularly possible influence on Southwell in this regard may have been Stapleton's A Counterblast to M. Hornes Vayne Blaste (Louvain, 1567) in which he defended them against Robert Horne, whom Southwell knew of as Bishop of Winchester. In the Counterblast (f.542) Stapleton paid the Jesuits a moving tribute which ended with "For they by their preaching, have saved and brought from damnation many an hundred thousand of Souls to the everlasting bliss of heaven, the which God of his goodness and mercy grant unto us". Catholics had "began to perceive" says Cotton "that all their complaints and reproaches of the Protestant translations of the Bible did not succeed in preventing their increasing use throughout England. And they judged it advisable - not from choice, but from necessity - to put forth a version of their own; professing to be free from the corruptions which they boldly attributed to the others".¹²⁸ Those actively engaged in Biblical translation in Douai were Gregory Martin, William Allen, Richard Bristow and Dr. John Reynolds. Martin was the chief translator, with Bristow, and Allen "being only revisors".¹²⁹ Translating the Bible, the presence of learned men like Martin and Stapleton, as well as numerous other academics from Oxford and Cambridge all gave Douai (and then Rheims) the air of a research centre where novel and exciting work was being vigorously undertaken. It is suggested that this air of research and

scholarship encouraged Southwell to develop and pursue his own particular talents. Among those who came to Douai was Thomas Dorman, Fellow of All Souls, Oxford whose writings on the pre-Elizabethan past of England reflect the feelings of the majority of English Catholics. (See chapter one).

Richard Bristow (1538-1581), Fellow of Exeter College could be considered as Southwell's principal teacher in Douai. He was among the first to have worked with Allen in establishing the College on Michaelmas day 1568.¹³⁰ Bristow's "learning and skill in teaching, added to his unwearied industry" qualified him for the post of Superintendent of Studies.¹³¹ On December 4th 1575 when Allen set out on his second journey to Rome, he entrusted the seminary to Dr. Bristow, and arriving back at the college from Rome on July 30th 1576 after an eight-month absence "he found everything there in a flourishing condition".¹³² In spite of his administrative duties as Rector during Allen's absence, Bristow received the new English boy, Robert Southwell, with others, for catechetical instruction in his own room. (See above) The College Diary, for June 28th 1576 reads:

Hoc mense a nobis in Aquicinctense collegium recepti sunt M^r Pudseus et M^r Sowthwellus, nobilis: M^r Cottonus in oppido locatus tutelae M^{ri} Coverti committitur.

Hoc etiam emense ornatis. Doc. R. Bristous Catechisticam quandam exhortationem privato suo in cubiculo singulis diebus illis instruendis instituit qui post modum Angliam ad alios erudiendos in fide cath^a progressuri [bre-]² sing [brevi].¹

Southwell possessed an inherited craving both to acquire and dispense education. His grandfather, despite his weighty duties as an Henrician official, volunteered to teach Cromwell's son Gregory, himself. (See Ch. 2). Both of Southwell's parents were either well-educated or displayed an avid interest in learning. Through such good teachers as Bristow, and being exposed to Douai's atmosphere of vigorous and ambitious scholarship, Southwell's abilities and talents were brought to the surface. Southwell had been quickly recognized as a good student and had thus been rapidly promoted to the top class - "Rhetoric".

The Expulsion of the English College from Douai

By Michaelmas 1576 the college was flourishing but was seriously threatened by anti-Spanish revolutionary fervour which had been simmering and was now breaking out openly. Philip II was deeply distrusted throughout the Netherlands. It was widely believed that, whatever he might say to the contrary, the Spanish King was determined to abolish those national liberties which the Flemings jealously guarded and cherished, whenever he felt strong enough to do so. This fear led great numbers of Flemings to follow the Prince of Orange and his revolutionary party.¹³³ With the King's authority at its lowest ebb, the English College's position became untenable, due to the flagrant, pro-Spanish sympathies of its rector. Local feelings were further inflamed against the Pro-Spanish English College by Elizabethan agents spreading rumours against the College in Douai. Elizabeth succeeded in her efforts to dislodge the College. By the end of 1577 a treaty was negotiated with the States-General and ratified on January 7th 1578 which stipulated that "the States should not suffer any English rebels to be in the Low Countries, especially when the Queen should have declared them to be such".¹³⁴

By Autumn 1576 popular feelings against the English College reached an all-time high. The members of its staff and students, their dress, conversation, meetings were all closely watched and unfavourably interpreted, and the college was frequently searched under pretence of looking for arms. Allen wrote a detailed letter to Owen Lewis (b. 1533) Regius Professor of Canon Law at Douai which Knox dates "before" November 8th 1576, describing the harassment the College was subjected to and complaining of victimization by the local population, and protesting the College's innocence of any acts against the town:

At this time when the populace, by reason of their suspecting a league between us and the Spaniards, whom they all pursue with mortal hatred and who by their laws may be harried to death, had been stirred up against our people, we have given to our magistrates and to the civil assembly, along with a catalogue of all Ours in which we put down each one's age, studies, status, and place of abode, a

certain document, wherein we have shown clearly and explicitly that there can be no danger from ours to their city or state, that our numbers are much less than uninformed people would think, being, apart from Scots and Irish, only 170 individuals; that the majority of these, namely 100, are either priests or students in theology or candidates dwelling under my charge, following a most blameless and religious regime, who have never caused the slightest annoyance, and that if ever there threatened any danger from them I would be their surety with my liberty and my life:

Allen then goes on to describe how he entreated the Douai Magistrate to allow the English College to function:

... therefore, that we earnestly begged that we might use and enjoy the privileges of a University, and like other nations have the favour of their protection. And when the magistrates had accepted this paper and carefully inquired into our case, certain professors had a decree published that no citizen, under penalty of exile and confiscation of his goods, should by word or action make himself obnoxious to our schools or nation. And so now for a little while we are at rest.

The gentlefolk, who lived outside the seminary, have for the most part gone away of their own accord, because they distrust the restless mob.¹³⁵

However, Allen's "rest" was to be shortlived. Reports were coming in that assassins had been sent to murder leading members of the Seminary. After the sack of Antwerp (See above) Dodd's "Church History" mentions that "a rumour was now spread that certain strangers lately arrived in the town from England had a design to assassinate Dr. Allen, upon which he was advised to absent himself from the College, which he did for a while".¹³⁶ One Richard Baynes sought "fame and reward in the English Court" by gaining admission to the English College, Douai with the intention of poisoning Allen and all those at table with him.¹³⁷ Later the following

year, Egremont Radcliffe, son of Henry Radcliffe second Earle^e of Sussex, a "wild turbulent young man" who took part in the 1569 Northern Rising and fled to Spain and Flanders where he became a pensioner of Philip II, ventured into England, was caught and imprisoned in the Tower, where he inscribed his name and motto "Pour Parvenir" on the walls of the Beauchamp Tower. He wrote to Burleigh from his prison on April 20th 1578 that he would be found "so grateful on the expense of his poor life, in any service it should ever please his Honour to command in him": On May 10th 1578 he was secretly released and found his way to Paris and Flanders with the intent of murdering Allen, who was then at Rheims. Allen had been warned by several letters against such assassination attempts.¹³⁸ While still in Douai, rumours of Allen's impending assassination were further spread by the appearance in Douai of "some Englishmen of sinister aspect, (and) well mounted", who gave the impression of being "suited for the execution of such a crime". The situation in Douai had become quite impossible for both Allen and his English College. Allen left for Paris on November 8th 1576.¹³⁹ On November 10th, John Wright B.D., and Edward Rishton, divinity student, were sent to Rheims to ascertain the kind of reception the college might expect if it moved to the Guise city. They brought back a favourable answer. Allen decided to send away as many students as he could to Paris. At the end of November 1576 a large party, which included Southwell, left for Paris. Later, in "Saint Peters Complaint" Southwell was to write:

Flie not from forreine evils, flie from thy hart:
Worse then the worst of evils is that thou art".¹⁴⁰

CHAPTER SIX SUMMARY AND/OR CONCLUSION

Douai's impact on Southwell would have been sharp and lasting. He was an impressionable boy of fifteen in a strange town for the first time in his life. Aspects of Douai which probably affected him most were the forms of stress, tension and anguish caused both by Spanish behaviour in Flanders and the anomalies of Spanish Netherland relation. The xenophobia which English and other foreign students experienced from the townspeople arose mainly from their being seen by local people as proteges of Spain.

But it was also fuelled by indigenous local social phenomena such as excessive drinking, personal aggressiveness, and youth hooliganism. The patriarchal figure of William Allen offered emotional comfort and protection, but it also may have instilled an essentially unreal or impractical political assessment of the situation in England, much the same way, say, as a post Bolshevik Russian emigre would wishfully dismiss Communism as a temporary evil that would be mercifully swept away any day now to everyone's relief. In Douai, religious fervour directed at Catholic restoration in England was implanted in Southwell, and his rapid academic promotion meant that his talents and potentialities were spotted. The situation in Douai, as in the Spanish Netherlands generally, most probably vindicated to Allen, Southwell and Catholics generally the horrific results of the spread of heresy. The tensions and tumults of Flanders, accentuating those of England, drove Southwell closer to the Jesuit order.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SOUTHWELL IN PARIS: NOVEMBER 1576—JUNE 15TH 1577.

The General Situation in France

Late in 1576 France was in a temporary respite from the Wars of Religion which lasted, on and off, from 1562 to 1598.¹ The Peace of Monsieur and the establishment of the Catholic League in 1576 marked an "armistice" between the fifth Religious War of 1574 and the sixth of 1577.² The evacuees from heresy-torn Netherlands would have found France suffering almost just as much from the ravages of heresy as the Low Countries. France was an exhausted and corruptly administered country when Southwell arrived in November 1576. It was ruled by a dissipated and weak monarch, dubbed by contemporaries "prince of Sodom".³ The Valois King Henri III (R. 1574-89) was a vitiated man with a tired, spent demeanour, inclined to dress effeminately, wearing rings, bracelets, ear rings, pearl necklaces and exotic perfumes; his favourites dressed themselves likewise and had their lips and cheeks rouged. "To look at their heads" writes Pierre L'Estoile, chronicler of Henry III's reign "rising immediately out of their wide, stiffly starched ruffs, one is reminded of John the Baptist's head in a dish".^{sn4} The spread of "heresy", the upheavals and corruptions, were aggravated by the licentiousness of Henry III's Court: duels and murders were daily occurrences. Lavish bribes were bestowed on the King's favourites. Money would buy the Crown's clemency which could also be extorted by fear. "Nothing in our history" writes the French historian Henri Martin "offers the slightest analogy with the Court of Henri III. To find any similar union of debauchery and ferocity of folly... we must go back to our most depraved epochs of ancient Rome".⁵ France was in chaos, administratively and financially. In 1575 salaries of officials in all departments were unpaid. Mercenary troops were clamouring for arrears due to them. In desperation, Henri III raised three million francs from his restless subjects by selling offices to the highest bidder. A favourite, Berenger du Guast, was given the bishoprics of Amiens and Grenoble, which he then

sold for 30,000 and 40,000 francs respectively. Popular discontent mounted. In 1577, the King's taxes were resisted and his "new offices none would buy: The Army, unpaid, ravaged the countryside and pillaged the peasantry.⁶ Famine and "a contagious epidemic" aggravated the all-round distress. The overall chaos could be attributed, in the last analysis, to Henry III's weakness, vacillation and lack of character. He was prone to being "immediately plunged into a state of hesitation, unable to make up his mind to do, or not to do, his mother's (Catherine de Medicis - d. 1589) bidding".⁷ His weakness was seen by Catholics in his propitiation of Protestants in the peace of Monsieur (1576) which gave Huguenots full religious liberty with guarantees that the terms would be implemented.⁸ He did not earn Catholic respect, as it seems, by his tramping from church to church with the flagellants clad in sackcloth and brandishing a whip cord.⁹

The main threat to Henri III came from the Catholic Guise dynasty, outraged by Valois concessions to the Huguenots. Given Henri III's personality and temperament these overtures were very probably due to Henry III's strong feelings of envy, anger and animosity towards the Guise scion, Henry, Duke of Guise (1552-1588). Twenty-four years old in 1576, and described as tall, handsome, gracious, an unequalled fencer and princely in his liberality he was a formidable adversary to the vitiated and ineffectual monarch. The Guise family were widely connected throughout Europe.¹⁰ With this power-base in mind the Guises established the Holy (Catholic) League in 1576 whose aims were to "exterminate the Huguenots, confine the king in a monastery, and place Guise on his throne".¹¹ Henri III attempted to propitiate the Holy League by revoking past edicts of toleration for Huguenots and thereby undermining his own credibility with both parties. In the mid and late 1570's a confrontation was shaping up between the Guise-led Holy League and the Protestant resistance, which the Historian Jules Michelet saw as "a conflict between the incipient forces of patriotic democracy and those of a foreign and reactionary Catholicism".¹² The Huguenots, in spite of their aristocratic leadership sought to preserve liberty and intellectual progress. In contrast "The League becomes a sinister conspiracy to destroy the unity of France and prostrate it before its external enemies".¹³ The party of evacuees from the English College, Douai arriving in Paris late in

November 1576 would have found parallels between France and the Netherlands. In both, militant Catholics were seen by "heretics" as reactionaries, sponsored and inspired by detestable foreign powers. The Protestant heretics, aristocratically led and inspired (William of Orange in the Netherlands; Huguenots aristocrats in France) saw themselves as fervent patriots. To bewildered non-partisan Catholics like Southwell, only an international, solidly based order like the Jesuits would seem to be the viable and effective retort to the ever divisive conspiracy of heresy.

Whatever forms of Urban Catholicism as he may have been exposed to in Paris would have been largely alien to Southwell's experience of what Catholicism represents. In Paris, a particularly strong intransigent anti-monarchical urban Catholicism emerged. Although its leadership was Guise - controlled and thus aristocratic, this urban Parisian Catholicism took the form of a popular revolutionary conspiracy.¹⁴ Paris was traditionally governed by a hierarchical order of authority. The official municipal government - "The Municipal City Council of Paris" headed by the mayor (prevot) and the aldermen directed public administration, controlled the bourgeois militia, supervised the markets and issued all the rules and regulations for law and order.¹⁵ But beneath this legal facade, a more dynamic and aggressive regime operated: Paris was divided into sixteen quarters each headed by a "quartenier" - an elected representative of the populace; usually a tradesman and member of the bourgeois militia often holding the rank of colonel. These sixteen quarteniers formed a Council of their own, independent of the official municipal Council of the "Hotel de Ville" in the "Place de Greve". It employed the lower clergy as its organs of propaganda and "dominated the Hotel de Ville's resolutions through the knowledge that behind them lay the power of the people-in-arms".¹⁶ Radical orators made bombastic speeches at its meetings. One such orator, Jean Leclerc, ruled the Bastille as captain of his quarter, organized the night-watch and arrested luke-warm Catholics, and "was better known in the Paris markets than the King of France himself": The Hotel de Ville represented the Catholic League's bourgeois elements which stood for law, order and systematic procedures in administration. The Council of sixteen - the Quarteniers - representing artisan associations - inclined towards revolutionary radicalism, "an element encouraging anarchy

at every street corner".¹⁷

Southwell in Paris, as a day-pupil at Clermont College (see below) would have been aware - politically acute and observant as he was (see Chs. 1, 9) - of a popular, street-level, militant, vociferous urban milieu; which though Catholic in faith, was politically, socially and temperamentally, far more akin to the militant artisans and shopkeepers of turbulent Douai and a world away from the Catholic gentry of England. Aside from purely national or ethnic factors, the sheer alien nature of this class's outlook and background would preclude any feelings of empathy Southwell might have had for whatever forms of urban Catholicism he may have encountered in Paris. This was just one more factor impelling him towards a society or institution that would iron out the alien and unacceptable aspects of localized outlooks, digesting all to nourish a uniform system of behaviour and belief common to all Catholics regardless of class or nationality.

France in the 1570 fully displayed what Catholics feared most: The spectre of heresy gathering itself together across national frontiers to form a unified Satanic challenge to the True Church. Close links were being forged between the heretical Huguenots of France and the heretics of Elizabethan England. Hubert Languet (1518-1581) and Philippe Duplessis Mornay (1549-1623) - (described as 'Le Pape des Huguenots') in their supposedly joint work Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos, (1579), openly "Justifiant le droit a l'insurrection". Both were friends of Sir Philip Sidney. Protestant England was finding a blooming Renaissance in Protestant France, which helped to cement closer cultural and political ties between Protestants in both countries. English politicians conducting Elizabethan foreign policy had close ties with French authors whose writings affected English thought. Jean Hotman spent much of his time in Oxford. As author of The Ambassador (1601) he was advisor to the English government on diplomatic procedure, and tutor to the children of the English Ambassador in Paris, Sir Amyas Paulet. The jurist Francois Hotman corresponded with Burleigh, was invited by Elizabeth to occupy a post at Oxford, and was personally known to Amyas Paulet who sheltered many Huguenots on his Jersey estates and was in total sympathy with the Huguenot cause.¹⁸

England's attitude to English Catholic refugees in France emanated

from English policy towards France. This policy was to aid the Huguenots while maintaining an alliance with the Valois monarchy, and was designed to offset Spanish power, especially in the Netherlands.¹⁹ Anglo-French relations were based on the Treaty of Blois (1572) between Elizabeth and Charles IX (R. 1560-1574), which was confirmed by Henry III on his accession. One of its provisions dealt with fugitives from England and France in one another's countries.²⁰ French - as well as Spanish - attitudes towards English Catholic refugees was "governed at all times by the political objectives which they had in view".²¹ These objectives changed in accordance with movements in Anglo-French relations. When Southwell was in Paris, Anglo-French relations were not overtly hostile, and France did not actively intervene in English affairs not because of "any 'a priori' rejection of force, but due to the general harmony of Anglo-French relations and the physical weakness of France".²² Thus one reason why a group of staff and students were despatched to Paris was that France would be under far less pressure from England to expel them than the Netherlands had been. The party of English priests and students arriving in Paris would probably have been ignored by the French authorities or a blind-eye turned to their presence in France. We only know that Southwell arrived in Paris in November 1576, but not the exact day. An entry in the Douay Diaries of the English College between the 10th and 19th of November reads:

Hic paucis diebus propter periculorum suspicionem hinc a nobis partim Parisios partim Angliam discesserunt praeter alios isti quorum nomina sequuntur; D. Smythus, sacerdos, S. Th. bac, D. Smythus, Wallus, D. Aufildus, D. Mortimerus, D. Pearsus, D. Harleyus, D. Bluntus, Clyfton senior, Nicolus, omnes hii theologiae studiosi; Mr. Soutwellus, M^r Throgmortonus, Drilandi fratres duo, Brokesbeus, Fosterus, Audleius, Beresfordus, Pudseius, Cottoni duo fratres, Cottonus alius Derbiensis, Gryffethi du fratres, Haukesworthus, Allanus puer, omnes isti nobilium filii; duo fratres Pittaei, Procterus, Clyftonus ju, Walshus, Mellingus, Roburtus, duo fratres Bartoni, Smith puer, Reeleyus, hartus ju et alii".²³

[Here within a few days the following went away from us because fear of danger, some to Paris, some to England: Mr Smyth, priest, Bachelor of Theology, Mr. Smyth, Wall, Mr ? (Anfildus) Mr Matiner, Mr Pearse, Mr Harley, Mr Blunt, the elder Clyfton, Nicholls - all theology students; Mr Southwell, Throgmorton, the two brothers Driland, Brokesby, Foster, Audley, Beresford, Pudsey, the two Cotton brothers, Hawkesworth, the boy Allen, - all these sons of noblemen' the two Pitt brothers, Procter, the younger Clyfton, Walsh, Melling, Robert, the two Barton brothers, the boy Smith, Reeley, the younger Hart and others.]

In Paris, Southwell - according to More - shared lodgings in the city with his friend John Cotton, George Cotton of Warblington's son who accompanied Southwell in the crossing from Hampshire to France and then to Douai; and now from Douai to Paris. As Devlin pointed out, More was in error when he wrote that Southwell spent two years in Paris sharing lodgings with John Cotton".²⁴ More was unaware of Southwell's sojourn at Douai; and of the extent of his stay in Paris.

But the closest person to Southwell in Paris was the English Jesuit Thomas Darbishire (1518-1604). In Paris he provided the comforting patriarchal guidance and protection that Allen provided in Douai. A nephew of Bishop Edmund Bonner (1500?-1569), Marian Catholic Bishop of London, and Doctor of Laws of Oxford (1555), Thomas Darbishire was also Archdeacon of Essex, Canon of St. Paul, Dean of St. Paul in Mary's reign and "Professor of Philosophy in London:" He had joined the Jesuits in May 1563 at the age of forty-five.²⁵ Henry More describes Southwell's relationship with Darbishire "... the boy (Southwell) had recourse to Thomas Darbishire ... as his spiritual director, telling him anything which touched that most sensitive mind of his in the way of wrongdoing...".²⁶ As Archdeacon of Essex Darbishire might have known Southwell's aunt, Katherine Southwell, wife of Thomas Audley of Wivenhoe, Essex whose house was described by a spy in 1577 as a meeting place for "riotous assemblies of Papists" gathered to hear mass "twenty or thirty at a time" and of a shipmaster who "carried Mrs Audley's son and a Mass-priest from her house over the sea to Douay."²⁷ The Douai Diary of the English College also mentions an "Audleius" as one of the party leaving for Paris in November 1576 (see below).

Darbshire possessed several attributes, which - like those of Allen in Douai - would comfort a fifteen year old boy cut off in exile from home, family and country. First were the comforts of Darbshire's prophetic visions: suffering from a severe shin ailment and despairing of any cure, doctors decided to amputate Darbshire's leg, but, says Foley "Father Thomas imploring the aid of the Prince of the Apostles, on whose feast the terrible decision had been made, was suddenly cured by his powerful intercession".²⁸ He was also reported to have predicted the election of the future Jesuit-General, Claudius Aquaviva; the Virgin appearing to him during prayer and leading him to a conclave where she held the hand of one Aquaviva "and indicated to the Congregation that he was to be the object of their choice".²⁹

Secondly, Darbshire was well-connected with the network of English Catholic refugees in Europe as well as with leading Catholics in England. He was in France from the early 'seventies till the mid and late 'eighties. An extract from a letter from Walsingham to Burleigh dated March 15th 1572 reads "... Of late I caused one, under the colour of a Catholique, to repaire to one Darbyshire, an English Jesuite in Paris".³⁰ Darbshire also had links with the Duke of Guise. A spy, Henry Alis, reported in 1588 that Darbshire had introduced him to one James Hill, servant of the Duke of Guise who had a brother serving Lord Arundel. Alis reported Darbshire as bewailing "the state of our nobilitee", saying that he "wished to God they bore so noble a mind in England as the Duke of Guise doth".³¹ Darbshire, for Southwell's added assurance, was in constant contact with William Allen. He was also an active purveyor of Catholic books to England. Walsingham received a despatch from Sir Henry Cobham in Paris dated January 22nd 1581-2 which read : "There is a packet of smaule bookes which doctor Allen sent from Rhymes unto Doctor Darbshire ... to the intent they may be conveyed to England".³² On February 21st 1581-2 Cobham reported that "... Darbshire and Hayes (?) haved packed up as many bookes as an ass can beare, the which are to be conveyed into England by way of Rochall or Burdeaux by a merchant of Paris cauled Peter Cortnay".³³ Darbshire also made financial arrangements for people to enter England. Cobham reported from Paris on June 10th 1582 that "one _____" came to this towne with a letter from Doctor Alyn addressinge him to Doctor Darbisher and other Jhesuites for the

obteyninge a supplye of monney to transporte him into England".³⁴

However, during the 1560's and 1570's he was better known as a good teacher with a way with students which made him popular. As a master of novices at Billon, Toulouse, in 1568, he was described by More as "a good mixer, ready for any task to keep the peace, or calling for the exercise of kindness and goodwill".³⁵ Another attraction to Southwell was Darbishire's proficiency in Latin, and the attractive way his lectures were delivered. Lecturing in Latin in Paris (date unknown) "he spiced his talks with many a fine flourish and shaft of specialized knowledge, so that he was listened to very willingly by the young ... to their great profit": His students took down his every word, and "Even theologians of merit went so far as to admit that his words deserved an ampler auditory. Lest they should perish with their own pronouncement, certain excerpts of his oratory were carefully committed to writing".³⁶

Another link between Darbishire and Southwell was their strong initial desire to join the Carthusian order. A contemplative order, the Carthusians were known for their restful, peaceful demeanour. Southwell, troubled by the anxiety of turmoil at home and exile abroad found the order most appealing. The English Carthusians were established at Charterhouse, thereby possibly evoking in Southwell early family memories of his grandfather's London residence, where Southwell's father spent his London youth (see Ch. 2, 3). Carthusian serenity in face of death, and their untroubled demeanour was noticed by Thomas More. Watching the Carthusian monks as they walked to their execution, he remarked that "these blessed fathers be now as cheerfully going to their death as bride grooms to their marriage".³⁸ Darbishire intended to join the Carthusians, but in a vision, a stranger advised that "Thou, by becoming a Carthusian consultest indeed thine own salvation; but how as to that of thy neighbours?"³⁹ He saw the vision as an admonishment to join the Jesuits who devoted themselves to their neighbours' salvation as well as their own.⁴⁰

Southwell echoes Darbishire's voice when he too decides to join the Jesuits rather than the Carthusians. In the "Spiritual Exercises and Devotions" he wrote :-

Thou wert indeed moved to enter the Society rather than the Carthusians or any other eremetical order, merely

because thy country, thy relatives and friends seemed to need thy help, and thou couldst give it to them in the Society alone and not in the other orders, and thou mayest ask whether this was not in truth God's own call. Or thou mayest ask why He gave thee such natural gifts and aptitudes, if not that thou shouldst use them for His glory and the salvation of souls ... God saw that the solitude, the austerity, the silence, the obstinence of the Carthusians, and the rules of other religious communities, were unsuitable to thy character and thy state of health; and therefore He wished to call thee to the Society so that whatever the duties or the position assigned to thee in it, thou mightest have no difficulty to excuse thee from the diligent performance of thy task.⁴¹

Southwell then goes on to distinguish between the role of the Carthusians and that of the Jesuits and why his own talents are more suited to the latter:

Thy natural gifts were bestowed upon thee so that thou mightest see more clearly what concerns thy eternal salvation ... Note that the same question might be put in regard to the Carthusians, and most learned monks of other orders, why, that is to say, God did not call them to the Society where they would have enjoyed such special gifts of God. No other reason can be given, but that God, to whom all things are open and clear, and to whom the frailty or courage of each one is manifest, has decided that one mode of life is suited to them, but another to us.⁴²

The English Carthusians, who like the Southwells, once resided at Charterhouse, might have instilled in Southwell early visions of martyrdom. Nicholas Harpsfield in his "Life of Thomas More" writes: "The Carthusians, I say, men [of so singular integritie and virtue, men] of so harde and so penitentiall and of so spirituall and so contemplative life, that they might seeme rather angells appering in mens bodies then very

men."⁴³ Southwell's association with Darbshire, like that with Allen, form milestones in his short journey through life. Douai's native milieu - and to lesser extents Paris's - represent the world as being one of woes, cares and troubles. But in both it was seen to that Southwell was provided (as a providential compensation) with Allen and Darbshire as sources of patriarchial guidance, care, and learning. Both men were to be signposts on his road towards a religious life. Southwell's inclinations towards the Carthusians indicate a form of weariness, of exhaustion. The trauma of escaping from one's country, living under constant harassment by a hostile local population in Douai, the fear of deportation and finally being driven out under threats of assassination to find a dubious and uneasy refuge in a France torn by religious wars and drained by maladministration - all these traumatic, quick-moving events would take their toll of Southwell's emotional and nervous energy. How blissfully relieving would it be to lose such an aching world of turmoil and distress for the serenity of a cloistered contemplative order!

An Account of the Jesuit Clermont College, Paris, which Southwell attended as a day pupil

Clermont College represents a further aspect of Jesuit education. Although the Curriculum in Jesuit Colleges was fairly standardized and follows the guidelines of successive forms of the Ratio Studiorum, yet the national or provincial peculiarities of Colleges like Clermont might probably leave their own impressions on young foreign students like Southwell. Gustave Dupont-Ferrier Du College De Clermont Au Lycee Louis-Le-Grand (1563-1920), (Paris 1925), gives enough all-round descriptive detail as to provide readers with the ability to assess its overall impact on Southwell.^{sn44}

No documentation exists, which explicitly states Southwell's attendance at Clermont College similar to the evidence available in Knox's "Douay Diaries". Based on vague references in More and on inherent probability, all previous Southwell biographies agree that he attended Clermont College. "There" (in Paris) says Devlin "John Cotton and Robert Southwell began their schooling over again at the famous Jesuit College of Clermont."⁴⁵ Leo Hicks observed that "with the two Audleys his cousins...

he seems to have been the private pupil of Fr. Thomas Smith, a recently ordained alumnus of Douay who had retired to Paris with the students, but he probably attended classes at the Jesuit College of Clermont"^{sn46} As to why Southwell was assumed to have attended Clermont College when no documentation exists that he had done so is most clearly explained by Janelle:-

"There was in Paris one place only to which the fathers at Anchen could possibly send their pupil (Southwell) and that was the Jesuit College in the French Capital known as the College de Clermont. That Southwell was a student there is nowhere expressly mentioned; yet we find clear, though indirect, confirmation of the fact in the pages of Fr. Henry More...". Janelle uses More's references to Southwell coming under the guidance of Thomas Darbishire (see above) as evidence that Southwell had attended Clermont. Janelle points out that Darbishire "was engaged in watching over the spiritual welfare and private interests of such among his Catholic countrymen as were exiles for their faith on the Continent". Darbishire was on the staff of Clermont College as Master of Novices in June 1593, and Janelle says, "It seems clear that he already held that position, on a similar one at the time of Southwells stay in Paris in 1575-6 and 1579. He was also there in 1583, a date confirmed by Persons in his memoires. Moreover, More mentions that Darbishire, "was sent to Paris for some years to lecture in Latin to the Young Sodalists". The Sodality, Janelle points out "was one of the congregations of the Jesuit College, and Dupont-Ferrier states that "La Premiere Congregation fondee a Paris fut creee a Clermont en 1569" and that "Elle eut un gros succes, et an 1575, elle comptait 150 jeunes gens. On l'appelait la Congregation de la Ste Vierge. Y etre admis etait un honneur". On Southwell attending Clermont is succinctly and clearly summed up by Janelle: "It cannot be reasonably doubted, therefore, that Southwell... became both a pupil at the College du Clermont and one of that spiritual elite of which Darbyshire was the head and leader".⁴⁷.

Clermont College, like other Jesuit Colleges in France was greatly strengthened by the massacre of St. Bartholomew. The Jesuits explicitly approved of the massacre. Antonio Possevino, Rector of the Jesuit College at Lyon, referred to the massacre as "this change made by our Lord God", and on October 5th he mentions "the success which the hand of God has

miraculously caused". French Jesuits regarded the massacre as an unhoped-for triumph for Catholics over Protestants and Edmund Hay, the Provincial of France said that "divine justice compensates tardiness with severity of punishment". The Jesuits became popular during the massacre, as many ran to them for escape and were given refuge; "there being no better way to prove oneself a Catholic than to demonstrate familiarity with the Jesuits".⁴⁸

Southwell would have attended Clermont College as a day pupil, not as a boarder. Day pupils were admitted without much trouble and were easily dismissed at the first serious offence, but boarders were admitted on a more rigorous basis. Between 1577 and 1583 the day pupils numbered between 1200-1300 per year. The College was poor, heavily overcrowded and lacked many basic amenities. Since its foundation it was always in debt and in 1570 there are references to "Paupertas Collegii" and "Defectus Pecuniae". In 1579 even begging in the streets of Paris was considered as a source of income. The college was without a bell, or a proper chapel till the Seventeenth century, and from 1570 three small makeshift chapels below classrooms and dormitories had to do for divine services; having neither sacristy nor confessionals and no choir till 1587.

Perhaps the most formative influence Clermont may have exerted on Southwell was through its library. A magnificent library, it was considered one of the jewels and curiosities of Paris. Up till their exile in 1595 the priests at Clermont had amassed some 18,000-20,000 volumes and manuscripts. The envy of the King's own library, many of Clermont's precious mss and books were stolen, and at the Jesuits exile what remained of this splendid library was sold for a paltry 700 crowns. It contained works on theology (Old and new Testament); the Church Fathers; Papal decrees; Heresies; Humanism; Poetry; Eloquence; History (Especially of Spain); Cosmography; Astronomy; Mathematics; Physical and Natural Sciences; Eastern Manuscripts from China and Japan; Pictures and Antique medals in bronze, silver and gold.⁴⁹ Notwithstanding its magnificent library, Clermont College could not provide as thorough an education as it could have done due to the vast numbers of pupils it admitted compared with the space available to teach them in. It did not turn away applicants, and instead of aiming for quality, it preferred large numbers; obsessed as it was with challenging its main competitor,

the University of Paris. Amongst day pupils there were ludicrous varieties of age groups. From 1570-1575 sometimes children as young as five years old unable to wash or dress themselves were admitted due to pressure from influential parents and some were more than 40 years of age. All classes of society were included and Clermont was favoured by the nobility. In 1570, Charles IX said that the Jesuits were not only learned teachers but were good for breaking in the nobility, and Henry III wanted Charles Count of Auvergne to be taught nowhere else except at Clermont. But some of its pupils were so poor that the college kept for them the left-overs from the kitchen.

The day pupils, known as "auditores" comprised throughout the years three-fourths, four-fifths, or five-sixths of the entire pupil body. Day pupils from the provinces unable to find college rooms, rented apartments near the Rue St. Jacques. The prefect of studies authorized such lodgings and lists were compiled of approved houses providing accommodation (digs) in the College vicinity. It is very probable that Southwell and John Cotton boarded in such lodgings.

Admission procedures consisted of written and oral exams and were followed by registration. Southwell's name does not appear in the College records provided by Dupont-Ferrier. Many Sixteenth century College records were lost, although student numbers for each year from 1570 to 1762 have been compiled and divided into "Boursiers"; "Pensionnaires"; "Externes" and "Total". Of the decade 1570-1580, only numbers for 1570, 1571, 1575, 1577, 1578, 1579, and 1580 are recorded; and for Southwell's year 1577, only a total of 1200 "Externes" is mentioned. Only in the Eighteenth century do student records become sufficiently detailed and accurate. Records of the College theatre are available, however, for (1579-1761), and of theses and public exercises for (1589-1754).⁵⁰

Southwell would have been a day pupil rather than a boarder at Clermont for several reasons: Boarders were blatantly separated into rich and poor boys; the rich living in their own apartments attended by their valets, tutors, domestic staff and prefect; the poor were crammed fifteen to twenty to a room, and from 1570-75 there was one bed for every two scholarship pupils - the poor boarders. As an exile, Southwell would have found difficulty, financially, to secure accommodation with the rich boys, even if a place was found for him; and as a foreigner he would be

out of place amongst the aristocratic French boys. The College in winter was almost unbearably cold. There were no fires in classrooms, or chapels and none in the poor boys quarters. The kitchen, infirmary and private apartments were the only places where one had some chance of not freezing to death, and the few rooms with open fires in the college had to be protected from being invaded by half-frozen people. Standards of hygiene, however, were high. The whole College was periodically washed from inside out to the courtyards, and since 1562 rules were laid down for toilets to be maintained in a high state of sanitation. During the bouts of washing out of College premises old shoes and clothes were seized and disposed of. But without covered courtyards, rain drove mud-spattered pupils back into recently cleaned class rooms for shelter. Recreation basically consisted of forty work-free days per year; and games played were spinning tops, ball games, bat games (a form of tennis), shuttlecock, discus, rings (hoop-throwing), racing, fighting, fencing, skittles, bowls, blind-man's-buff, draughts, chess and backgammon.⁵¹

The Rector was the head of the College but was under the Jesuit provincial of France, and Inspectors were sent periodically to the Jesuit provinces from Rome. Under the Rector was the Prefect-General of Studies, the Principal, the Minister, the Procurator and the Corps of Supervisors; all of whom attended to administration. The French Jesuit provincial - responsible for all Jesuit activity in France - visited the College once a year, nominated the Rector, the Prefect of Studies, the Principal, the professors, preachers and missionaries; supervised the division of classes and monitored their curriculum as well as moral behaviour and teaching standards generally. The Father-Provincial nominated and presented the rector, whose appointment had to be approved by the Provincial-General in Rome. Not only did the Rector appoint professors but had the sole power to absolve sins committed by the staff. Though indistinguishable from his staff by dress, he had to distinguish himself through virtue, example and aptitude for leadership and strictness tempered with benevolence. The "Praefectus Sanitatis" watched on behalf of the Rector over moral discipline and material needs - food, clothing, lighting, and heating. He went through the College checking if everyone was performing his duty, overseeing cleanliness and tidiness. He set punishments for minor lapses in duty, referring major ones to the Rector.

In case a "Prefect of Lower Studies" was available, the Prefect of Studies, per se, called himself "Prefect-General" or "Prefect of Higher Studies", and in such cases was nominated by the Provincial, not the Rector. Choosing a Prefect-General was difficult. He had to be "in litteris egregie versatus" - a man of prodigious learning; and in 1584 the French provincial complained to the Father-General of not being able to find a single man to fill the post. Teachers of higher classes - Theology and Philosophy - were "Praeceptores", others were qualified "Magistri". All teachers were addressed as "Maitre", and were often young. In the Humanities their ages ranged from twenty to twenty-five and in "Grammar" they were younger still. Teaching hours varied from four to five hours a day; adding up to a total of twenty-five per week. Teaching and other duties were heavy and demanding. There was a daily mass in the morning, preparation for classes totalling two to three hundred pupils, homework correction, library duty, interviews with day pupils, private tutors or parents. Rhetoric and Humanities teachers had to compose a Latin tragedy comedy or ballet every year; supervise the writing, learning and recital of speeches and riddles; and improvise verse plays or harangues for all ceremonial visits to the College.

Classrooms at Clermont were quite small. Their furniture consisted of Holy pictures on the walls, the teacher's rostrum (of carved oak, with a backrest, a recess and tiers); an assortment of benches desks and tables and some pupils wrote on their knees. But a hierarchy of merit and seniority existed in the seating arrangements. Benches of honour were reserved for outstanding pupils, and day pupils were separated from boarders in class. Throughout the College students were divided into five categories. Grant-holders or bursers (Boursiers); Boarders (Pensionnaires) Day Pupils or externals (Externes, Auditores); young Language Students (Jeunes de Langue); and Scholastics - the most senior, aged between twenty-five and thirty who had taught in the Provinces and were attending Clermont for refresher courses mainly in theology and philosophy.

Clermont, like all Jesuit colleges, emphasised emulation as a stimulant for self-improvement. Competition among pupils was encouraged. Rivalry was believed to be capable of waking up drowsy schoolboys, of inspiring the desire to equal or surpass this or that fellow pupil, and thus implanting urges for self-improvement. Southwell's motivation to

excel as a writer and a religious was thus initially prompted by officially-inspired competition among pupils in Jesuit Colleges like Clermont to surpass one another in literary, dramatic and scholarly exercises. Emulation, within the bounds of discipline and goodness was very valuable and assiduously encouraged: "honesta aemulatio quae magnum ad studia incitamentum est fovenda". Teachers held up the attractions of reward, rather than the threat of censure when encouraging emulation. Staff were directed to be less generous with punishment than with praise "Dedecoris sit quam laudis parcior". This educational psychology was designed to discover pupils' hidden talents; bring them out and polish away their blemishes. Discouragement was the enemy of progress, and confidence instilled in young hearts gave strength to rectify deficiency. Therefore, this system actively encouraged those literary exercises and theological devotions which formed the overwhelming majority of Southwell's writings. Southwell, due to the driving forces emanating from his background, had more powerful urges to make use of Jesuit encouragement to excel than the average pupil.

These urges to excel were continuously and assiduously encouraged at Clermont. School exercises were presented for public approval in Paris. Well before the exile of 1595, the College held exhibitions of emblems, riddles, verses or speeches, and a brilliant public debate. The illustrated programme of such events was printed several weeks beforehand and put on display boards in the Latin quarter. At the appointed time bells rang and the Hall quickly filled up. Masters from neighbouring Colleges; doctors and prelates, important people of the laity, grand ladies - all seated themselves comfortably, and then "the young (oratorical) athletes entered the lists". In College, commentaries after each class, or debates every month or two in the Hall appealed to both reason and emotion, "stirring up noble feelings and bringing healthy tears to their eyes". The rationale here being that the adolescent needed to feel loved and understood. Haughty indifference puts him off. The least proof of tenderness attracts and holds him. Controlling his heart is akin to controlling his life. Awareness of personality, social level, and future, would lead to fear of personal dishonour. This fear of dishonour much more than chastisement was an educational corrective.⁵² It also explains numerous aspects of Southwell's personality: His motivation to

excel, his attachment to the Jesuits, and his soulful anguished emotional style:

Launche foorth my Soul into a maine of teares,
Full fraught with grief the traffick of thy mind:
Torne sailes will serve, thoughtes/rent with guilty feares:⁵³

His anguished emotional style of appeal is copiously shown in the "Humble Supplication". To take but a single example:

"... we Crave most humblye, but the right of Christians, believe of our Oath, which is the only Certificat to make our thoughts vndoubted:... calling Allmighty god and his Angells for witnesses... This from the sincerest of our thoughts before the throne of god we most truly professe, intending ... to let your Majestie seale it with the best bloud that our faithfull and faultles hearts can afforde ... etc"⁵⁴

Punishment in Clermont was an art whose final purpose was to draw forgiveness. Ruthlessness or cruelty were avoided, and so was chastisement inflicted in anger, out of ostentation or arrogance. Staff refrained from speaking derisively of a pupil's name, family, region or country. Southwell fully accepted this regime of discipline and the rationale behind it. "Wherefore if he (his Superior) reprehendeth me" he wrote "I must take it patiently with desire of amendment, and what he enjoyneth me, willingly must I perform though it be against my own will, sense or liking".⁵⁵

Clermont's system of confession helped to develop Southwell's quest for perfection. To rigourously examine their conscience, pupils were driven to confession once a week in 1563 and 1587, though once a month was the minimum throughout the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries. Pupils had to accurately confess their faults. They were minutely questioned even about whatever virtues they purported to possess. On obedience, the pupil was asked whether his obedience had been complete? blind? immediate? courageous? humble? respectful?. Southwell, like all other Clermont pupils would have been thus trained to examine the innermost crevices and recesses of his conscience. Conversation on dubious subjects, reading

heretical literature without supervision, novels, romantic poems, love stories and private letters were forbidden.⁵⁶ "I must use them (children) wrote Southwell "to read good books that are fittest for their capacity and see them kept from vain books of love, heresy and such like".⁵⁷

Clermont reinforced Southwell's proficiency in Latin, which dominated the curriculum and was taught throughout the third, fourth, fifth and sixth years; and was used to teach Greek and, up to the Eighteenth century, to teach French. The most widely used Latin manual was that by Lorenzo Valla (1405-1457) Elegantiae Linguae Latinae which first appeared in 1444 and was still recommended by the end of the Seventeenth century. In Greek no particular grammar was recommended and up to the 1590's the teacher relied heavily on dictation. But throughout the Sixteenth century all students at Clermont were taught Greek, to which, from 1578, an hour a day was devoted. Latin authors taught were Cicero De Natura Deorum; Questiones Tusculanae; Paradoxa; Orationes Pro Marcello; Pro Archia. Among the historians, Caesar, Sallust, and Quintus Curce were favourites. The poets included Virgil's The Aeneid, Horace's Odes; and The Art of Poetry, Ovid Selected Letters. In teaching poetry Clermont attached less importance to the theory of verse than to the art of composing it. In every class a unique way of thinking, other than the teacher's was felt.

Southwell in Clermont was, presumably, in the top class, Rhetoric—to which he had been transferred in Douai. Rhetoric was "the final sanctuary" to which only the chosen were admitted. It improved Southwell's powers of expounding and persuasion as was shown in his political tracts such as the Humble Supplication. "It taught young men" says Dupont-Ferrier, "The art of persuasion." It affected the heart as well as the mind and resolution of others. Other disciplines sought the truth within. Rhetoric was concerned with "the influence of ideas or thoughts on the elite and the masses", Those attending Rhetoric were judged to be at a standard high enough for their minds to be sufficiently trained and their judgement formed, "otherwise, they would have been capable of only stirring up words rather than ideas". Southwell's powers, therefore, may be taken as fully developed by 1577 at the age of sixteen. Rhetoric counted a great deal at Clermont. "Children of fourteen or fifteen appeared to be somewhat lightly experienced for this course", so that those admitted had to be exceptional. Rhetoric also "completed in

every way the literary formation of the pupils at Clermont".⁵⁸

But the most significant aspect of training Clermont provided future poets like Southwell with was "Logography" - the anatomy of words; a form of classroom games that were taken seriously by the College. In one of such classroom games - exercises, in fact - a picture was placed before a pupil who was asked to interpret its moral essence. He was free to resort to Latin, Greek or French in explaining himself, and to the literary form best suited to him - fable, narration, idyll, or sonnet. In Logography - a form of Sixteenth century riddles, or "rebus", one tried to unravel the mystery of a word and find other words in it:- In "ovis" (sheep), the "o" removed leaves "vis" (force, power, strength, violence). In "Navem", the "n" and "m" could be removed to leave "Ave" (hail). "What could one find?" Southwell may have been asked, in "Aper" (boar)? Well, there was, first "per" (by) and "Aer" (air). Pupils were also taught to compose inscriptions for triumphal arches, tombs or statues. "What motto could be written under a mirror?" Answer: "Omnibus Omnis fit" - It is everything to everybody. Courses in such classroom games and exercises were given since 1562.⁵⁹ To future poets like Southwell they galvanized the mind's ability to form rhyme and metre and helped to whet the imagination. Here, an assessment of Southwell's educational attainments at Clermont (and for this particular purpose of Jesuit education generally) is appropriate. Due to the intensive concentration on literary innovation and development of literary talent and potential exemplified in both classroom and extra-curricular literary activity, a most pertinent question arises about Southwell's literary originality. Southwell had received a great deal of educationally-based literary training. The literary exercises in Clermont as in other Jesuit Colleges, perhaps best exemplified in Logography, provided the basic grounding in rhyme, rhythm and word-structure that an aspiring poet living in such a particularly florid poetic age as the Elizabethan needs most to perfect his craft successfully.

There are numerous signs of Logography in Southwell's poetry In "New Heaven, New Warre":

Come Raphaell, this Babe must eate,
Provide our little Tobie meate.

This very rhyme is repeated in "Of the blessed Sacrament of the Aulter"

"Twelve did he feede, twelve did their feeder eate.

He made, he dressed, he gave, he was their meate
In "Christe's Bloody Sweat" evidence of Logography is shown in
"Now then in one thou joyntly yeeldest all,
That severally to earth should shortly fall."

The implication here being that the addition of the letter "f" would be the straw that would bring the totality down to earth. The "all, fall" rhyme is repeated in "Losse in Delaies";

Thus with succeeding turnes God tempereth all:
That man may hope to rise, yet feare to fall"

An ingenious use of Logography is seen in Southwell's transformation of 'spite' into 'sprite' in "Saint Peter's Complaynt"

What Jewish rage, yea what infernall sprite,
Could have disgor'gd against him greater spite?

Two lines in Saint Peters Complaynt cleverly transforms ocular into audial imagery by the subtraction of a single letter "t"

And seeke none other quintessence but teares,
That eyes may shed what entred at thine eares.^{sn60}

Southwell return from Paris to Douai

Spain having succeeded in calming the situation around Douai, the English Students began to return to their College. The Diary of the English College records on June 15th 1577: "Die Parisiis venit Mr. Tho. Smytheus theol. baccal. cum suis discipulis claris adolescentibus Sowthwello et duobus Audleis". (Mr. [Fr] Thomas Smyth came from Paris with his distinguished pupils Southwell and the two Audleys).⁶¹ Before leaving Paris, Southwell wrote some letters, now lost, saying that his return to Flanders might help him decide what order to join, the Carthusians or the Jesuits. "A letter is extant" writes Henry More "which suggests that he departed for Belgium to perfect what in intention he had already begun".⁶² Writing to John Deckers in 1580 he described his quandary: "while still uncertain about my vocation, I was tossed to and fro ... wavering between the bark of Bruno and that of Ignatius, yet was unable to reach either being well-nigh drowned by the beating waves of temptation".⁶³ Southwell consulted his Douai confessor, Fr. Colomb, about his predicament. Colomb pointed to Deckers and said "there is one who for a year or more has been burning with a zeal like yours to serve God, and

who, unlike you, has never betrayed any sign of inconstancy".⁶⁴ Seeking assurance, Southwell asked the confessor to appoint Deckers as his "spiritual friend". That being done, his fears were dispelled and his determination to join the Jesuits confirmed. "No friend was then so dear to John as Robert, none so dear to Robert as John; no delight in this world seemed greater than to enter the Society.", he wrote enthusiastically.⁶⁵ This was in the autumn and winter of 1577. Both Deckers and Southwell applied to the noviceship of Tournai early in 1578. Deckers was accepted and his entry date fixed for May 25th.⁶⁶ Southwell's application was shelved. He was not rejected, but the political situation in the Netherlands was critical and accepting English novices was unwise. In January 1578, the Netherlands Army under William of Orange was defeated by Don John. The Netherland Calvinists brought in German mercenaries. Burning and massacre spread through all towns unable to defend themselves, and throughout 1578, the Jesuits' position was extremely critical.⁶⁷ That year they were expelled by William of Orange's followers, often with violence and destruction of property, from almost every town in which they had a church or college: from Maestricht on February 28th; from Antwerp on May 18th; from Tournai on June 3rd; from Bruges on August 8, and from Douai on October 16th, though recalled on Nov. 7th. Having been forced out of Tournai on June 3rd, they sent their novices back to their families.⁶⁸ The apparent rejection of his application deeply distressed Southwell. "I have erred from the mark at which I aimed" he wrote in the lost Complaint of Robert Southwell, about this time:

I am cut off from the hopes I had greedily indulged in, frustrated of the expectation upon which I leaned. I live, indeed, bodily among men, while my mind dwells in one vast solitude and there finding nothing upon which to feed, sadness consumes it, and it is forced to ruminate on its bitter cares. ... who, then, more than I might be consumed with grief and mourning, beholding myself severed from that number, from that Society and body; where is centred all my life, my love, my whole delight. Weep, my soul over this thy widowhood, and spare not thy grief; lament this thy misfortune and let thy inward sighs and groans sound incessantly in the ears of thy Redeemer, from

whom alone is consolation.^{sn69}

Southwell's rejection by the Novitiate of Tournai was a cruel and painful blow. Closed on June 3rd 1578, the Novitiate did not reopen till November 29th 1581. Novices were not received before April 1582, and the few admitted between 1578 and 1582 were sent to Treves or St. Omer.^{sn70} As a young exile Southwell's feelings of alienation were alleviated only by the hope of the Jesuits giving him a refuge, a home. Being turned away by them, he was all alone, an orphan castaway in strange lands. While languishing in this abyss of despondancy he was seized by a sudden urge to turn immediately to Rome. His determination to "go to Rome and press his petition there, though many opposed his purpose" was sudden and unexpected. His friend, Deckers tried to dissuade him from such a rash decision. "Why were you so impatient of delay?" Deckers asked Southwell. "Why did you trample underfoot all those values which cause worldly men to hesitate, forgetful of your country, your parents, your colleagues, not to mention your costly property?"⁷¹

Southwell's determined decision to go to Rome arose, it is suggested here, from two considerations; one spiritual, the other temporal. Devlin suggests that he very probably was spiritually motivated to emulate the Polish boy saint Stanislaus Kostka, whose short life bore striking resemblances to this phase of Southwell's own. Southwell's desire at this critical stage of his life to emulate Kostka is understandable. Kostka's beatification in 1604 suggests that a cult of him had been established in the late Sixteenth Century in Jesuit circles. Born in September 1550, Kostka was sent to a Jesuit school in Vienna in July 1564. Lying ill in December 1566, probably from ~~self~~-inflicted penances, he had visions of the Virgin bidding him join the Jesuits. He walked the four hundred and fifty miles from Vienna to Augsburg, begging his food and sleeping in fields, bearing letters of introduction to Peter Canisius and to the Jesuit General Francis Borgia. He was sent by Canisius to Borgia in Rome, and by September 1567 Kostka was on the road walking from Dillingen, over the Alps, through the Brenner Pass, down into Lombardy on his way to Rome.⁷² Kostka was admitted to the Jesuit Novitiate on October 8th 1567, and was described as "always bright and joyous with indescribable gaiety", and his soul being "like a fountain full of sunlight"; "of marvellous composure

modesty and devotion".⁷³ He died in Rome of a fever while not yet eighteen, and became the patron Saint of Poland, whose name was invoked during battle with the Turks.

The second, temporal factor prompting Southwell to head for Rome was, very probably, the occasional presence there of his granduncle, Sir Richard Shelley (1513?-1589?), brother of Dame Elizabeth Shelley, Southwell's maternal grandmother. The last Grand Prior of the Knights of St. John in England, Sir Richard Shelley was a distinguished diplomat with extensive knowledge of European Courts. He took up diplomacy in May 1539, accompanying the Venetian Ambassador on his way to Constantinople. The Ambassador died on the way, but Shelley pressed on, becoming the first Englishman to visit Constantinople since its capture by the Turks, and remained there in the company of the French Ambassador.⁷⁴ His order suppressed, he entered Henry VIII's service and was entrusted with various diplomatic missions; to France in 1549 and in October 1550, "being fully qualified by his knowledge of the language and previous experience." On July 11th 1553 Queen Jane sent him as ambassador to the Emperor but he shrewdly did not deliver the letter "waiting to see the issue and success of the contests in England between her party and that of Mary, and with Mary prevailing, he did not deliver his message."⁷⁵ He led various diplomatic missions in the 1550's: to Vienna in 1551~~4~~; to Portugal in May 1555; to the Duchess of Parma in January 1557, and to Malta in Autumn 1558. After Elizabeth's accession, he made his way to Flanders, then to Spain where Philip II gave him a pension, and considered sending him as Ambassador to the Shah of Persia. By 1569 he established himself in Venice at the city's invitation. He was still respected in England and in 1583 was granted leave to return "with liberty to practice his religion", but was persuaded to stay on in Venice "where he was treated with distinction".⁷⁶

As a venerable and experienced diplomat unanimously respected by the warring courts of Europe, all of whom craved for his services, Sir Richard Shelley was the ideal patron and guide a young relative like Southwell, confused and far from home, could wish for. Though resident in Venice Shelley was one of the foremost English Catholics in Papal circles, and when William Allen came to Rome in February 1576 he found The Prior, Sir Richard Shelley, at the Papal Court, disagreeing with other prominent

English exiles as to what to do about the situation in England.⁷⁷ Like Thomas Copley, Shelley was careful to keep his communications with Burleigh open. In 1580, he "absolutely refused to lead any expedition against his own country".⁷⁸ He wrote to Burleigh from Venice on April 13th 1583 about one "Bourne" imprisoned by the Inquisition, who had written a treatise which was seen by the Pope; and he informed Burleigh about what was said in disparagement of Queen Elizabeth and her mother.⁷⁹ Shelley also wrote to Burleigh from Venice on April 22nd 1585 mentioning Pope Gregory XIII's death; and that "divers Cardynalls [are] now Papable"; and that a spy, Francis Pitts - now dead - was false. He signed himself as "yoor coosyne of St. John".⁸⁰

Thus, Shelley was an adroit and clever communicator, precisely what a lost young relative direly needs. Shelley was also a recognized educational consultant to the Catholic families to which he was related. In his will, Thomas Copley, referring to his son's (either William or Henry) education, states that "The place and order of his education in forreine partes I referre to my deare wieff his mother whom I requier therein to follow the directions and advise of my deere Uncle the Lorde Prior of England".⁸¹ Shelley enjoyed the unique position of being comfortably settled in Italy and having open channels with England. In Italy he was known as "Signor Conchilio", and who "sent valuable information from Venice about the Spanish Armada".⁸² Shelley was in Rome in 1579 and possibly earlier. Persons writing to Allen from Rome on March 30th 1579, describes how a cardinal, wanting to know the difference between the Welsh and the English, was told that it is almost like the difference between the Biscayans and Castilians "but my L. Prior of St. John hearing of this answeare was offended therewith and said the difference was rather as betweene the Moores and Castilians."⁸³

A question arises here about Southwell's frame of mind after his application to join the Tournai novitiate was turned down. Was he so dispirited that he gave up trying for a life of religion, that he headed for Rome to strike out for himself in whatever field was available? The "Complaint of Robert Southwell" gives more than ample proof of the depth of his despondency. "Remember, O Lord", he wrote "that already the appointed day of my espousals has passed, and I, as yet a widower, am looked down upon by all, and abandoned by Thyself am despised as an

abortion".⁸⁴ It is reasonable to assume that he was despondent enough to seriously contemplate a worldly or "Semi-worldly" career in Rome through his connections there. Abandoned by God he would turn to the World, and seek to serve anyone who would have him. His grand uncle, the Grand-Prior Shelley, soon to be entrusted with supervising one of his cousins, William or Henry Copley, could look after him and launch him into a suitable career whether sacred or secular.

Leo Hicks believes Southwell may have returned to Paris, staying there for a few months before coming to Rome.⁸⁵ Direct road connections between Rome and Douai were difficult in 1578, and no definite date is available for Southwell's departure from Douai to Rome. Douai at that period was in a disturbed state (see Ch. 6) and its communications with Paris were far easier than they were with other destinations. English exiles took either of two routes to get to Rome from France or the Netherlands. The first, the "Imperial" route, formed the main line of communication with Rome for almost twenty years (1558-1578), and ran from Brussels to Augsburg over the Brenner and via Venice or Milan. The troubles in the Netherlands in 1578 blocked this route which made the other connection with Rome, the French route, which ran from Paris to Lyon and up the Mont-Cenis, the only alternative. Douai, as Professor Bossy explains, was in the extreme Southwest of the Netherlands and French speaking. It lay beside the post road from Paris to Brussels. For students in Douai, the town's position "encouraged the use of a route through France".⁸⁶ Southwell would have left Douai for the nearby Brussels-Paris post road. From Paris he would have followed the French post route, which traced its way through the upper Loire Valley to Lyon, then to Savoy and over the Mont-Cenis to Turin. From Turin he would have joined the route leading from St. Gotthard to Milan and Bologna, and then to Florence, Siena, and Rome.⁸⁷

Southwell's abrupt and forceful decision to head for Rome rather than return home to his parents as the Tournai Novitiate expected of him,⁸⁸ created some dismay among his friends as Deckers' remarks of incomprehension at Southwell's impatience and hastiness show (see above). However, the decision was also a brave initiative which other students admired and emulated. A student who may have been motivated by admiration for Southwell's decision was Matthew Marshall (see Ch. 8), who accompanied Southwell to Rome. Southwell and Marshall probably left Douai for Rome

anytime around mid or late September 1578. They were followed by Nicholas Smith and Edward Harwood about ten days later, and William Holt some three weeks afterwards.^{sn89}

SUMMARY AND/OR CONCLUSIONS

Southwell's frame of mind in Douai was carried on to Paris, as both places bore similarities to one another as far as an English Catholic refugee was concerned. France, to a politically observant mind like Southwell's, would appear vitiated by maladministration and as torn by heresy as was Douai. The strain of exile, of xenophobia and harassment in Douai, and a yet more remote alienation from home in Paris without the "cultural breakwater" of the English College, Douai, all these forms of stress imposed an emotional and nervous strain on Southwell. A serious strain of world-weariness and exhaustion is discernible in Southwell in Paris. This emotional fatigue manifested itself in his pronounced predilection for joining the Carthusians, a contemplative order whose serenity would provide a blissful respite from an emotionally overdemanding world. Southwell's despondancy reached a nadir with his rejection by the Tournai Novitiate. His last hopes dashed, his decision to go to Rome could be seen as an all-or-nothing gesture of desperate determination. At Clermont he was exposed to the defects of an imperfect world an educator may expect to encounter, such as children perverted by a pampered aristocratic upbringing. To sum up the effects of Southwell's educational experiences in Paris, it could be said that the heavy emphasis at Clermont as in other Jesuit Colleges on extra-curricular literary and dramatic productions by staff and students itself casts shadows on Southwell's virtuosity as a poet and writer; giving rise to the question "How much of his writing was original inspiration, and how much of it was merely touched-up school exercises re-cast in poetic form"? Southwell in Clermont as well as in Douai and Rome received intensive tuition, training and instruction in precisely the moral, religious literary, themes and forms which formed the corpus of his writing. The question thus being: "Was he an inspired poet? or merely a fine example of Jesuit education"?

CHAPTER EIGHT

SOUTHWELL IN ROME - 1578-1586

Southwell arrived in Rome with Mathew Marshall in Autumn 1578. On October 18th, he entered the novitiate of St. Andrea. It is possible that both Marshall and Southwell arrived in Rome with Thomas Darbishire. Persons wrote to Campion from Rome on Nov. 28th 1578 "Father Darbishire is Come hyther from Parisse".¹ Persons in the same letter writes "We ar heer at Rome now 24 Englishemen of the Societie, whereof fyve hath entered within this monethe fower came hyther from Parisse all excellent towardly yowths".² He must have been pleasantly surprised by the reception he received at St. Andrea judging from the welcoming enthusiasm shown in Person's letter and Southwell's former despondency after being rejected at Tournai.

Southwell's first days in Rome were pleasant ones. The Novitiate of St. Andrea was a fine house situated in a choice part of the city noted for its salubrious air. It stood on the Quirinal hill, just across a road from the Pope's summer palace. In 1565 the Bishop of Tivoli gave the Parish church on the Quirinal hill to Francis Borgia who allowed ailing priests from the Gesu to stay there on account of its high position and healthy air. Borgia was also given part of a house and garden which became the 'Novitiate of St. Andrea'.³

The rules governing entrance to the novitiate were strict, which suggests that the novice-master at St. Andrea was either well aware of Southwell's impending arrival, or that Southwell brought letters of introduction and "transcripts of academic records" with him from Paris and Douai. Normally novices were expected to possess a natural aptitude and vitality, either for learning and study or for charitable deeds, and were expected to work hard at either one or the other.⁴ Candidates for admission had to show maturity, to be young men rather than boys. A candidate's appearance must conform to stipulated requirements, and even a minimum height had to be attained to qualify him for admission. They were to be healthy and not suffer from any deformities. A sad and gloomy

novice was deemed unsuitable; and candidates' social and religious backgrounds were investigated before admission.⁵ Being illegitimate was not considered a disadvantage, but one was closely watched. Those deemed unsuitable were dismissed, although those suffering from certain psychological problems were helped to overcome their defects.⁶ Novices were allowed to wear the suit of clothes they arrived in as long as it was not too extravagant. Being cut off from the world of their former lives upon entrance, they were, alternatively, encouraged to form such new contacts within the framework of their new life as would help increase awareness of their vocation and its corresponding requirements. Household chores, begging alms, service in hospitals, teaching of catechism, or any other ministerial services were considered worthwhile contributions to awareness of the novice's vocation.⁷ Novices were expected, first and foremost, to possess and display the following basic virtues:-

1. Obedience: This does not merely imply a mechanical and mindless acceptance, but of absorbing the Superior's will, making it one's own.

2. Self-denial: The mortification of personal pride and self-esteem was deemed more important than the humiliation of the flesh through fasts, flagellation or hairshirts.

3. Piety, Unity with God: Novices were to seek the Glory of God in body and soul, and pray for the souls in purgatory. Greater piety and virtue was more important than greater learning.

4. Suppression of Personal opinion: Speculation and personal variations of opinion were not encouraged. The master of novices saw to it that the above virtues were cultivated, and that speculation and individual opinion were suppressed.

5. Discipline: Novices were to accustom themselves to discipline and correction, and were given penance should they fail to observe the rules.

6. Discretion: A novice should show discretion in not overworking himself. No strenuous tasks were to be undertaken immediately after meals. Novices were to take recreation and physical exercise regularly.

7. Confidence: Novices were to help create an atmosphere of simplicity, mutual confidence and trust.

8. A sense of judicious separation: It was to be understood that the novitiate is a separate entity with a life and unity of its own; a probationary period during which a novice's suitability for further

education and training is assessed.

Novices who had spent two years on probation were obliged to take their vows. No novice could move on to study in the Roman College without taking his vows.⁹ Life in the novitiate was imbued with "a quiet tenor of sanctified monotony undisturbed by the passing events of the world outside".¹⁰

The atmosphere in Rome was totally different from that of Douai and Paris. Here, Southwell was in his element. Gone were the alienations, the xenophobia and the nervous uncertainties of 1576 and 1577. On his weekly outings, Southwell would have found Rome rather agreeable. "I found Rome" writes Montaigne "as very pleasant place of sojourn. I know not how others find the air of Rome but I myself found it very pleasant and healthy".¹¹ The hilly quarter of the city was studded with the magnificent villas of Cardinal d'Este at Monte Cavallo; of Cardinal Farnese at the Palatinete; of Cardinals Orsini, Sforza, Medici and Riario - all of which were open to the public.¹² As a city, Rome in the 1580's was about one-third smaller than Paris, but in "... number and grandeur of public places and in beauty of streets and palaces, Rome seemed far superior".¹³ Southwell would have found Rome cosmopolitan compared with Douai. In Rome there were no distinctions between natives and foreigners. "I found it" writes Montaigne "of all towns in the world the one most filled with the corporate idea in which differences of nationality count least; for by its very nature, it is a patchwork of strangers, each one being as much at home as in his own country".¹⁴ In Rome, says Montaigne "foreigners will be found in special offices carrying emolument and responsibility".¹⁵ It was a metropolis dominated by an ecclesiastical aristocracy. "The city is all for the Court and the nobility. Everyone adapting himself to the ease of ecclesiastical surroundings. There are no main streets of Trade. Palaces and Gardens take up all the space".¹⁶ Montaigne declared Rome to be far fuller of rich men and coaches and horses than any other city he had ever seen. The streets were full of "coaches, prelates and ladies".¹⁷

A lasting and formative impression that Rome left on Southwell was, very probably, of scenes of martyrdom as depicted by frescoes, paintings and statues in various Roman Colleges and churches. Southwell would have first been exposed to such scenes in the Novitiate of Saint Andrea. In

the Novitiate's Recreation Hall, a massive fresco was displayed depicting the attack launched by the Huguenot Corsair Jacques Sourie on July 15 1570 on the vessel "St. Jacques" which was bound for Brazil and in which the Jesuits on board were massacred.¹⁸ "Cette salle de recreation des novices de Saint-Andre-Au-Quirinal," Emile Male explains "comme l'eglise Saint-Vital, montrait surtout des scenes de supplices et des images de martyrs".¹⁹

Southwell spent the first year of his noviceship at St. Andrea. The second year of the noviceship, it is generally held, he spent at the Roman College under Robert Persons who was in charge of English novices in 1579-80.²⁰ During his first years as a Jesuit in 1575-80 Persons had resided for one year in the Novitiate of Saint Andrea. Then he began his theological studies at the Roman College where he was ordained, probably in 1578. Whilst continuing his studies he acted as English Penitentiary at St. Peter's (see below) and also was in charge of the second year novices amongst whom was Southwell.²¹ Evidence for Southwell being at the Roman College before completing his noviceship is a letter sent to him from John Deckers dated September 27th 1580 addressed to the Roman College.²²

Numerous factors bound Persons to Southwell and very probably affected Southwell's English mission. The common bonds between the two were based on very similar feelings rather than social background. Persons suffered deep personal injury in Elizabeth's Oxford. When he received his B.A. on May 31st 1568 at a congregation presided over by Edmund Campion as university Proctor, both Campion and Persons searched for a way of avoiding the Oath of Supremacy required for the conferral of the degree, but no way was to be found. As tutor at Balliol, Person's fame grew, and soon he had the unusually large number of thirty students, many of whom were Catholics. But under Leicester's influence Puritan influence increased at Oxford, and efforts were made to get rid of all remaining Catholic elements. The Master of Balliol, Adam Squire, did not relish Person's presence there and his reluctance to conceal his Catholic sympathies and Squire accused Persons of circulating lampoons against him. In 1572 Persons became Dean and Bursar of Balliol. The junior fellows - especially Christopher Bagshaw whom Persons later in Rome was to find extremely troublesome - chafed under the discipline meted out to him by

Persons.²³

From Protestant sources, we get a different picture of Persons. His real name, according to such sources was "Cubbock" or "Cowback". According to Edward Gee, as a tutor in Balliol, Persons was a "good Protestant"²⁴. In Humphrey Ely Certaine Briefe Notes Persons is also described as being a Protestant at Oxford, "and coferred... in the reading of Calvin with Mr. Hyde, a fellow in the house, a known Calvinist".²⁵ Persons traumatic experience in Balliol emanated from the degenerate atmosphere which sapped the College in those times. The reputation of Oxford was tarnished in the late Sixteenth and early Seventeenth centuries.²⁶ In the general decline of learning, education and manners, "Balliol College appears to have sunk below most of its rivals, and its annals show ... a dreary record of lazy torpor and bad living".²⁷ In this unhealthy atmosphere feelings ran high against the energetic sharp-minded Fellow of humble origins. "The resoluteness of some of the fellows to be ridd of him was such, that they provided the tolling of a bell for him as the manner is for one which is to depart the worlde..."²⁸ It was Christopher Bagshaw, eager to settle old scores with Persons who ran to the Parish church to ring bells to proclaim that Persons had resigned.²⁹ It was Persons' assertive and forceful nature that most probably grated on his colleagues. Gee quotes Camden who met both Persons and Campion when they landed in England in 1580. "This Persons" Camden wrote "was a ... violent, fierce natur'd man... of rough behaviour ... Campion was of a sweet disposition and a well polished man ... Persons was at Balliol Colledge wherein he openly professed the Protestant religion until he was for his loose carriage expelled with disgrace and went over to the Papists."³⁰

In an age when feelings of worth and ascendancy were prominent in an almost histrionic manner, personal insults or slurs on the dignity and honour of a deep-feeling man with an oceanic vision like Robert Persons were to prove psychologically horrendous. The source of Person's bitterness against the Protestant establishment in England probably arose from his humiliating expulsion from Balliol. Gee relates that on the day Persons was expelled he was made to go into the Hall as Dean "to call the Book and Roll". Adam Squires, the Master, in a farewell speech "Calleth him at every word 'Mr Dean'." The undergraduate relished the malice and

"laught the more sweetly". Persons, at length "spied how he was scorned".

Persons version of this account is given in his A Brief Apology or defence of the Catholic ecclesiastical hierarchy (1601) in which he refers to various incidents causing friction between him and other Fellows of Balliol. Such incidents included the "Stealing away" of one of his students by Christopher Bagshaw; and Persons attempts to enforce prohibition on meat-eating during Lent which led his opponents to complain to the Earl of Leicester, Chancellor of the University. Fortified by Leicester's support, Persons' opponents became insolent, Persons alledges, and asserted that he was no longer a fellow and thus attempted to shut him out of the College.³¹ As Persons was in charge of Southwell as a second year novice, this incident could also provide a motive for hostility to the Elizabethan government communicating itself from Persons to Southwell; though in Southwell's case it takes the form of anguished grievance against Elizabethan injustice against Catholics rather than active hostility.

After leaving Oxford Persons met Lord Buckhurst who suggested he might go to Padua to study medicine. In early Spring, 1575, Persons left England for the Continent. On July 25th 1575 Persons entered the Novitiate of St. Andrea in Rome for one year's residence. After studying Theology for three years at the Roman College, Persons received Holy Orders in 1578. From 1578 to 1580 Person was in the College of the Penitentiaries as one of thirteen Jesuit members. This College's duties included the dispensation of the sacrament of Penance at St. Peter's and to hear confessions. High qualifications were required to enter this College whose members were chosen by the Pope. As Penitentiary Persons helped Southwell's grand-uncle, Sir Richard Shelley, who had been accused by the Catholic adventurer Thomas Stukeley of defending Elizabeth, and as a result, Shelley was about to be hauled before the Roman Inquisition. Persons believed that Shelley's defence of the heretical queen was merely an attempt to persuade the Pope to follow a peaceful rather than a coercive policy towards Elizabeth. Persons intercession relieved Shelley of having to appear before the Inquisition.³² This incident provides a possible link between Persons, Southwell, and Shelley. Numerous passing references to Southwell in Persons' correspondence show the affinity between them. In a letter to Agazzari from Paris on July 10th 1584,

Persons writes: "... God bless your reverence's zeal and Fr. Southwell's. It gives us great satisfaction". A probable reason for this affinity is that both Southwell and Persons were preoccupied with activities related to acquiring or despatching of information. Persons wrote to Agazzari from Paris on August 20th 1584 asking him to see to it that "Fr. Southwell is admonished not to waste time in writing the news from France but to apply himself to his studies". Persons was considering Southwell as a candidate for the English Mission in 1584, some two years before Southwell's actual departure for that mission. Writing to Agazzari from Paris on September 15th 1584 on this point, Persons pleads: "I beg your reverence to get Fr. General to send me either Fr. (William) Good or Fr. (Henry) Garnet... I would be satisfied also with Fr. Simon Hunt (Shakespeare's schoolmaster) or Fr. Southwell". Persons had definite views on who was suitable to be sent on the English mission, and who was not. [On this point see below in conjunction with literary influences on Southwell]. Persons remembered Southwell in his correspondence. Writing to Agazzari from Paris on October 23rd 1584, he gives his "many kind regards to your Reverence... (to) Southwell, and our other beloved fathers and brothers".³³ Southwell himself had a high opinion of Persons. After his defence of Allen, in the Humble Supplication, Southwell writes:

As for Father Parsons, he having placed the vttermost of his Ambition in Contempt of honor, and the highest of his wealth in voluntary povertie, will easily acknowledg his birth to haue bene of more honest then great Parents; yet were they not soe meane but that they were able to afforde him such education, as (if he had not raised his thoughts aboue all earthlie dignities) might haue made his good parts a way to no small preferment.

Southwell praises Persons wisdom and virtue, refuting the view that Persons was a self-seeking mercenary and ruthless go-getter:

And albeit his Credit be great with the King of Spaine, (his virtue and wisdome deserving noe lesse) yet did he neuer vsurpe the title of the King's Confessor...³⁴

Persons exerted several possible influences on Southwell. These took the form of guidance and advice on how to act when sent on the English mission, and on such tasks as the printing of Catholic books in England; where to go when first arriving in London and how to take precautions so as to avoid arrest. When Persons first arrived in London in June 1580 and could not find accommodation he went to the Marshalsea and "enquired for one Mr. Thomas Pound". Pound received him and after dinner a Mr. Edward Brookesby, who happened to be visiting Pound "took Persons with him to his lodgings in the city".³⁵ (see below) Southwell, arriving in London in July 1586 also went to a prison, the Clink, where he breakfasted and was to make his initial contacts in England. (see Ch. 9). Also, Persons' patterns of domicile and movement in and out of London in 1580 were similar to Southwell's from 1586 till his capture. Writing to Agazzari on November 17th 1580 Persons describes how he has many places in London where he can stay, "yet in none do I remain beyond two days, owing to the extremely careful searches that have been made to capture me." Persons, like Southwell, was often compelled to leave the city "and find safer quarters in the surrounding country", and yet again like Southwell "it was only by increasing vigilance that he escaped the hands of his pursuers".³⁶

Persons initial contacts in London were closely linked to Southwell's. Edward Brookesby, married (c. 1577) Eleanor, daughter of William, Third Baron Vaux (d. 1595) in whose house at Hackney Southwell was to shelter; and Eleanor's young cousin, Frances Burrows, was to heroically protect Southwell from pursuivants (Ch. 9). Similarities and connections also exist between how Persons and Southwell organized printing presses in England. In November 1580 Persons acquired from a "Mrs Brooks (or Brookesby) whose son William was a close friend of Persons, a house at Greenstreet, near Barking; some six or seven miles from London. There, another associate of Persons, Stephen Brinkley, took up residence to supervise the printing. Writing to Agazzari from Paris on October 11th 1583 Persons mentioned that Brinkley was accompanying him to Rome and begs Agazzari to procure a pension for him. Thus both Persons and Brinkley would provide first-hand expert advice on how to set about secretly printing Catholic books in England. We also know that Persons and Southwell took one another into their confidence especially regarding those considered to be difficult or troublesome, like Christopher Bagshaw.

Persons wrote to Agazzari on March 24th 1584, admitting that "Everything that dear Brother Robert (Southwell) told me in his letter about the College and Fr. Bagshaw is neither strange nor novel to me... I beg your Reverence to make my excuses to ... Brother Robert".³⁷ (See above on Bagshaw and Persons).

Persons was Rector "pro Tempore" of the English College, Rome, in 1579; and he probably resided there for some months of the following years prior to Southwell's departure for England, since his letters for June and August 1586 are addressed from there. When Southwell and Garnet left Rome on May 8th 1586 Persons accompanied them as far as the Milvian Bridge. "to take an affecting leave of them". Thus, there are sufficient grounds for believing that Southwell owed much to Persons about how to operate as a Jesuit missionary in England. Leo Hicks, as editor of Volume 39 of the C.R.S. publications sees the Persons/Campion mission as a preparation for the ones that followed, especially the Garnet/Southwell mission. In "Instructions given to Fr. Robert Persons and Fr. Edmund Campion, the Founders of the Mission" it was decreed that "Fr. Robert will be in charge of all who are now being sent, until otherwise determined, and all are to obey him as they would ourselves." Hicks believes that some of these instructions were drawn "no doubt with reference to Garnet and Southwell being sent to England".³⁸

Southwell and the Concept of Meditation

During his first few months at the Roman College, Southwell kept some "autograph notes" mentioned in Leo Hicks Ms "Life of Southwell".^{sn39} Part of these notes consist "of a sort of calendar for the week, in which the duties of each day are set down in order, and to each duty is assigned a special patron and a particular intention for which it is to be performed."⁴⁰ Monday's patrons are the Apostles and New Testament saints, and the day's intentions are conserved within the society and its various members - superiors, preachers, confessors, teachers, scholastics, brothers, etc. Tuesday is devoted to martyrs and to the good name of the church and its head, the Pope., the conversion of pagans and heretics, and to the attainment of the unity of the faith in countries infected with heresy - France, England, Flanders and Germany. Wednesday's attention is directed to Religious orders, for which that day's duties were offered,

and patrons chosen from their founders. Here, Southwell mentions the Carthusians three times, whereas other orders are mentioned only once. (See Ch. 7) Thursday is devoted to Confessors, and gratitude is the dominant theme, possibly in reference to Fr. Columb, Southwell's Douai confessor who provided valuable advice (See. Ch. 7). Southwell also thanks God for his creation, redemption, vocation, etc., and he prays for parents, friends and benefactors. Friday and Saturday were dedicated to canonized virgin martyrs, and were days of petition for special graces for Southwell himself and the Society. Then follows a list of "permanent patrons for special occasions and for particular virtues". Southwell's devotion to the virgin Mary may be gathered from his transcribing her "Crown of twelve virtues" --- And a great sign appeared in heaven, a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet and on her head a crown of twelve stars".^{sn41} Southwell also lists three litanies, one of which includes saints who were connected with the virgin during her lifetime, "or had later distinguished themselves by the praise and defence of her prerogatives." Southwell's "Autograph Notes" is described by Leo Hicks as "characterized by a very detailed piety", and includes also two meditations on the Passion, containing detailed citations from Patristic sources. Hicks sees "the same detailed love of order and regularity" as appears in these "Autograph Notes" as appearing later in Southwell's "Letter to a Wandering Priest" and in his "Short Rules of Good Life".⁴²

The Central Archives of the Society of Jesus - the Fondo Gesuitico; the MSS of the Roman College (now in the National Library in Rome) and the Archives of the Gregorian University - all three of these repositories contain numerous such documents on meditation and prayer as Southwell's "Autograph Notes". The study of spiritual trends in a centre where student Jesuits from nearly all Jesuit provinces spent time is crucial to the development of Jesuit spiritual trends. The second half of the Sixteenth century was a decisive period for the history of meditation among the Jesuits. Meditation in itself required a great deal of spiritual dedication; such meditations as were undertaken by Southwell and others were not essentially individual or merely communal in the local sense, but took place in the context of "within an organization which was as new, as all-embracing, as multifarious and as International as the Society of Jesus in a period as troubled as the Sixteenth Century".⁴³

The assorted source material for the ideas and method of meditation and prayer that students like Southwell practised consists of intimate notes written for personal use, often in a way unintelligible to others. This MS material found in the Roman repositories mentioned above can be divided into two categories: First, spiritual notes generally made by students, be they private notes - such as feelings about prayer, resolutions, confessions, or summaries of sermons, chapters from spiritual treatises, schemes of meditation, exercises taken from Patristic writings, or exercises of piety recommended by teachers, superiors or others. Many of these notes are anonymous and some of them were written by several people. But their importance lies in the feelings they give about the spiritual environment in which they were written. They also throw light on the ideas that impressed the writers of these meditations, and, not only the most recommended spiritual exercises but also the most commonly practised. The second category of these MSS consist of spiritual books, sermons of superiors, masters of Novices, etc., copied by students.⁴⁴

In the Jesuit Roman Archives a number of such MSS of spiritual notes similar to Southwell's are extant. Some of these notes are miscellaneous collections of various materials. The spiritual notes collected by Fr. Fabio de Fabi (?) in the years 1568-80 contain largely the sermons and instructions of Fr. Alonso Ruiz (?) written, not in de Fabi's hand, but in another's. There are also some based on Jerome Nadal's sermons delivered in Spain in 1561. The authorship of some of these spiritual notes is uncertain. The title page of one such MS reads "This book was among those of Fr. Pietro Blanco - it may belong, however, to Fr. Admundo (Auger?) or Fr. Hoffeo". Some, like Southwell's, are explicit in both authorship and content, such as the Notes of Fr. Bartolome Ricci (1542-1613) who was twice Master of Novices at the Novitiate of St. Andrea. It appears that those in charge of St. Andrea which Southwell attended had an especial tradition of compiling such spiritual notes and meditations. Claudio Aquaviva wrote "Exhortations" in St. Andrea in 1584-85 and delivered spiritual lectures to the novices in 1584. Some novices who began their notes at the Novitiate when pious enthusiasm was fresh and strong continued working on their notes for the rest of their lives, such as Fr. Thomas Masucci (1570-1636); who was described as a first-class student in the Roman College in the years 1589-1600, and afterwards its spiritual

director. Another Roman College scholar from Central Europe started writing his spiritual notes in 1570 and finished them only after 1609.⁴⁵

One cannot be clear if Southwell's "Autograph Notes" were a self-contained work or whether they formed a part of a much larger effort that was left uncompleted. It also is not certain whether they were Southwell's own work or a pious emulation of the work of his masters. Sometimes students' private spiritual notes were in fact heavily influenced by other such notes. The notes of a student of the Roman College in the late Sixteenth or early Seventeenth century who came "from beyond the Alps as the Gothic letters show" were in fact copied from Fr. Juan Bta. Ceccotti Tractatus de Renovatione Votorum, which was re-edited in Ceccotti's Apparatus Ad Meditationes Vitae (Rome, 1631).⁴⁶ Southwell's "Autograph Notes" were probably influenced by similar notes compiled by Alfonso Agazzari, and practised by the novices at St. Andrea. "This manuscript is of particular interest" writes Fr. Ignatius Iparraguirre "because of its similarity with the personal notes of the Blessed Robert Southwell, first (domiciled) in the Roman College in ... 1580-2, and afterwards for the period 1583-6, that is to say, during the Rectorship of ... Agazzari of the English College, in the successive capacities of student and prefect."^{sn47} Agazzari put into practice that effective and practical praying that Jerome Nadal had recommended. In his notes Agazzari makes use of yet another form of meditation, Avisi per fare l'oratione, cavati dell 'escritii. The first part of these tracts of advice is drawn from previous instructions for prayer given by a Fr. La Blanca and by Nadal who advised that "once the hour of oration has begun we should strive to ensure that the time of prayer shall not pass without our having done four things: Meditate, not only with the intellect, but also with the will; desiring and loving the good which one will find; give thanks always for grace; and offering oneself completely." Iparraguirre describes Southwell's spiritual notes as "one of the more interesting spiritual notes of the period". In his Spiritual Exercises Southwell follows a certain method of prayer. He recommends that one avails oneself of the intercession of a saint in order to put oneself into the presence of God; a recommendation put into practice by Agazzari, who invoked the intercession of his former spiritual son, Edmund Campion.⁴⁸

De Buck in his introduction to Southwell's Spiritual Exercises could

not identify the book on Meditations Southwell used, even after reviewing various such books written by jesuits, or those that most influenced the Roman milieu. It is probable that Southwell was largely basing his meditative writings on Exhortations made in Saint Andrea or in the Roman College by superiors and spiritual directors, Exhortationes Domesticae Venerabilis Servi Dei Cardinalis Roberti Bellarmini and the "Exhortations" made by Claudio Aquaviva during his Generalship.⁴⁹ To these sermons one could add the spiritual lectures in which the novices took an active part, each one commenting on a specific topic in his own way. They discussed meditation as a means of more effective prayer in such ways as: "In order to derive fruit from prayer, we must reflect upon it, asking ourselves what benefit we have derived" or "what should we do if we find our method of prayer barren and arid".⁵⁰

A discussion of Southwell's writings on meditation should include, aside from his Autograph Notes which are a standard sort of effort produced by both novices and their superiors, Southwell's own translation of Diego de Estella (A Spanish Franciscan and Confessor of Philip II) A Hundred Meditations on the Love of God (Meditationes Devotissimas Del Amor De Dios (Salamanca, 1576). Pierre Janelle points out that this bulky volume of 550 octavo pages and the effort Southwell expended on it showed that he considered it a greatly important work. He may have written his translation while he was in Rome or postponed that until he found time for it at Arundel House after he returned to England. Before Southwell left Rome in 1586 Estella's Meditations had been translated by a Jesuit, Gianbattista Peruschi, and published first in Venice in 1584 and then in Florence in 1585. Southwell's translation of Estella's work, an interesting specimen of English Catholic devotional prose, could be seen as the model which Southwell followed when writing the Epistle of Comfort in 1587.⁵¹

Southwell's translation of Estella's Meditation throws much light on his approach to writing. Southwell re-worked Estella's Meditations rather than followed, conscientiously, a meticulous translation. He handled the work with freedom "and altered its literary character appreciably". Where he found a plain tract, embellished though it may be with religious imagery but written in a flat style, "he took great pains to improve its cadence and harmony."⁵² Southwell's efforts at Meditative writing were

part of the energetic Catholic attempts at self-improvement which would render Catholic priests in heretical lands more acceptable and more useful to their countrymen - Catholic writings on moral self-improvement and on guidelines for proper behaviour were sought and read with interest by Protestant and Catholic alike. Robert Persons The First booke of the Christian Exercise, appartayning to Resolution (Rouen 1582) which was later enlarged and known as A Christian Directorie (1585) - an expansion of Ignatius's Exercises - went through eight Catholic editions before 1622, and was edited by an Anglican scholar so as to conform with state theology, and published in eight more editions up to 1594.⁵³

In the second year of his noviceship, Southwell, having completed two years of training, was accepted by the Jesuits. His admission took place probably in the chapel of the Roman College on October 18th 1580. There, he took vows of chastity, poverty and obedience.⁵⁴ In his Spiritual Exercises and Devotions (written c. 1578-1585) he recorded his thoughts on that solemn occasion. "Thou hast fled from the World and hast entered religion ... like a beggar, having no other place of refuge".⁵⁵ He considered himself fortunate in being admitted. "How many youths there are of noble birth and refinement as well as of high sanctity who are exiles from their native land or like harts yearning for the fountains of water, while thou hast slept and taken thy rest in peace".⁵⁶ His admission to the Jesuit Order was the most major landmark in Southwell's life. At last, he was "home", in the sense of belonging to an international "fraternity" that would compensate for lack of high powered political connections and authority in his home ground of England. After taking his vows Southwell resided for either a year or two years at the Roman College, pursuing his higher studies.⁵⁷

Southwell's Education in the Roman College

In 1560, the Roman College moved to its fourth location, a new building erected between April and October 1560 through a benefaction from the Marchesa della Tolfa, widow of Camillo Orsini and niece of Paul IV. It was in this location that Southwell first studied at the Roman College before attending the inaugural ceremony of the magnificent Renaissance edifice built by Gregory XIII to permanently house the College. (see below). The premises of 1560, although smaller than its sumptuous

Gregorian successor, represented a typical Jesuit College, and its architectural layout was to be initiated by the Colleges of Paris, Forli, Como and Parma. It consisted of two separate building complexes, each arranged around two large spacious quadrangular courtyards with porticoes, one for the priestly community, the other for classes and students. The Church of the Annunziata, also built by the Marchesa della Tolfa adjoined the section housing the Jesuits. The design of the College reflected the Jesuit's view of their residential role. The Jesuits did not live in monasteries as monks nor in convents like friars, but in religious houses, as modern reformed priests. The Roman College thus combined the functional aspects of a private residence and the austerity expected of a religious order.⁵⁸ This Jesuit residential concept may have caused Southwell's preference for stability when he resided with the Catholic gentry and aristocracy later on in England. (See Ch. 9). By 1576 the student numbers at the Roman College had risen to 1500. The Jesuit students - the scholastics - numbered between 130 and 140 during these years; they resided studied and were trained spiritually in the College; and, alongside the staff and lay brothers, constituted the religious community. Fr. Mario Fois, Dean of the Faculty of Church History, Gregorian Pontifical University, attributes the success of the Roman College to the quick progress made by the students in the various departments of the College due to the special educational methodology which the Jesuits employed, and to the exercise of disputation in various forms.⁵⁹

The College moved to its final premises in the mid 1580's. Gregory XIII planned a splended new building for it, and commissioned Bartholomew Ammanati, architect of the Pitti Palace in Florence to build it on a site between the Church of Minerva and the Corso. Clearing the site began in summer of 1580 and the foundation stone laid on January 11th 1582. On October 28th 1583, Greegory XIII, aged 82, inaugurated the magnificent new building.⁶⁰

Southwell's studies in the Roman College followed the guidelines of the "Borgia" Ratio Studiorum of 1565 when Frs. Ledesma and Perpinya' reported to F. Borgia as the Jesuit vicar-general on the necessty for drawing up a new order of studies for the Jesuit order. Hitherto, a universal order of studies of the type that Ignatius required, had not yet

been written. The various Jesuit provinces had composed, up to that time, their own local plan of studies and distributed them among themselves. By 1569 and 1570 the Borgia Ratio was approved, and was applied in various Jesuit Provinces.⁶¹ The Provinces were keenly interested in the new provisions of the Borgia Ratio pertaining to the Higher Studies of Philosophy and Theology. This Ratio is particularly relevant to Southwell in the sense that it laid down detailed duties and functions for Prefects of Studies, a position Southwell was to hold in the English College from 1581 to 1586. One document lays out thirty-three regulations for the Prefect of Studies to follow; twenty-four for teachers; twenty for Jesuit Scholars and eleven for external students. Visitation records, however, put the number of regulations for the Prefect of Studies at 28. F. Ladislaus Lu *Kacs* attributes the Borgia Ratio primarily to Fr. Jerome Nadal as far as its scholastic aspects were concerned. However, that part dealing with Humanistic Studies could be attributed to Fr. Perpinya.⁶²

The class structure and curriculum at Jesuit schools, generally speaking and regardless of any particular Sixteenth century Ratio, were as follows: Lower Grammar (corresponds roughly to a first and second year high school class), designed to teach basic reading and writing skills. Middle Grammar (third year high school) was intended to give a good but not complete, knowledge of grammar and syntax. Upper grammar (fourth year high school) provides full comprehension of grammar, syntax and idiom. Then follows the Humanities class (equivalent to modern College Freshman where the rules of rhetoric and poetry are taught. Above Humanities is Rhetoric (sophister), where the theory and practice of rhetoric and poetry are elaborated, drawing on such authorities as Aristotle, Virgil and Horace. After students had been sufficiently trained in Classical Theories of poetry and rhetoric, they entered the three year philosophy course.⁶³

Since Southwell was already in Rhetoric as far back as Douai, it must be assumed that having completed his noviceship, he embarked immediately upon his philosophy course and having completed that he then started the four-year theology course while residing at the English College, first as tutor then as Prefect of Studies.⁶⁴

The relationship between the "Humanities" course and the Philosophy and Theology courses - which we know that Southwell pursued - requires

some investigation. The Committee set up to draft the Ratio of 1586 (Ratio atque Institutio Studiorum) which followed the Borgia Ratio under which Southwell studied, compiled an introduction and ten chapters on the teaching of the Humanities. The first chapter was entitled "Should the Humanistic Schools be separated from those of Philosophy and Theology?"⁶⁵ There is evidence that in the mid 1580's the study of Humanities was under a cloud. The Committee formulating the 1586 Ratio in its "introduction", defends humanistic studies as useful and necessary, "but at present they are threatened with an eclipse because prospective teachers of the classics know from experience that their labors, instead of being appreciated, will more than likely be derided; hence, to remedy this unfortunate situation, classical teachers must be given honors and privileges equal to those enjoyed by Professors of theology or by members of any other faculty". Allan Farrell explains that the eminent place given to philosophy and theology at the close of the middle Ages had led gradually to a neglect of the Latin and Greek literatures. The humanistic movement sought to give the classic literatures a more acceptable position. But many enthusiasts of the Renaissance in their support of the Classics too often turned to bitter attacks against Christian theology and philosophy. Consequently very many ecclesiastics, regarded students and teachers of Latin and Greek with extreme suspicion. By some they were called fomenters of heresy. The early Jesuits defied suspicion and criticism by underlining the need for a basic humanistic education though insisting that the classics were not a completely sufficient instrument of education. Shortly after the establishment of the first Jesuit Colleges, the shock waves of the Protestant revolt began to spread through Europe, and Theology once again became the focus of interest. Teachers who could successfully refute Lutheran doctrines and defend the Catholic position were honoured everywhere, and were accorded exceptional academic privileges, while the mere teachers of grammar classes were consigned to inferior positions. The classics and their defenders were frequently ridiculed, condemned and reviled. "Was not Erasmus, a humanist, said to be the forerunner of Luther?"⁶⁶

The formulators of the 1586 Ratio appear to have insisted on rectifying this pejorative view of Humanistic teaching. Chapter II of this Ratio stipulated that, first, "no Jesuit should be exempted from

teaching the Humanities"; second "this period of teaching the Humanities should be done by the young Jesuit before he commences his course in philosophy; thirdly "It should last not less than three years.⁶⁷ This suggests that in the Borgia Ratio not enough emphasis had been placed on the Humanities, and that Southwell's batch of students had not been given as serious enough view of the Humanities as Jesuit pedagogy deemed sufficient.

In the regulations, very precise and detailed issued in 1569 which were compulsory both for the Roman College and other Colleges in the provinces, five "classes" are laid out for literary studies - three for grammar, one for humanities and one for rhetoric. In the last two of these classes Greek, Hebrew and some other language such as Arabic, were taught. The important point here is that "class" in this context does not correspond to the modern academic meaning of the term. The "class" was perceived more in terms of the prescribed syllabus and the material assimilated rather than its academic placing, its student numbers, and its duration. "Class" therefore in this context means nothing more than effective learning and a given stage of mastery of Latin regardless of chronological or spatial criteria.⁶⁸ Through this extremely flexible concept of classes, the more gifted and diligent students - like Southwell - "could complete their studies in less time, moving up quickly from one class to the next". [In questo modo i piu dotati e i piu diligenti potevano compiere gli studi in minor tempo, passando rapidamene da una classe all'altra superiore].⁶⁹ Progress could be rapid, especially within the grammar classes, through the continuous and varied exercises which students had to perform both individually, and in groups and the possibility arises of Southwell having taught humanities. For instance, the "infima", the fifth and lowest class (Lower Grammar), which only accepted boys who were able to read and write, was to master the "latinae grammaticae rudimenta" so thoroughly that the following class, in which grammar study could be continued, could also begin teaching syntax. Meanwhile students were exposed to the highest form of Latin style, that of Cicero, in which selected letters of Cicero were studied (See chapter 7 "Clermont College"). To accomplish all this, from 1567 onwards, students at the Roman College had to undertake the following exercises over five hours - two morning, two afternoon sessions - for five teaching days per

week: Recital by heart of lessons learned in previous sessions; one hour's exercises in declensions and conjugations; half an hour's expositions of selected letters from Cicero; another thirty minutes spent preparing very short compositions based on the Ciceronian model; and finally, half an hour's additional explanation of grammatical rules.⁷⁰ Thus, the edge over others, and consequently, rapid promotion, would be acquired by highly motivated students with a thorough grounding in Latin, advantages which Southwell eminently possessed.

A further factor which contributed to Southwell's well rounded classical, religious and literary education was the approach to literature designed as it was to form profound eloquent and perfect Christians, indeed Catholics. The studies "humaniorum litterarum" "were not generically or exclusively aimed simply at training a 'vir bonus alicendi peritus' but a 'vir Catholicus dicendi peritus' through a programme of religious instruction which was graded through the different classes, by the frequent reception of the sacraments, and through a more far-reaching training and a more demanding commitment to Christian life...".⁷¹ I suggest that this approach to literature propelled as it was by powerful religious motivations was a main factor in Southwell's formation as a religious poet. The approach to literature is perhaps best exemplified in the College's approach to the teaching of Cicero. Out of forty-four Latin works mentioned in one Ratio, thirty were by Cicero. This exclusive approach arose from the fact that the whole Jesuit principle of classical study was based on emulation, and thus only the very best of models would do. The pagan Tacitus was excluded, and Lucan, Statias and Seneca were omitted after having been briefly tolerated in previous Ratios. Only Cicero appears to have satisfied the elitist Jesuit standards.

Another factor encouraging Southwell's literary efforts was the continuous contact between professors and students, both inside and outside the College. Southwell's natural literary inclinations were encouraged by the Jesuit' sponsorship of literary talent. Relationships between teachers and students were probably based more on a patriarchial rather than on a rigid hierarchical basis, with students viewing their teachers in an avuncular light, albeit one with strongly built-in correctives of respect. This sort of relationship had to be maintained if the role of teachers as envisaged in the Jesuit Constitutions was to be

effectively upheld: In the fourth part of the Constitutions, Ignatius laid down precise directives which applied to all professors: they were to commit themselves "during their lessons and outside their lessons, whenever the occasion arises, to spur the students on to the love and service of God our Lord, and to the virtues by which they must please Him, and to direct all their studies towards this end". This became the first "common rule" of all professors.⁷² Southwell showed much affectionate respect for many of his teachers and confessors. (See below Southwell and Bellarmine). The very motto of the College, emphasizing the unity of Good Arts and Religion exemplifies Southwell's pursuits as a religion poet. The basic aim of Jesuit Colleges was explained as clearly as possible to every student, that in the Society's schools "non minus ... ad virtutem et pietatem, quam ad eruditionem animos informari" (minds are formed no less in virtue and piety than in erudition). This aim had been expressed as early as 1561, in the first rule given to students in the "Caesarean Viennese College", and in obedience to which they "artibus honestis et pietati operam daturi sunt" (they are to work through honest arts and piety). This was to be the forerunner of the motto that was to be sculptured on the facade of Gregory XIII's 1583 building of the Roman College "Religioni ac bonis artibus" (To Religion and the Good Arts). Like the Pomarancio frescoes in the English College which most probably left an indelible impression of martyrdom and suffering on Southwell's mind, the Roman College's motto may have, with equal probability, instilled in him the paramount importance of harnessing the team of religion and Arts to the chariot of his aims.

Southwell's Philosophy Course

The Philosophy Course at the Roman College followed the two year course in Rhetoric. The Borgia Ratio, in 1570, defined the subjects taught in the philosophy faculty as "artes" or "scientiae naturales". Students were taught to use Aristotelian dialectics when discussing philosophy. Although the Jesuits rejected Aristotle's views on the mortality of the soul, they considered him as eminent in philosophy as Cicero had been in literature. The Stagirite was probably taught in the original Greek, and the Borgia Ratio laid down minute details on what and how much of his works were to be taught, and precisely what chapters were

to be expounded.

In the philosophy faculty, students were given more time for personal study through different kinds of exercise. Out of the five daily teaching hours - two in the morning and three in the afternoon - only two involved lectures by the teacher. The other three were designated for exercises by the students:- a brief repetition of the previous day's lesson given by a student; repetition of that morning's lesson and in the presence of the Professor, given by a student of his choosing; repetition of the same lesson by the whole class - divided into groups of twos or threes, with the Professor not far from the classroom ready to arbitrate should the students be unable to agree on how to settle any controversy arising among them. The last exercise of the morning was a "reparatio" or summary of the lessons, disputations etc... which took place after a break, or rest interval, taken outside the classroom.

On Saturday afternoons the weekly defence of dissertations were prepared. Philosophical theses were announced a day before hand by a student, who had the task of preparing himself to reply, either favourably or unfavourably, to the applications of those who wished to take part. Every month, and aside from these weekly disputations, a General Disputation, or Debate was held, in which all the Professors and students of the faculty were obliged to participate, except for first year students engaged in the study of dialectics. In these "Generales Concertiones" students from various classes presented themselves to defend their theses. From the general participation of most students in these monthly debates, it could be deduced that, after the first year, the teaching of philosophy was standardized to all classes; with the possible exception of metaphysics which was taught in the last four to six months of the Philosophy Course.⁷³

Most probably, it was in these monthly philosophical disputations that Southwell excelled. His friend John Deckers writes that

"His excellent talent and abundance of divine light enabled him to make such quick progress that (I may so in all modesty) he was without a rival in philosophy among his fellow students of the Roman College which is the most celebrated in the World. And all can testify to that who witnessed his disputation on the whole of philosophy. From

the difficulties of Aristotle and the shadows of the Philosophers, he passed to the sunshine of Theology and the dryness of the scholastics"(sic).⁷⁴

The study of Philosophy in Jesuit Schools - the model for which was the Roman College - was a means to an end, not an end in itself. This was especially the case for those like Southwell who intended to go on to the Theology course after doing philosophy. Philosophical studies were strongly oriented towards theology, as it was held that 'natural arts or sciences dispose minds to theology, and provide the means for the perfect knowledge and use of it, themselves assisting the achievement of that aim [artes vel scientiae naturales ingenia disponunt ad theologiam et ad perfectam cognitionem et usum illius inserviunt, et per se ipsas ad eundem finem iuvant].⁷⁵

As well as expounding the "universus Aristotelis contextus", over a period of three years, and an extra six months for those required or wishing to take a master's degree in Arts (Philosophy), significant emphasis was placed on exact, mathematical, sciences, although the Borgia Ratio does not go into details concerning them. But they very probably included - judging from previous Ratios - such subjects as geometry and perspective; arithmetic; spheres and cosmography; astrology (astronomy) and planet theories; astronomical tables; astrolabes and clocks. The Philosophy Course at Jesuit Colleges was more or less a straight forward uncontroversial course; a stepping stone to the more disputable theology course. The Jesuit Father-General prescribed how the Humanities and Philosophy Courses should be introduced to Jesuit Colleges in the provinces, which appear to have accepted it readily. While the Theology Course, as early as 1571, was by no means deficient and was not less perfected than the philosophy course, yet there is no trace, says Fr. Lukacs, that the Provinces accepted it; due mainly to the controversial selection of (theological) opinion the course embodied. Even in 1579 when Southwell was in Rome, queries were received from a remote Jesuit province which closely questioned the theology course.⁷⁶

The Theology Course at the Roman College

After completing his three year Philosophy Course, Southwell embarked in 1582 on the four year Theological Course which follows it. (See above). Southwell was transferred to the Staff of the English College probably in 1581, before he had completed his own studies at the Roman College. Leo Hicks writes that "There is not sufficient evidence to fix the date of his going to the English College or of his appointment there as Prefect of Studies."⁷⁷ Devlin however suggests that he was transferred to the English College in 1581. From there he carried on with his theology course, a four year course that follows philosophy. He had to live at the English College in the Campo dei Fiori and act as Tutor to his countrymen. He spent the next five years at the English College, first as tutor and then as Prefect of Studies.⁷⁸ (See below). We know, however, that in 1584 Southwell was halfway through his theology course. Aquaviva wrote to Persons on October 22nd 1584 that Southwell "is now just about in the middle of his course in theology (and) we do not think he should be interrupted, especially as he will become much more useful in time".⁷⁹

It was while Southwell was in his Theology Course that he acted as Prefect of Studies at the English College, and his duties, roughly, would have been:-

1. To be the Rector's assistant in whatever pertains to the administration of studies.
2. To oversee the examiners' (appointed by the Rector) availability to examine new students, allocate such new students to each examiner and to new classes according to examiners reports.
3. To keep a list of all students according to classes, crossing out the names of those who leave the school or who are sent away.
4. To consult with the Rector about the time to be assigned to reopening the school year, and the promotion of students to higher classes.
5. To submit a list of text-books for the Rector's approval; to see to it that book sellers have a sufficient supply of the texts for all the students; and to provide teachers with whatever books they may need.
6. To remind the Rector at the beginning of each school year to appoint teachers to conduct examinations for student promotion to

higher classes. Each teacher gives the prefect a list of pupils he considers fit for promotion and only these will be examined. Having received the examination results the prefect will authorize, through the Rector, the promotion of successful candidates.

7. To acquire and be aware of all the rules and regulations concerning studies, i.e. - class rules, exercises etc... and any special instructions issued by the Rector.
8. To visit classrooms and observe teaching methods to see if they comply with the rules - as far as subject matter and exercises are concerned - and find out if such methods are satisfactory to the pupils, but must not reprimand teachers for any shortcomings. Such admonitions should be done in private.
9. To impress upon teachers the necessity of training pupils in Christian virtue no less than in learning.
10. To supervise the availability of classroom furniture such as benches, teachers' rostrums etc., and the repair of damaged classroom equipment.^{sn80}

In the theology course at the Roman College two Professors, over the four-year period, covered the Summa Theologica of Thomas Aquinas. According to the following schedule: one and a half years was devoted to first part of St. Thomas; the same length of time allocated to the first half of the second part; two years to the second half of the second part; and three years to the third part, with additions from the sacraments.⁸¹ The total of eight years is divided between two teachers, covering the whole in four years. An integral part of the theology course were the "Questiones" - or enquiries - on all aspects of religion and morality: On justice - especially when it deals with restitution - the course embodied 14 "questiones"; and others were concerned with fraud, usury, vows, superstitions, simony, mendacity, hypocrisy, martyrdom, fasting, virginity, original sin, episcopal status, and the status of religion. All these "Questiones" totalled 47 in number, all told. Scripture was expounded by first diligently revealing its literal meaning, and the difficult passages were elucidated. Time was spent on those tracts that touched on mystical subjects.⁸² Theology lecturers dwelt on the necessity of making the author on which they lecture understood, and to illustrate

the lecture as clearly as possible with other aspects of scripture and even with historical works seemingly distant from the subject at hand. Passages of scripture through which the Jews might be won over were also touched upon. Scholastic doctrines in interpreting scripture, were, however, shunned; though they could be briefly referred to when opportunities for confirming Catholic positions against heretics presented themselves and were not to be passed over unmentioned, but controversies were not to be dwelt upon extensively. Various versions of Scripture were employed in such a way as to always uphold the Vulgate text and to prefer it to others; other texts being used to illustrate the Vulgate. Lecturers were not to be enthusiastic about novelty for novelty's sake, nor were they to teach contrary to tridentine directives, but should adhere to the interpretations of the recognized doctors of the church; and to treat saints and their sayings with the greatest possible reverence. Expounding the controversies of faith should be undertaken strictly in accordance with the prevailing Ratio.

Casuistry (Casus Conscientia) was either publicly or privately read and, according to the Provincial's directions, two or three times a week. Readings of Scripture were given in the final two years of the Theology course. On the day on which the controversies "Controversia" were read, no readings of Scripture took place, so that scholars should not be burdened by many readings (Lectiones). All students destined for the priesthood, either in their final year, or about to receive Holy Orders were obliged to hear "Casus Conscientia" on a regular basis.⁸³

Southwell's Literary Education

We know that Southwell attended the philosophy course, and then the theological course at the Roman College. His literary education in Rome, however, is more vague. The Borgia Ratio was less definitive than the one of 1599. Most of Southwell's literary education would have taken place when he was in the Rhetoric class in Douai and Paris. How far he carried on with his literary studies in Rome must remain somewhat conjectural. So, the extent of his literary education must remain within the context of Douai, Paris, and Rome taken together. The Borgia Ratio [Ratio Studiorum Societatis Iesu (1565-1572)] under which Southwell was educated on the Continent, laid out detailed regulations on all forms of literary

education. It also made provisions for those who wish to pursue literary studies while attending other courses. "Those who have time for humanities (letters) will have their own established time for conferring and disputing on those matters which are pertinent to their own studies in private with someone who would be able to supervise them on Sundays or on other agreed-upon days. Alternately ... they will exert themselves in writing poetry or prose either extemporaneously, with a theme proposed right then for the purpose of testing promptitude, or with a work composed at home on a subject proposed before hand; and these will be then ready publicly:

Qui literis humanioribus vacant, sua etiam statuta tempora ad conferendum et disputandum de iis quae pertinent ad studia illa, coram aliquo, qui eos dirigere possit, habebunt; et dominicis vel aliis constitutis diebus, alternatim vel suae facultatis positiones a prandio tuebuntur, vel se in componendo carmine aut soluta oratione exercebunt, sive id ex tempore, proposito ibidem themate ad explorandum promptitudinem fiat, sive domo composita, de re prius proposita, illic publice legantur.⁸⁴

Another motivation for Southwell to pursue literary studies regardless of the course he was taking was that students of humanities were obliged to speak among themselves in Latin - a subject Southwell excelled in - and they must diligently practice style in their compositions. Literature and religion were closely linked. It was held that it was more pleasing to God to pay attention to literature which was to be learnt together with Divine Service, and which to some extent demands the whole man. Those studying literature were to seek elegance and a wealth of subjects and of vocabulary in writing both prose and verse. Aside from recitals from the works of such poets as Virgil and Horace, whatever time is left was to be spent in treating the Art of poetic metre, with comparisons between its various forms. Compositions in prose and verse took place in alternate days. The teacher will dictate an oration in a vulgar tongue - since the rhetorical precepts must be learned - and which then must be turned into Latin. Students were encouraged to write poetry - a distinct attraction to Southwell - with themes dictated by the teacher who indicates to students which parts of the poets should be imitated when writing verse.

The teacher, however, when dictating a theme gives only a hint in a few words which the students must later amplify on their own. Moreover, efforts were made to pick out future poets among students. The Ratio stipulates that "attempts must be made so that those who appear made for poetry by genius and by nature should enjoy it in art and in practical usage: [Conandum etiam ut qui natura et ingenio ad poesim facti videntur, arte et usu iuventur; epistolas et orationes in laudem alicuius sancti carmine componentes, quas interdum tempore aliis orationibus destinato, nimirum concertationum hora recitent].⁸⁵

From the above quotation it could be seen that students were assiduously encouraged to write speeches in verse and epistles in praise of saints, which they then must recite during contests. It was the teachers' (praeceptores) task not only to select passages from classical authors - passages which the students could imitate - but to open up to them possibilities of innovation and example; and to correct their scripts and delivery, and influence their pronunciation before the oration is delivered in public. The teacher sees to it that the same thought is expressed by different students in different ways through the use of various turns of phrase. During conversation time the master makes sure that students not only speak Latin, but pure and elegant Latin.⁸⁶ Those seen to have a particular aptitude for writing verse are then directed to turn readings from the Greek into Latin verse. Extensive reading from classical poetry and memorizing tracts of it by heart will, it was held, help students with a talent for writing poetry. Poems by students in Greek and Latin, after being edited by the Master were affixed to the walls of the College according to order of merit, and the very best of these were copied in special College books for preservation.⁸⁷

The theme of the unity between religion and literature was perpetually reiterated throughout the Ratio. Students were exhorted to serve God with pure and sincere minds, submitting to his Divine Law, commending themselves frequently to the Virgin and to the rest of the saints, and invoking the blessed spirits, especially the angel whose protection they enjoy. Students were to display moderation in all activities of life, so that whosoever should come to know them, would know that they are no more lovers and scholars of letters than they are of true virtue.

"Puris ac sinceris mentibus Deo op. max. serviant, divinae

ipsius legi obtemperantes, purissimae Virgini ac Dei genitrici caeterisque sanctis sese frequenter commendent, beatos spiritus, et eum praecipue angelum cuius custodiae subsunt, assiduis invocent precibus. Eam denique in omnibus vitae actionibus moderationem exhibeant, ut quivis intelligat, non magis eos literarum quam virtutum verarum studiosos esse et amatores".⁸⁸

Teaching of religion, virtue and literature went hand in hand. At the start of classes students and teacher stood with uncovered heads and crossed themselves. Students were not to be distracted by a multitude of writers, but were to read only those deemed most suitable. The suitability of writers was judged by the Prefect of Studies and the superiors. Masters were to advise students to abstain from reading lascivious poets both in College and at home. Studying was deemed to be a form of religion. Students were exhorted "to apply the mind to study earnestly and consistently, and ... persuade themselves that they will do nothing in College more pleasing to God than if they should apply themselves diligently to study".⁸⁹ There appears to have been a temptation for students like Southwell to be deflected from their studies by other preoccupations. Robert Persons wrote asking that Southwell be reminded to concentrate on his studies (of Theology). (See above Southwell and Persons).

Literary influences on Southwell

The influence of the Roman period on Southwell is clearly shown in his poetry. Southwell in Rome did not live and study in isolation, and was proficient enough in Italian to read modern Italian poetry and write well.⁹⁰ The two most notable Italian literary influences on Southwell were, first, Luigi Tansillo's "Le Lagrime di San Piero." This was available in MS form by August 1559 and consisted of forty-two stanzas in rhymed octaves which first appeared in print as an appendix to a translation of the Aeneid in 1560, and was ascribed to the Cardinal de Pucci. Tansillo's "Lagrime" were printed in six various miscellanies between 1571 and 1582, and in 1585 another edition appeared containing 910 stanzas. That Southwell was influenced by Tansillo's "Lagrime" is proven beyond all doubt. Southwell's "Peeter Playnt" was an accurate translation

of the beginning of Tansillo's poem, as Janelle pointed out, stanzas 1-XIII and the first two lines of stanza XIV.⁹¹ The second possibly major Italian literary influence on Southwell was Erasmo Valvasone "Le Lagrime della Maddalena" which, though seemingly written before 1580 was first published in the same volume as Tansillo's "Lagrime", at Genoa in 1587 and again in Venice in 1592. Southwell, between 1586 and 1592 treated the themes of both these poems; "that of Valvasone in prose and that of Tansillo in verse".⁹²

Southwell's literary creativity was heavily influenced and directed by Jesuit teachings on the aims and nature of proper creative writing. The Jesuit Professor of Humanities and Rhetoric Jacobus Pontanus (Spanmuller) (1542-1626) who published works on the art of writing since 1573, emphasized in his Poeticae Institutiones (Ingolstadt, 1594) wisdom rather than beauty in poetry. The poet, says Pontanus, may borrow as much as he needs from moralists so that "of writing well, the source and fount be wisdom". The sublime madness which sweeps the poet away should be studiously avoided.

The poet to Pontanus is not a painter perceiving his subject in a flash of genius, but, in Janelle's words, a patient craftsmen carefully selecting stones for his mosaic. The poet's tools are patience, discrimination and taste, but not imagination, invention or originality.⁹³ Pontanus's influence on Southwell must necessarily be indirect. There is no evidence that Pontanus was ever at the Roman College. However, Pontanus recommends for Christian hymnology a series of poems on the various liturgical feasts of the Virgin Mary which are comparable to the Virgin Cycles in Southwells English poetry.⁹⁴

A possibly more direct influence on Southwell was Franciscus Bencius (1542-1594), Professor of Classics of the Roman College from 1573-1579, and then Professor of Rhetoric from then till his death. Benci's - and Pontanus's influences were indirectly permeating rather than personal and direct, and it is immaterial whether Southwell attended Benci's lectures or not since "the whole atmosphere (of the Roman College) would work on him", as Jesuit neo-Classicism was omnipresent in the daily life of the College, displayed in such activities as liturgical feasts, anniversaries, distribution of prizes, and visits of the Popes or Cardinals. Both Professors and students would compete to compose 'orationes' or 'Carmine',

to "display the soundness and elegance of their Latin".⁹⁵ Benci believed that the poetical ideal for a young scholar of the Roman College to aspire to was to emulate illustrious classical models. To Benci literary composition has its own delights, like the satisfaction derived by a craftsman from conscientious devotion to his art. Southwell's development as it emanated from Jesuit influences was summed up by Janelle:-

"no literary theory could stifle the emotions aroused in Juvenile hearts when coming into touch with the beauties of classical antiquity. Southwell felt and tried to emulate them. His natural lyricism was strengthened at Rome as well as his belief in the divine mission of the poet. The inspiration thus awakened in him was to shake off the shackles of literary orthodoxy."⁹⁶

I suggest that Southwell's literary interests and efforts were closely linked to his missionary aspirations. The milieu in which Southwell hoped to operate religiously, namely the English Catholic gentry and aristocracy expected very high standards of learning. Missioners sent from Rome either for purely pastoral reasons, or were sent to accomplish specific political tasks were expected to be men of some distinction and to be figures of renown in the literary, academic or artistic world of the Counter-Reformation. Henry Garnet who accompanied Southwell to England was a mathematician and a musician. Persons, having left England between 13th-21st August 1581, wrote from France to Aquaviva on October 21st 1581 discussing the suitability of various Spanish and Italian personages to being sent on the English mission with a view of contacting the young James VI of Scotland and winning him away from heresy and back to the Catholic faith for which his mother had been executed. "A man of mediocre accomplishments" Persons explained "could not do what is wanted ... it is really better not to send anyone than to send a man who is unsuitable because it does very great harm to the reputation of the Society".⁹⁷ Persons then explains how one particular candidate, Diego Sanchez, a Spanish Professor of Canon Law, "is judged by everybody to be very unsuitable, highly qualified though he may be in the matter of virtue, because he has had little experience either in polite letters or languages which are held in high esteem here, or in theology or controversy".⁹⁸ The Spanish Ambassador to London, Bernardino de Mendoza

had promised Persons that he would take into his house a Spaniard of the Society very willingly if he were a distinguished man "so that he could uphold the good name of our cause". Otherwise, the Ambassador made clear he would not consent to receive an unsuitable missionary, "since much injury and scandal could accrue to the universal cause from defects in your man, even slight ones, if they were publicly known." "And so I beg your paternity" Persons pleads "that no man be sent here except such as are really suitable". Persons recommends either of two candidates to be sent instead of Sanchez: Fr. Pedro Ximenez (1554-1663) who joined the Jesuits in Rome in 1575 and then became Professor of Theology at Vienna; or Fr. Emmanuel Vega (?) who joined the Jesuits in 1568 and subsequently became Professor of Philosophy and later of Theology at Vilna.⁹⁹ Ximenez and Vega, Persons explains, are far more suitable because they "are familiar with polite letters" while Canon Law, of which Sanchez was Professor, "has no standing with the heretics". Till more suitable candidates are sent from Rome, Persons had "appointed two young merchants - learned men, however" whom he had selected, one to go to Scotland and the other to England. Persons returned to England a month later and wrote to Agazzari from London on November 22nd 1581 mentioning new candidates he had selected for the English mission and whose education and career closely resemble Southwell's: Antonio Maria Paranticelli (1555-1589) who joined the Jesuits in Rome in 1572 and later taught Philosophy and Fr. Fabricio Pallavicino (1555-1600), who became a Jesuit in 1571 and - like Southwell - was a Prefect of Studies in the English College, Rome, and later a Professor of Philosophy. Other candidates Persons mentioned as possibilities for the English/Scottish mission were Robert Bellarmine, then a Professor at the Roman College; and Achilles Gagliardi (1537-1607) a Professor of Theology at the Roman College and Ferdinando Capeci (?) one of the "Repetitores" of the English College Rome, whom Persons recommends "for other qualities that he possesses apart from his learning".¹⁰⁰

Thus it could be seen that if Southwell was to be sent as a missionary to help win back his country for the faith he had every reason to aspire to greater heights of perfection in the literary, philosophical, theological and moral spheres. One had to achieve a measure of distinction in practically all such fields if one was to be acceptably received by the milieu to which one was being sent. The greater the

distinction, the better the impression one could aspire to make.

If one was to search for a personage who - apart perhaps from Persons - exerted an all-round constructive influence on Southwell's formation of character and personality as a missionary, one would be likely to choose Robert Bellarmine. Southwell knew of Bellarmine long before he attended his lectures in the Roman College in the 1580's. In 1570 Bellarmine went to Louvain, whose university was a bulwark against Protestant infiltration. There, on October 17th 1570 he delivered his first public lecture to a hundred students of different nationalities.¹⁰¹ His detailed and meticulous scholarly treatment of his lecture material impressed everyone. In quoting Augustine, not content with three or four references, he cited thirteen to eighteen. His fame spread quickly and William Allen was so impressed that his College in Douai procured a copy of Bellarmine's lecture notes and had them dictated to the students.¹⁰² Bellarmine's writings, mainly his Louvain lectures on the Summa Theologica of Thomas Aquinas, and his Controversies, had especial effect on the students of the English Colleges at Douai and Rome. The majority of 320 English martyrs who suffered after Henry VIII's reign were educated at these Colleges.¹⁰³ Bellarmine's Controversies based largely on his Louvain lectures, were delivered as lectures in Rome from 1576 to 1587 and were written with English and German students very much in mind. As he explains in the Preface to the Reader: "when Pope Gregory XIII ... in his zeal to assist Germany and England established two great colleges for the young men of those countries, I was appointed to teach them controversial theology in our schools, and thus, as it were, to arm these new soldiers of the Church for the war with the powers of darkness which they would have to wage when they return home".¹⁰⁴

Bellarmino, in his Commentaries on the Summa of St. Thomas, carefully set forth many positive arguments from Scripture and Tradition suitable for the exigencies of the times, and designed to refute heretics. At the English College, Douai, albeit after Southwell's departure, Allen placed great value on the manuscripts of Bellarmine's Louvain lectures. The College Diary for March 17th 1577 narrates that:

After many experiments at this time to promote the study of Theology, one thing alone seemed to be missing ... a full course in Theology, which up to then they (the students)

could pursue only over a very long period... Eventually ... a decision was reached, that ... Dom Wright, at six o'clock in the morning after mass should dictate to us the Commentaries of the Reverend Father Robert the Italian, learned in their brevity, and clearly elaborated on the Prima Secundae of St. Thomas; and Dom Bristow at eight o'clock (should dictate) the Commentaries on the Secunda Secunda which had not been previously delivered at Louvain.

This was put into effect the following day, March 18th. An entry in the College Diary for August 16th 1577 reads: "on this same day also the dictation of Father Rob. Ital. on the Secunda Secunda is being resumed".¹⁰⁵

Bellarmino's lectures at the Roman College were lovingly compiled in neat volumes. A splendid edition of notes in eight volumes of Bellarmine's and other Professor's lectures delivered in the Roman College in 1581 and 1582 were collected and bound by a fellow student of Southwell, William Hart, an Oxford student who became a Jesuit in Rome on October 22nd 1582 and died there on July 21st 1584. At the end of these notes originally written by Hart, was a signature of Nathaniel Southwell, who in his Catalogus Primorum Patrum (Rome 1640) indicates that he had acquired these notes after Hart's death.¹⁰⁶ These notes show a veneration for Bellarmine among the students of the Roman College, one of whom was our Southwell whom Bellarmine regarded as his friend (see below). Bellarmine devoted himself to bolstering the morale of priests destined for the English mission. He strengthened their faith in papal primacy, nourished their patience and determination and repeatedly emphasized that their death was martyrdom, defending it against protestant deriding the futility of such costly endeavours. He held up the sacrifices of Blessed John Fisher and Thomas More as lodestars for subsequent generations of Martyrs. Writing to the Archpriest Blackwell on September 28th 1607 he pointed out that "... (you) ... cannot be unaware that those holy (and) learned men, John of Rochester and Thomas More, ... were within living memory leaders to martyrdom for a great many others, to the enormous glory of the English nation".¹⁰⁷ (see plate 18).

Fr. Petrus Persico (1587-1644) stated that Bellarmine, while not yet a Cardinal, had sought with pious appeals to join an English mission, and

showed clearly his longing to be sent to England in defence of faith.¹⁰⁸ Bellarmine, like Southwell, desired martyrdom. Fleeing Louvain in 1572, he found himself sleeping under a gibbet. "Let us rejoice, dear brother, he told a companion (Peter Paul Crescenzi, later Cardinal) "for this gibbet seems to be prepared for us".¹⁰⁹ Bellarmine's attachment to the English mission was dramatically demonstrated on April 25th 1579 when some English students took a vow in a ceremony, presided over by Bellarmine, to return to England and die there for its salvation. Brodrick writes that Bellarmine "numbered among his friends and pupils the martyrs John Lowe, Christopher Buxton, Edward James, Edmund Duke, John Ingram, John Cornelius, Henry Walpole, Robert Southwell and Edward Oldcorne", and that he volunteered to go to England to lecture openly against the heretics.¹¹⁰

The main significance of Bellarmine in a study of Southwell was that the influence he exerted provided a well-rounded relationship between the various aspects of Southwell's sojourn in Rome. Bellarmine would have strengthened the connection in Southwell's mind between the academic milieu of the Roman College and the concept of mission and martyrdom. He probably helped to form the idea of England as a form of Holy Land where all true believers, regardless of nationality flock to do battle against the infidel heretic. Bellarmine, through his enthusiasm to join the English mission, opened up to Southwell such vistas of martyrdom as were copiously depicted in various locations in Rome, especially in the English College. (see below).

Southwell and the Concept of Martyrdom - The Pomarancio Frescoes

Sixteenth century Rome displayed numerous artistic works displaying scenes of torture and martyrdom of Christians throughout the ages. Southwell probably got his first look at one such work in the Recreation Hall at the Novitiate of Saint Andrea depicting the massacre of Jesuits bound for Brazil (See above). Sixteenth century artists deeply felt the agonies that earlier Christian martyrs suffered. Dominichino's "Flagellation of Saint Andrew" was displayed at the church of St. Gregory, to name but one work.¹¹¹ But, "Dans toutes ces oeuvres", Male explains, "l'antiquite chretienne a ete devinee. Nous sentons que ces generations vivent dans une familiarite plus grande avec l'histoire de l'Eglise et en penetrent mieux l'esprit."¹¹²

Fig. 2. 48.



Plate 14 The Frontispiece of J.B. Cavalleri's Ecclesiae Anglicanae Trophaea (1584); a collection of engravings of Niccolo Circignani's (Pomarancio) frescoes of religious martyrdom in the English College. (Courtesy of the Department of Early Printed Books, Trinity College Library, Dublin).



- A. S. Albanus, ponte turba completo, flumen sicco pede transit.
- B. Idem capite plectitur, quod complexus miles, cui ossa pro Christo contusa fuerant, sanatur.
- C. Is miles, capite amputato, in sanguine suo baptizatur.
- D. S. Iulius, S. Aaron, alijq³ complures pro fide obtruncatur.



- A. S. Gregorius magnus Anglorum Salutis cupidus, cum ad eos missus proficisceretur, Romam reuocatur.
- B. Idem iam Pontifex maximus S. Augustinū Italum cū socijs in Angliā mittit.
- C. S. Augustinus baptizat S. Edilbertum Angliæ prouinciæ Regem.
- D. S. Germanus Episcopus Gallus, hostes ethnicos in Anglia fugat Crucis signo, Litanias et Alleluja cantando.

Plate 16 Folio 10 of Cavallieri's *Ecclesiae* section A: shows St. Gregory the Great and the English nation; B: shows the Pope with Augustine; C: Augustine baptizing the English King Ethelberg.

Southwell would have been most exposed to such scenes of torture and martyrdom of Christians in the English College, Rome. After the establishment of the College by Pope Gregory XIII's bull "Quonian Divinae Bonitati" dated May 1st 1579, the artist Niccolo Circignani - Pomarancio - was commissioned to paint numerous frescoes in the College depicting Christian martyrdom throughout the ages. George Gilbert, a wealthy Suffolk man who sold property to support Catholics and donated large sums to such establishments as the Rheims seminary and St. Bridget's convent in Rouen, "had the church of the Roman (English?) College painted at his expense with pictures of the English martyrs both of the ancient and recent times".¹¹³ Gilbert fell seriously ill and died on October 6th 1583 and was buried in Saint Andrea, as a novice. He wanted to leave the novitiate in his will an alms of 800 crowns.¹¹⁴ Gilbert was a close friend of Robert Persons, and while Gilbert very probably provided funds for the Pomarancio frescoes, it is very probable that Persons gave Pomarancio directions on the frescoes' subject material.

The Pomarancio frescoes depicted the history of Christian persecution in England. As a martyrological work the frescoes depend very heavily for subject material on Bede's Ecclesiastical History. Bede, in chapter 23, describes "How Pope Gregory (the Great) sent the servant of God, Augustine ... to preach the word of God to the English nation".¹¹⁵ [See plate 16 section B]. Gregory in a letter to King Ethelbert dated July 10th 601, exhorts him to "willingly hear, devoutly perform and studiously retain in your memory, whatsoever you shall be advised by our reverend brother, Bishop Augustine."¹¹⁶ [plate 16 section C]. Bede then refers to King Edwin "who ... also was a servant in the Kingdom of Christ".¹¹⁷ Edwin was killed on October 12th 633 in a great battle after "Caedwal, King of the Britons rebelled against him, being supported by Penda, a most warlike man of the royal race of the Mercians". [Plate 17] Then, Edwin's nephew, Oswald "was killed in a great battle, by the same pagan nation and pagan king of the Mercians".¹¹⁸ [Plate 17 section B]. Bede then narrates the story of Oswi, Oswald's brother who succeeded him to the throne. "and held it thirty-eight years with much trouble, being harassed by the Pagan King Penda and by the Pagan nation of the Mercians that had slain his brother..." Oswin, Oswi's "partner in this royal dignity ... a man of wonderful piety and devotion" had disagreed with Oswi and "the causes of



- A. S. Eduinus Northumbrorum in Anglia primus Rex Christianus, à Penda rege impio in acie occisus miraculis claruit.
- B. S. OSWaldus eius gentis rex ab eodem in bello necatus multis miraculis Christi martyr est declaratus.
- C. S. OSWinus ibidem Rex proclitus lictoribus occurrit, et peremptus miranda edit.

their disagreement being heightened, he murdered him most cruelly" [plate 17 section C].

Earlier in his work, Bede refers to the "Passion of St. Alban" and how, being led to his execution, he came to a river where a multitude crowded a bridge leaving him no room to pass, "St. Alban ... urged by an ardent and devout wish to arrive quickly at Martyrdom, drew near the stream and on lifting up his eyes to heaven, the channel was immediately dried up and he perceived that the water had departed and made way for him to pass" [plate 15 Section A]. "The head of our most courageous martyr was struck off, and here he received the crown of life which God had promised to those who love him" [Plate 15 Section B]. "At the same time was also beheaded the soldier, who before, refused to give the stroke to the holy confessor" [plate 15 Section C]. "At the same time suffered Aaron and Julius, citizens of Chester, and many more of both sexes in several places "who endured sundry torments, and their limbs been torn off... "119 [Plate 15 section D.]

Further evidence emerges showing that Persons may have been involved in directing Pomarancio's painting of the frescoes in the English College. Persons exhorted Catholics to pursue the course of Martyrdom, and quoted Bede in his writings when insisting that Christianity was brought to England from, and only from, Rome. It is also probable that the Pomarancio frescoes as illustrations to Bede were intended as a refutation of John Fox, to show that historically, the English martyrs were Catholics. In A Treatise of Three Conversions (1603) Persons quotes Bede, (chapters 17, 18) on how "once in the tyme of the Britannes, about a hundred and eighty after Christ at what tyme Eleutherius that holy Pope and martyr converted K. Lucius and his subiectes by the preaching of S. Damianus and his fellows sent from Rome to that effect. And the second tyme 400 yeares after that againe when our predecessors the English Saxons were converted by S. Augustine and his fellow preachers sent by S. Gregory the great.¹²⁰

Persons in A Treatise of Three Conversions repeatedly insists "that the people of this Island haue byn twice cōverted by men sent from thense (Rome)". And thus, Persons asserts "I would haue Inglishmen gratefull to Rome for these two (Conversions effected by Eleutherius and Gregory)". Persons, in probably involving himself in commissioning the Pomarancio

frescoes was thereby forcefully driving the point home to friend and foe alike "that the faith of the Church of Rome under Eleutherius 200 yeares (sic) was the very same and no other then was that under S. Gregory 400 yeares after, that againe nor this under Gregory, different from that which now is in Rome under Clement 8 a thousand yeares after Gregory".¹²¹

Persons was battling with John Fox who declared that, although Rome did send missionaries to England in earlier centuries, "there is not now the same faith in Rome that was then: there was then no masses said, no transsubstantiation knowne, no setting vp of images in churches, noe vniuersall Pope .". Persons replies that "albeit it were true in some sense ... yet is this no good argument to prove that they were not beleaved then also in the Catholic church".¹²² Persons thus appears determined to refute Fox pictorially through the Pomarancio frescoes; a refutation intended to rest permanently in the eyes and minds of student priests like Southwell.

The frescoes intended to implant in English student priests the urge to emulate the unbroken line of their country's martyrs who suffered for more than a thousand years for the Catholic faith as it emanated from Rome. Persons wrote of these and other Catholic martyrs: "we keepe ther dayes and feasts, as all men knowe; we put them in our Ecclesiasticall Calendar and Martyrologe; we keepe their reliques; we honour their tombes; we call vpon them in heaven to pray for us, as rayninge in most high glory with Christ. All which Protestants do mislike:. (See also Ch. 1). Persons here is asserting, against Fox, that the English martyrs were Catholics. "...if we would take vpon us to reflect upon all that is extant of the sayings and dooings of these martyrs ... we might soone discerne of what religion they were, and whether they were John Fox his martyrs or ours".¹²³

Not only Persons, but the majority of Catholic exiles firmly believed in the Roman origins of English Christianity. Ralph Buckland Seaven Sparkes of the Enkindled Soule (1604,5), pays tribute to Pope Gregory as England's spiritual benefactor. In the third Psalm he writes giving thanks to God: "Thou preparedst thine elect servant Gregory: to gouerne the Apostolike Sea... Thou stirredst vp his hart: to enterprise the conuersion of the English." Buckland then describes how Gregory "sent Augustine ... with a chosen Company, fit for so great and holy an



A. Ioannes Fischerus, epus Rossensis in Anglia Card. declaratus, vite et doctrine integerr. laude clariss. ab Henr. viij, qd Pont. auctem tueretur capite' plectitur.
 B. Thomas Morus, eques aurat, summo regni magistratu perfunct, prudentia, eruditione, mox innocentia et suauitate insignis, ob eandem causam eiusdem Regis iussu securi percutitur. Ambo Anglicanę reipub. lumina; alter sacri, alter laici ordinis decus.
 C. Margarita regice familie femina prudentiss, Comitissa Sar; Card. Poli mtr, ob gestatu infigne quinq. plagas Christi, eadem morte, sub eodem Rege, plexa est.

Plate 18 Folio 27 showing, A: Blessed John Fisher, and B: Thomas More.



- A. Ob fidem Catholicam in Angliā multi carceres cuiusvis conditionis hominibus pleni sunt, in quibus plures fame, pœdore, et alijs incommodis oppressi obierunt.
- B. Variè in catholicos passim animaduertitur. Aliqui ferreis aciculis sub manuum, peduq; unguibus infixis torquentur.
- C. Alij maudito quodam tormenti genere, quo corpus uarijs catenis in unum ueluti globum redigitur diucxantur.
- D. Alij pelle ursina induti canibus exponuntur.
- E. Alij uirgis per plateas cæduntur.
- F. Alijs candenti ferro aures aduruntur.
- G. Ad carceres uerò Sacerdotes aliquando Sacris uestibus induti, aut auersi equis impositi publicè ducuntur.

Plate 19 An engraving of one of Pomarancio's frescoes in the English College, Rome, reproduced in Cavalleri's *Ecclesiae Anglicanae Trophaea*, folio 34. It shows various aspects of incarceration, persecution, torture and the cart awaiting to take condemned Catholics to execution. Southwell saw such frescoes continuously while he was in the English College

enterprise".; and how they "administered the seaven SACRAMENTES: and planted the whole Doctrine of the Catholike Church".¹²⁴ Also referred to are "Alban the Prothomartir: for harbouring a priest lost his life" and how "Elentherius .. assigned priests for execution of his holy desires..."¹²⁵ Gregory Martin in his letter "To My Lovinge and Best Beloved Sisters," (who were Protestants) echoes this firm Catholic belief: "A whole thowsande and fiue hundred yeres after Christ, your English religion was not heard of in any parte of the world." In contrast, Martin asks his Protestant sisters: "When began your religion then? Forsooth about fiftie yeres agone, by one Martin Luther in Germanie a frier.." ¹²⁶ Southwell himself reflects this firm Catholic belief. In the Humble Supplication, he defends missionaries against the charge of Treason, pointing out that Britain itself was converted to Christianity by missionaries sent from Rome: "If they that relieue, harbour, or receave any such be worthy to be deemed fellons; then all the glorious Saints of this land ... were noe better than Traytors, and their Abettors Fellons: then Damianus and Fugatius, that first brought Christianity into our Cuntry in King Lucius time, 1400 yeares past: then Saint Augustine and his Company, that converted our Realme in Saint Gregories time were all within the Compasse of Treason, sith their functions and ours were all one equally derived from the see of Rome, from whence they were directly by the Popes, Eleutherius and Gregory sent into this Kingdome..."¹²⁷

The Pomarancio frescoes of the English College provided Southwell with a constant and effective visual representation of martyrdom. The impact of the English College on Southwell was thus far more traumatic and formative than his being merely a prefect of studies there. To give drive and impetus to the reconversion of Protestant lands, the Papacy saw to it that the seminaries it had established not only provided a clerical education, but depicted as visibly and emphatically as possible the role expected of the student priest - that of martyr for Catholicism in his own land. As Michael Williams explains, "The Spirit of 'Mission' was fostered in the College which trained (priests) both to combat heresy and die a heroic death".¹²⁸ Every St. Stephen's day a sermon glorifying martyrdom was preached before the Pope, a practice which continued till 1870. When news of the martyrdom of a former student was received, the staff and students gathered, since 1580, in the College church in front of an

altarpiece, "The Martyr's picture", by Durante Alberti to sing a Te Deum. Ralph Sherwin was the first student of the College to be executed in England in 1581.^{sn129} His martyrdom was depicted in a fresco in the College Chapel (see plate 2!).

The Pomarancio Frescoes in the English College, Rome, no longer exist; but ones very similar to them, also painted by Pomarancio in the 1580's could still be seen in the Church of Santo Stephano Rotondo, Rome. Thirty-five engravings of the English College Pomarancio Frescoes were collected and published by Jean Baptiste Cavallerius Ecclesiae Anglicanae Trophaea (1584). (See Frontispiece of this work, plate 14). A year later J.B. Cavallerius published Ecclesiae Militantis Triumphus containing thirty-two plates representing the martyrdom of early Fathers and Saints. The Frescoes were intended to instil in the viewer a traumatic effect of world repudiation and accustom exiled student priests to the horrors of the persecution, torture and execution that awaited them in England. Such horrific scenes of execution and torture as Southwell saw almost continuously during his Roman sojourn prepared him psychologically for the ordeal he was to suffer in England during the last years of his life.

Horrific scenes of torture and execution were to be found in various Roman Colleges, novitiates and churches. As Emile Male explains: "La Compagnie (de Jesus) avait eu d'autres martyrs en Angleterre, de sorte que les Jesuites ne manquaient pas de nobles exemples a citer a leurs eleves du College des Anglais. Mais, fideles aux traditions de saint Ignace de Loyola, qui faisait appel a l'imagination et ne dedaignait pas de s'adresser aux sens eux-memes, ils eurent recours a l'art pour familiariser leurs disciples avec la mort. Vers 1582, ils firent peindre dans le college ... une suite de fresques si terribles qu'on ne trouverait rien de pareil en Italie avant cette date".¹³⁰ These Frescoes, described as "brutale et sauvage" were intended to instil a combat toughness in the young exiles. "Ces combats des martyrs, dit l'inscription qu'on peut lire sur la premiere des gravures, ont ete representes pour exciter les fideles a une pareills constance d'ame".¹³¹

Similar frescoes existed in the German College: "Les Jesuites avaient d'autres neophytes a preparer au martyre: c'etaient les jeunes pretres du College Germanique, qui devaient aller lutter contre le protestantisme en Allemage."¹³² Southwell was exposed, both in the English College and in



Quod S. Romanæ Ecclesiæ fidem tenerent, ac prædicarent in Anglia multi Sacer-
 dotes, et laici. hoc mortis genere occisi sunt anno 1582. & 1583. Inter quos hi fuerunt
 Sacerdotes, Ioannes Shertus, Lucas Kirbeius, et Gulielmus Hartus, huius Ro-
 Collegij alumni. Robertus, et Laurentius Ionsoni, Gulielmus filbeius, Kircmannus,
 Threlkelus, et Hudsonus Collegij Rhemensis alumni. Thomas Cottamus, Ioannes
 Paynus, Thomas fordus, Gulielmus lacijs. Complures etiam in singulis Regni
 prouincijs iam condemnati, talem mortem in horas expectant.

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Plate 20 Folio 35 of Cavalleri's *Ecclesiae*, showing Pomerancio's fresco depicting the martyrdom in 1582 and 1583 in England of Catholic priests, former students of the English College, such as John Shert (executed 1582); Luke Kirby (exec. 1582) and William Hart (exec. 1583). This engraving shows how Catholic priests were being lowered down from the gallows and disembowelled after their execution. Being exposed to such horrific scenes almost daily from 1578 till 1586, fully prepared Southwell for precisely such a form of execution as he was eventually to experience.



- A. Edmundus Campianus Societatis Iesu sub patibulo concionatur, statimque cum Alexandro Brianto Rhemensis, et Rodulpho Sheruino huius Collegij alumno suspenditur.
- B. Illis adhuc tepentibus cor et uiscera extrahuntur, et in ignem projiciuntur.
- C. Eorundem membra feruenti aqua clixantur, tum adurbis turres et portas appenduntur, regnante Elizabetha Anno M.D.LXXXI. die prima Decēbris. Horum constanti morte aliquot hominum millia ad Romanam Ecclesiam conuersa sunt.

Plate 21 Folio 33 of Cavalleri's *Ecclesiae*, of Pomerancio's fresco on the martyrdom of Edmund Campion, and Ralph Sherwin (exec. 1581). Sherwin was a former student of the English College Rome. When news of Sherwin's - and other college alumni - was received, Southwell together with other members of the College gathered before "The Martyr's" picture by Durante Alberti, hung in the College chapel since 1580, to sing a Te Deum. (See Michael Williams, *The Venerable English College Rome* (1979), Appendix V "The College Martyrs and Year of Martyrdom" pp. 230, 231, and back of dust jacket.

Rome generally, to savage and brutal illustrations of torture and execution. (See plates 19, 20)

Southwell and the Concept of Martyrdom - Further Analysis

Perhaps as a result of continuous exposure to the Pomarancio and other frescoes and religious art depicting Christian persecution, Southwell showed a preoccupation with Martyrdom. "Thy soul is espoused to the Crucified, wherefore it behoves it to be crucified, with the body", and, he reminds himself, "A member of the Society of Jesus ... thou art come from the very interior of Christ; therefore must thou be crucified with the rest". Southwell's desire for martyrdom emanated mainly from the fervour of religious gratitude: "Since in very truth God gave His life for thee, more precious than that of all the angels of heaven what great matter dost thou think it to offer thy life for his cause and love". However, although Southwell was continuously exposed to frescoes depicting martyrdom, he viewed martyrs as those chosen by God as his favourites and one of whom he, Southwell, may or may not become. In his writings he makes it clear that his becoming a martyr is something that God alone decides in his own good time no matter how fervently he, Southwell, craved martyrdom: "Though the desire for martyrdom should be constant fervent, humble and devout" he wrote in the Spiritual Exercises "Yet I ought not to take for granted that this inspiration is sent so that I may know for certain that I am to undergo death in defence of the faith".¹³³

Southwell considered martyrdom as the final reward after a hectic and daunting earthly struggle. "But they who are taught in the School of Christ" he wrote to Lord Arundel "Know certainly that this life is a warfare, a pilgrimage, and an exile ... nor is the crown to be expected before the combat is finished". Martyrdom is a great honour, one that absolves all sins, and one has to be well deserving before aspiring to martyrdom: "Martyrdom ever confers the highest honour on any man" Southwell wrote to Philip Howard. Martyrdom to Southwell was desirable from motives of spiritual self-interest; as by achieving it one forfeits a short miserable life for an everlasting happy one. Concluding his Epistle of Comfort Southwell writes: "'The Kingdom of Heaven' saith St. Augustine 'requireth no other price but thyself. It is worth all thou art, give thyself and thou shall have it'".¹³⁴

However, there were gradations in the Catholic concept of martyrdom. It was seen as gradually ascending phases of suffering, culminating in the final physical termination of life through execution. Only the elect, the cream of the cream, achieved this singular honour. The majority had to be satisfied with the unending and miniscule forms of martyrdom consisting of the unlimited miseries and distresses of life. Thomas Hide's Consolatorie Epistle exhorts Catholics in England:-

you that be borne of God, and nowe suffer for God's house, you suffer in the world, that you maye not be condemned with the Worlde. Content your selves with this kinde of suffering. This dayly affliction is a kind of martyrdome and a certayne effusion of blood whiche they shedde in a milde, but a long martyrdome, that cannot once dye for Christe ... But you may be martyrs without stroke of sworde, if you keppe patience in your heartes ... They be called martyrs, which be content for Christes sake to suffer rebukes, reuiles, slanders, and what persecution of tongues so euer. This is ye secret martyrdome of the minde, the other is the open martyrdome of the body by death.¹³⁵

Southwell's writings could be seen as this earlier phase, of the martyrdom of the mind; of creative writing on religious topics evincing passionate suffering. The Catholic concept of martyrdom emphasized that any effort expended in suffering for the cause of religion is an acceptable form of martyrdom. Thomas Hide states "that any be a martyr, God requireth not effusion of blood ... And martyrdome is in worke and in will". To Catholics, martyrdom was a form of triumph over an iniquitous ungodly world. "But be it that God permit the powers of the world to put you to open martyrdome" Hide explains "then truly ... you shall overcome the worlde and become open martyrs. For this is the Victorie that overcometh the world". Hide explains the nature of this victory. It is a question of whose will triumphs. The martyr by suffering death, proves that his will has triumphed over that of his adversaries by not succumbing to theirs, and asserting itself in spite of death. "By this the martyrs conquered when they suffered". Hide explains, that "though they were

killed in body, yet could they not be made to yelde in soule. The tormentors were overcommed because they could not do what their wil was to do". The martyrs, "...in their death and martyrdom they overcome the world". Though only a relatively selected few amongst entire populations attain martyrdom, they are not exclusive to any age, sex or class. Anyone can be a martyr. "many thousande martyrs are gone that waye: old men, young men, children and maydes... Popes, bishops, priests, kings, senators, counselors, noblemen, noblewoman, holy widowes, devout virgins, babes and infantes, are gone that waye". But, suffering is itself acceptable as martyrdom. "That in suffering you be dayly crowned. That in suffering your vertues be exercised and your merits increased", and God, thereby, "turneth your temporal punishment to your spiritual benefit".¹³⁶

However, it must be pointed out, that rushing headlong into martyrdom was by no means encouraged or condoned. Elizabethan Catholic casuistry taught that "not everyone can claim for himself the honour of being a martyr, only one who is called to be a martyr by God".¹³⁷ The manuals of casuistry used in the seminaries directed that "we should not presume that God wants us to be martyrs", and consequently one should not "rush into martyrdom before receiving the vocation from God". To rush into martyrdom before receiving the Divine signal "is the action of a man who has no vocation, but nevertheless throws himself into something which he is perhaps unworthy to perform". The danger here, the Casuist points out, is that without such a vocation one presumes one will be firm "but perhaps will be deficient in bravery under torture".¹³⁸ Priests sent on the English mission would have been given "one word of advice: you should pay attention to whether any great good for the benefit of all can come from what you do. When it does happen a man feels himself carried away with a great sweetness, peace and tranquility of heart and a motion of the spirit which no one knows unless he has experienced it. If a man feels these things in himself, let him follow this calling and the sweet direction of the spirit".¹³⁹

So, it could be safely said that Southwell may have eventually left Rome for England with marked feelings of caution. Until he could actually feel the spirit calling him to martyrdom, absolute discretion would be the rule. Professor McGrath mentions that some 463 seminary priests were

active at one time or another during Elizabeth's reign, 125 of them were executed; 115 were arrested with him less than a year of being sent to England; 35 of them were captured at sea or at ports; and some 290 remained at large for under five years after arrival.¹⁴⁰ A growing martyr cult was prevalent among priests bound for the English mission.¹⁴¹ But, Professor McGrath points out, this desire for martyrdom was probably exaggerated by hagiographers and those "who wrote enthusiastically about the splendid young men in the seminaries who were ready to die for their faith". It is probable that Southwell left Rome with a feeling that "knowing what you might have to face was not the same thing as deliberately seeking it". McGrath points out that "many of those in the Seminaries must have known that a considerable number of priests gave way when they were caught".¹⁴² Southwell in his writings makes the point of approaching martyrdom cautiously: "that good desires are not always inspired by God to the intent they may be carried out in actual accomplishment, and therefore though I burn with desire of dying for Christ, I am not on that account forthwith to strive to procure a mission...".¹⁴³

The Troubles of the English College, Rome

The English College, Rome, was rent with dissent. The previous Rector, the Welshman Maurice (or Morys) Clynnog had antagonized the students who petitioned the Pope for his dismissal, and by Spring 1579 Gregory XIII complied. The English students had protested to the Pope about how Clynnog was grossly biased against them and how he favoured the Welsh. Persons wrote to William Good from Rome 'after March 1579: "I can saye that after the stirres they avouched to the Pope in word and wrytinge that many of the Priests and best borne Englishe went all this wynter with naked thighes and full of lice and all the Welchmen double apareled". What probably fuelled the discord was the fact that many students were not Jesuits. Clynnog was dismissed and the Jesuits took over the College with the Italian Alfonso Agazzari as Rector.¹⁴⁴ Modern research shows that it was more than personal unpopularity and Clynnog's bias towards the Welsh at the expense of English students that caused the loud cries demanding his dismissal. Clynnog was active in drafting plans for the invasion of England. Six extant documents in his handwriting on invasion plans were

put forward by him in 1575 and 1576.¹⁴⁵ After a sketch of the diplomatic situation, Clynnog concludes that the initiative in attacking England should come from the Pope. "Your holiness" he wrote to the Pope "should equip a fleet in the Mediterranean, with at least 6,000 soldiers at your own cost and procure an additional 4,000 from the Kings (of France and Spain)": The inhabitants of the shores of France and Flanders opposite England were to be put on alert, and ships were to transport soldiers and English Catholic exiles. This convoy was to sail towards Gibraltar, then out into the Atlantic, round Spain and Portugal with Ireland as its ostensible destination but will change course in mid voyage and make a landing in a remote part of Wales. The army will disembark, march into the English midlands, defeat the heretical Queen, restore the Queen of Scotland to her rightful position in England, Scotland and Ireland; and make these lands pay tribute to her and to the Catholic church.¹⁴⁶ The students of the English College were hardly aware that their rector was busy planning such grand strategy. They interpreted his preoccupation as arrogance and vociferously demanded his removal. His alleged favour of the Welsh students probably arose from his seeing his native Wales as the vanguard, the spear-head of the battle against heresy in England. Clynnog, as warden and governor of the English Hospice and Seminary had to cope with increasing number of students. By November 1578 about forty scholars were resident and the task of maintaining them all, in spite of Papal aid, increased daily.¹⁴⁷ It was in this atmosphere of congestion, shortages and crisis that resentment against Clynnog increased. The tension was aggravated by a difference of opinion about the task of the Seminary. Clynnog belonged to an older generation. He considered the Elizabethan heresy to be a temporary setback and the college was to prepare its students from the reunification of England with Rome. But the students, as Michael Williams explains, belonged to a new generation inspired "by the more daring ideal of returning to England and ministering to those ... who had remained loyal to the old religion". Matters came to a head in 1579 and led to Clynnog's dismissal.

When Southwell came to the College the Jesuits under Aggazzari were in charge. But the seeds of dissent were still there, and further dissent arose in 1585. The English College's troubles in all probability acted as an eye-opener to Southwell: They arose due to faults, shortcomings, lack

of wisdom and understanding, injudicious behaviour etc. Self-criticism was the answer and hence the meticulous self-examination in The Spiritual Exercises and Devotions which Southwell first started to write in 1578 prior to his entering the novitiate. He continued writing them in Rome either before or during his role as Prefect of Studies.¹⁴⁸

The generosity lavished by Gregory XIII on the English College could be seen as bolstering Southwell's inner convictions and boosting his morale. The Pope was affectionately replenishing what Elizabeth had maliciously drained. He set apart one of his own country properties for the unrestricted use of the students. Every Thursday afternoon they dined in a garden house or vineyard, playing at Tennis or Bowls, and attended to the College's poultry farm. Papal properties kept the students well provided with abundant fresh food and recreation.¹⁴⁹ The Pope was reported to have set aside the annual sum of sixty scudi for paying the travel costs for College missionaries to England. A biased source exaggerates the wealth of the English College. "The English College" writes the Protestant Owen Lewis "hath too much. They have more corne, wine and oyle growing upon their own lands than they spend and great flocks of sheep, herds of goats and swine, besides, (as the report is) more than ten thousand pounds at use..."¹⁵⁰

Troubles between students and superiors flared up again in 1585, and gave English students in Rome the reputation of being turbulent and quarrelsome. Gregory XIII died that year and his successor Sixtus V had different priorities: making economies in his household and the papal army and suspending subsidies to seminaries. He preferred to spend money on suppressing brigandage and embellishing Rome with public monuments.¹⁵¹ Among the causes of discontent in the College were : a) complaints of students that they were being treated like children; b) withdrawal of Papal funds by Sixtus V as an economy measure; c) complaints by students that the Jesuits were enticing students into the society.^{sn152}

Southwell probably considered the troubles and dissent in the English College as a lesson to be learned from. In the Spiritual Exercises he writes:-

Take care not to be carried away by the desire of popularity ... and do not wish to be considered an agreeable companion or to have the talent of keeping others

amused or of acting cleverly or speaking wittily. All this comes from pride and is most displeasing to superiors, for it opens the way to violation of the rules and to dissipation of all kinds, as experience has shown in those who indulge in this kind of thing ...¹⁵³

The troubles in the English College may have taught Southwell to value caution:-

Keep a guard upon thy words, thy gestures and all thy actions and though thou be familiar with another, ... Never ... even in fun, vex or upbraid him, nor ... praise him to his face, ... Remember ... that an undue familiarity had been harmful to thee and that thou shouldst avoid it even with the members of the Society and still more with those who live in the world.¹⁵⁴

It could be seen that dissent, discord and unrest is the challenge a candidate for saintliness would wish to meet and rectify. Southwell's Spiritual Exercises and Devotions may be taken as a reply to that challenge. The Spiritual Exercises, a handbook of self-discipline and moral rectification, would probably not have been written in its extant form had the unrest in the English College not taken place. His Exercises and Devotions could thus be seen as the antidote for the poison of dissent he lived through for five years. Jesuit discipline which caused much discontent arose to certain extents - from an Ignatian reaction against the chaos and depravity of the European university system as Ignatius had experienced it in the early decades of the Sixteenth century. During lectures at the University of Paris loud noise, yells, laughing, and buffoonery of all sorts were the rule rather than the exception. Walls were plastered with obscene graffiti.¹⁵⁵ Loyola saw fellow students in Paris lodging in brothels where, it was said, two schools co-existed - a school of learning and school of whoring; which led to Loyola's criticism of the universities of his day and their "ignorance of, and resistance to, the 'life of devotion'"; and to later criticisms of the disorderly conduct, "gaming, drinking, playing violent pranks and whoring" of early Sixteenth century students.¹⁵⁶ Gregory XIII's colleges were a

continuation of earlier Ignatian reaction against such licentiousness. Southwell's Spiritual Exercises were not only a vindication of Jesuit discipline in its confrontation with student disorder but a means by which such disorder could be eradicated through moral self-improvement.

Daily Life in the English College

A visitor to the College in the 1580's would have immediately felt how the students anxiously awaited news of home from any newly-arrived Englishman. "We were no sooner come to the College" wrote Anthony Munday "... but the scholars ... came about us every one demanding so many questions that we knewe not which to answere first".^{sn157} Students were lodged from four to six to a room. Their beds consisted of two trestles supporting four or five boards on which a quilt mattress was laid. Every morning, after first bell, the students folded their sheets neatly, placed them on the mattress which was then rolled up to the top of the bed and covered by a quilt. Shortly afterwards, a second bell summoned all to prayer which lasts half an hour. A third bell called the students to study. Every student had a desk and chair to himself in his room, and the strictest silence and concentration were observed. The next toll of bell announced a break and students left their rooms for the refectory. They each had a glass of wine and quarter of Manchet (white bread). After breakfast a bell sounded, and two by two, they walked to the Roman College, and dispersed there to their respective lectures, "Divinity", "Physique", "Logique" or "Rhetorique".¹⁵⁸ At the Roman College a "continuous series of lectures, repetitions, disputations and conferences" took place in an atmosphere of silence and lack of commotion.¹⁵⁹

They remained, according to Munday, in the Roman College till their lectures were over. Returning to their College they strolled about in the Garden till dinner - the mid-day meal. Those absenting themselves from dinner put a peg into a hole at their place at table a good while before the meal to give notice. At meals, penances were performed. Penitents ascended the pulpit to announce their sins and the penance required of them, which included: kneeling in the Hall and telling one's beads; reciting "Ave Maria's" or "Pater Noster"; standing, and bending to eat from a dish on the floor, or losing one or two courses from their meal. These were all public penances. Private penances were also performed in

the refectory, with the penitent's identity concealed by a hood. The procedure in this case was that seven or eight students nearest to the penitent's bed, or room, were ordered to keep to their chambers so as to keep the room from which the penitent emerges secret. At dinner the penitent enters the Hall hooded and draped in a long canvass garment with a patch torn off at the back. As he enters, he flagellates himself on the back with a short-handled whip of some forty-to-fifty cords about half a yard in length with a series of hard knots on each cord; some having crooked wires at the end which, "tears the fleshe unmercifullie".¹⁶⁰

At dinner two students took turns daily to serve at tables, aided by the butler, the porter and a "poor Jesuit". The food, says Munday, was "very fine and delicate". Every student had his own trencher, Manchet, knife, spoon and fork laid out for him at his place at table, covered by a "fayre white napkin" and his own glass and pot of wine. Dinner started with an "Antepast" - hors d'oeuvre - which included delicacies such as anchovies, stewed prunes and raisins, followed by a potage "made of divers things, good and wholesome". The third item was a boiled meat dish kid, mutton, or chicken. The fourth, a roast or baked meat coarse, according to the chef's inclination. Dessert may include cheese or "preserved conceytes" - figs, almonds, raisins, lemon or pomegranates doused with sugar.¹⁶¹

During dinner students took weekly turns reading from the Bible and reciting extracts from saints Lives - Saints Francis, Barbara, Cecilia and others. After dinner they take an hour's stroll in the garden and are then called by the bell back to their rooms to study the day's lectures. The bell sends them back to "school, where they stay for an hour".^{sn162} upon their return they go straight to the refectory for a glass of wine and a quarter of manchet as in the morning.^{sn163} Then they retire to their rooms for a short rest before attending an hour's exercise in "disputation". From then till supper their time is their own. After supper, in winter, they sit around a great fire-place talking to the Jesuits, mostly about the situation in England, each recounting his version of the sorrows of his country; striving, in Munday's words "who shall speake worst of her Maiesty, of some of her council, of some bishop ..."¹⁶⁴ The porter, later in the evening makes his rounds of the rooms lighting the lamps. The bell calls them back to their rooms where

read their notes of the day. The second last bell signals the late evening prayers. The priest in every room recites a Latin litany which goes on till the last bell of the day is sounded "which is for everie one to go to bed".¹⁶⁵ From this account one's own opinion could be formed about life in the College and how it affected Southwell. It is difficult to assess the accuracy of Munday's account. Fr. Michael Williams describes it as "informative, amusing and partly fictitious".¹⁶⁶

Penitential Practices

Penitential practices including flagellation were common in the English College. Flagellation took place in students rooms, often with wire-tipped whip cords in front of a crucifix or the image of the Virgin Mary; accompanied by the prayer "Saint Mary Mother of God, receive my dolor, Saint Mary Mother of God, accept my whipping and pray for me now and in the hour of death". Munday was taken by a Jesuit to his own room to see him flagellate himself and says that the Jesuit bled so sore "it greeved me very much to see him".¹⁶⁷

One of the sources of friction in the English College was the excessive penance imposed on some students. Humphrey Ely notes that some students, carried out "open penances done in the Hall". Ely describes the consequences as well as causes of such penance, which "is as farre from all good orderly discipline that when a man doth it at the first, he is so farre ... from amendment that in his hart he doth grutch, and repine at his superiors for the giving of it. But when he is used 3 or 4 times to doe it then he maketh a very scoff and mocking or ... game of it: so farre is it from a true penance ... (as it) engendereth both hatred and mockery".^{sn168} There is no evidence that Southwell practised flagellation. But it could not be denied that he was exposed to flagellation both in the English College and in Rome generally. The extents to which flagellation was embedded on Southwell's mind must remain largely conjectural. However, the significance of flagellation is that it could be considered as a minor form of martyrdom. Flagellation was a recognizable form of absolving oneself from sin. Mortifying the flesh was the first step on the long rocky road to martyrdom. Penances, self-imposed or otherwise, all are forms of mortification. At the very moment of Southwell's death, while he was hanging from the gallows an onlooker

described him as "Knockinge his breaste" in agony.¹⁶⁹

Intelligence - gathering in the English College

Students gathering intelligence for the Rector were officially called "Angeli Custodes". They acquired information mainly by speaking "liberally against their superiors" about college administration and "what so every they thinke is not wel done in the Colledge ... All this to sounde their compaignons ... if one or twoe hap to discourse ... against the superior... These spies carry the wholy discourse straight to the Rector ... (the culprits are caught and) called Coram nobis, and are either punished or rigourously reprehended". (Then they try to recall to whom they had spoken, and having known the informers) "from that day forewards hate him as a spie and a traitor" ... "Nothing" says Humphrey Ely ... "so contrary to an englishman's nature, as to be betrayed by him whom he trusteth. If such spies were in Oxford ... they would be plucked in peeces".¹⁷⁰

As a Jesuit and prefect of studies in the College, one would expect that Southwell would be involved in intelligence-gathering. However, no evidence available suggests that he was, in fact, one of the "Angeli Custodes". Moreover, there are indications in his Spiritual Exercises that he did not have it in him to inform on others. Spying was a dangerous occupation, and Southwell told himself to "see that thou expose not thyself to danger, but with all diligence and humility take thy place with the least and lowliest".¹⁷¹ He did not consider it his duty to do odd jobs for anyone. "Didst thou enter the society in order to do this or that special work or fill some special office? Of course not, but simply to ensure the salvation of thy soul".¹⁷² Southwell considered that 'minding one's own business' was a virtue. He notes the teaching of St. Catherine of Siena" in order to obtain true purity of mind, it is of the utmost importance that we should never speak about the affairs of others. Never should we judge or despise another even though we should see him do what is obviously wrong, but we should have regard to the will of God who permits all these things for a good purpose".¹⁷³ Thus, Southwell's attitude towards internal dissent and agitation within the College was philosophical. He saw discord as the will of God being performed for a purpose beyond his - or others' - comprehension. In fact Southwell may

have inadvertantly contributed to dissension by virtue of being a model Jesuit, thereby exciting the envious attention of those detached and uncommitted students who came to the college simply to train as priests and return to England and who did not feel connected to the Jesuits. To counteract any such possible animosity Southwell rigorously trained himself to uphold the stature of the Jesuit order. "Remember especially the good reputation which by the gift of God the Society enjoys amongst all the sovereigns of the world and amongst all classes of men, and see what perfection is requisite that thou mayest live up to this reputation, and show thyself to be a worthy son and living member of the Society to all with whom thou mayest come in contact".¹⁷⁴

Southwell's Departure from Rome for England

Ever since Southwell joined the Jesuits (see above) his main aim in life had been martyrdom. In a letter to Claudio Aquaviva dated January 23rd 1585, he declared himself ready to start for England.¹⁷⁵ His friend John Deckers writes "he had always wished he might ... be worthy of a place among the red army of Martyrs ... that he might repay Christ with life for life and blood for blood".¹⁷⁶ As an Englishman of very well known background whose credentials were impeccable and whose performance as a student was outstanding and as a Jesuit promising, Southwell attracted the Jesuit hierarchy's attention as a possible candidate for the English mission. As Leo Hicks points out, "both he and Garnet had been signalled out as suitable for the English mission by Persons, who did not cease representing to the General the need for sending more Jesuits to England".¹⁷⁷ Persons had been directing the Society's mission to England from Rome and had obtained from Aquaviva "what he had long sought - the despatch (to England) of Father Henry Garnet".^{sn178} Persons wrote to Agazzare from Paris in September 1584 asking him to intercede with Aquaviva to send either a "Fr. Good" or Henry Garnet on the English mission, and would be satisfied either with Simon Hunt or Southwell to be their assistants.^{sn179} Southwell had been a priest for two years now and requests for him to be sent to England came when Aquaviva was under increasing pressure from both Allen and Persons to send the best English priests available in Rome to work in England. William Weston, the Jesuit resident in England was also persistantly requesting priests to be sent

over to preach and teach in England. Writing from London in April 1586, he pleaded: "If we were given freedom to preach and teach publicly, I believe we should hardly see a thousand heretics left within a year ... Pray send men to help us and someone to take charge ... But I beg you to examine the men through and through, since the need for prudence is very great".¹⁸⁰ Henry Garnet, an outstanding musicologist and mathematician at the Roman College, was very highly recommended by Bellarmine, and after careful inspection of his background, he was chosen by Persons to lead the new mission into England.^{sn181}

The two candidates for the English mission having been finally agreed upon, "Instructions for Fr. Henry Garnet and Fr. Robert Southwell" were drawn up on March 24th 1586 as follows:

During the journey Fr. Henry will be Superior of the Mission, and Fr. Robert will be his confessor and admonitor. But when they have arrived in the kingdom, Fr. William Weston will be their Superior and of the other members of the Society who are there; and if he either dies or is captured, or if access to him is not possible, Fr. Henry will continue to be Superior ... they have permission on the journey, if the Parish Priests do not object, and in places where there are no Ordinaries, to preach the word of God without leave from them; as also to hear anyone's confession, with power also to absolve from the sin of heresy and reading of prohibited books all persons residing north of the Alps and anyone else in those countries.¹⁸²

Leave is given to them to receive and distribute money in England as shall seem expedient... and also any money which they may receive from penitents, by way of restitution, to be spent on the poor or on works of piety...

They are to ^{be} bound only to that Mass, which according to the list of Masses is to be said each week for our intention;

Leave is given for some pamphlets to be printed for the defence of the faith and the edification of the Catholics at the discretion of Fr. Weston.

If need should occur to flee the country (England) they may go wherever they please; but they are not to go to Scotlandⁿ except after consultation with our fathers who are there, nor to Ireland except after consulting Fr. Westonⁿ.¹⁸³

Power is given to any one of the Society even to a laybrother^s, to dispense priests, even those of the Society in cases of irregularity ... and if it should happen that at any time they incur it.

Similarly all faculties are accorded to Fr. Weston which in the Compendium of Privileges of the Society are granted to Provincials and other Superiors subordinate to them; or to Fr. Henry, if ... it falls on his lot to remain Superior of the Mission.¹⁸⁴

A strict order of seniority was laid out for the English mission of 1586, as detailed in "Special Instructions for the Mission of Fr. William Holt and Fr. Joseph Creswell to England and Scotland":-

4. As regards the subordination of our fathers to one another, this sequence is to be observed: Fr. William Holt will be the Superior of this particular mission until they reach England, and Fr. Creswell will act as his Consultor and Admonitor. Whilst they are in England, however, Fr. William Weston will be Superior over all; and if he should depart this life or become incapacitated by sickness ..., Fr. Henry Garnet, who is now Superior, is to succeed him, and his Consultors are to be two of the senior English members of the Society who have been with him; and let the senior of these be his Admonitor. Again ... Fr. William

Holt is to succeed Henry (Garnet) - that is to say if a third is required and if he has to come to England - and after him Fr. Southwell.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SUMMARY AND/OR CONCLUSION

The influence Rome exerted on Southwell was vigorously positive, in total contrast to Douai and Paris, whose effects I suggest would have been negative, vitiating and bewildering. Southwell may well have been in his element in Rome, a cosmopolitan city with an easy-going, ecclesiastically aristocratic air. His continuous domicile in the city from 1578 to 1586 indicated that he settled down comfortably to life in Rome in a way that he did not in either Douai or Paris.

Rome formed Southwell in the way he eventually came to be known. From the first day of arrival at St. Andrea he saw frescoes depicting traumatic scenes of torture and execution extolling the virtues of Martyrdom; scenes which were copiously displayed through similar frescoes in the English College. Being put under the charge of Robert Persons, who had been personally humiliated in Elizabeth's Oxford, may have fuelled and accentuated Southwell's own grudges against the Protestant order in England. The troubles of the English College were probably those very incentives to excel morally and ethically as is depicted in his *Spiritual Exercises and Devotions*. Southwell's education, - and to greater extents - his literary efforts, were closely linked to his missionary aspirations. His predilections for martyrdom, influenced by the Pomarancio Frescoes, were also linked to his educational and literary efforts. These efforts were needed to gain for him acceptance from the milieu he hoped to operate in before being, hopefully, called to martyrdom.

CHAPTER NINE

THE LAST YEARS - SOUTHWELL IN ENGLAND 1586-1595

On May 8th 1586 (April 29th, according to the old-style calendar) Southwell and Henry Garnet left Rome for England.^{sn1} They were seen off early that morning by Robert Persons at the Milvian bridge, two miles North of Rome.^{sn2} The two priests, on horseback, rode for Ancona. From there they headed for Modena, Parma and Piacenza, arriving at Milan at the end of May.³ At the Jesuit College of Brera, Southwell reported their progress in a letter to Agazzari dated May 26th.⁴ There are certain descriptions of mountain scenery in Southwell's "A vale of teares" probably based on impressions of Alpine scenery as he crossed Northern Italy:

Yet natures worke it is of arte untoucht,
So strait indeed, so vast unto the eie,
With such disordred order strangely coucht,
And so with pleasing horror low and hie, (lines 25-28)

That who it viewes must needs remaine agast,
Much at the worke, more at the makers might,
And must how nature such a plot could cast,
Where nothing seemed wrong, yet nothing right: (l. 29-32)

Huge massie stones that hang by tickle stay,
Still threaten fall and seeme to hang in feare,
Some withered trees ashambe of their decay
Beset with greene, are forcde gray coats to weare⁵ (l. 45-48)

It was at this very early stage of their journey that the English government was alerted to their impending arrival in England, very probably through Jonas Meredith, a shady priest who through Walsingham's European spy network, relayed reports of Southwell and Garnet's movements.^{sn6} Thomas Germyn [Thomas Morgan] wrote to Nicholas Cornellys

[Gilbert Gifford] "Two Jesuits have been Sent into England - Father Southwell and Father Garnet, both very young men". Gilbert Gifford was an English spy and Fr. Caraman believes that he had got this information from Jones Meredith. Gifford's signal presumably reached Walsingham on July 3rd 1586 according to the date given in the State papers.⁷ Meredith and another priest, Francis Shaw, accompanied Southwell and Garnet from Modena to Parma and Piacenza. In a tragically innocent move, Meredith and Shaw were given all possible assistance by Southwell and Garnet. "We helped them as much as possible", Southwell reported.⁸

Leaving Piacenza, where they saw Meredith yet again, Southwell and Garnet were accompanied by a "William", a Flemish lay brother who travelled with them to the shores of England; acting as servant, guide, interpreter and to arrange their channel crossing.⁹ From Milan they headed straight for Flanders. It was a hard and taxing journey, and their horses were injured and exhausted. "The horses do us good service" Southwell wrote "but the wound on William's mount is not yet healed, and I fear the wound on the chestnut (rosso) horse will grow worse, for since Loretto, its spine has been painfully galled by the baggage".¹⁰ By late June they were in Flanders. At Rheims, they called at the seminary and met William Allen. From there they headed for Douai, where they stayed at Southwell's old Jesuit College, Anchin.¹¹

In Douai we learn of Southwell's frame of mind as he was about to leave for the 'enemy territory' of England. Meeting his old friend John Deckers, he confided in him his desire for death. "One thing alone remained" wrote Deckers, "that he might repay Christ ... with life for life".¹² However his attitude towards the English Mission though heavily tinged with a death-wish also contained a strong desire for self preservation through anonymity. Writing to Deckers on July 2nd from St. Omer's where they arrived from Douai, Southwell was worried about having to stay at St. Omer "longer than we can safely lay hid".¹³ He begs Deckers not to "let any English people know where we are or that we have been here... in case any English people should hear of our coming to you, keep secret at least where we are now."^{sn14}

Apparently, Southwell and Garnet were instructed to stay at St. Omer's while it was decided from which port it was best for them to embark and on what part of the English coast they should land. St. Omer's was some

twenty-seven miles from Dunkirk and Calais, and a little further away from Boulogne, and it was not more than a day's ride from St. Omer's to any of these three ports.¹⁵ Letters from Rome arrived shortly afterwards with orders: They were instructed to embark not from Flanders, but from Boulogne, the traditional link with South Western England, rather than with East Anglia; for Walsingham had got word that one Southwell, a priest with an unknown companion, was to land somewhere on the coast of Norfolk.^{sn16} Rome thought it wiser that they should land elsewhere. On July 15th (5th by old style English Calendar) orders to sail arrived and Southwell's feelings on this momentous day are shown in his last letter to John Deckers. "As I am exposed to extreme perils ... I address you from the threshold of death ... I am being sent indeed into the mouths of wolves ... as a sheep to the slaughter ... I know full well that there are many open mouths who look by land and sea for me like lions, ... like wolves ... but I welcome more than fear their fangs ... God will be at my right hand".^{sn17} Walsingham knew that a number of men were about to embark secretly from Bologne to England. A month later, in August 1586 Robert Poley in his confession, said that Walsingham told him of "an advertisement lately received from Boulogne of four men secretly lodged there three or four days, and in the night embarked for England."¹⁸ We are not sure who these four men were. It is possible that Rome suspected that Walsingham knew of Garnet and Southwell being in Boulogne, as he was now aware of Boulogne being a departure point for priests bound for the English Mission. Poley had contacted Anthony Babington who was then working for Walsingham. Babington told Poley to tell Walsingham "that those shipped at Boulogne came from Rome, that the Captains of Boulogne had a commandment to embark them in secret, and that they should be landed upon what coast of England they would require, that they landed on the Downs, that two of them were Jesuits, and were in London very close".¹⁹ We cannot be sure who Poley was referring to. His confession was dated August 1586, but the information he was confessing to was probably many weeks old. Walsingham took this information about Jesuits embarking from Boulogne very seriously, and told Poley that "he found greater and greater cause to suspect those men embarked at Boulogne." and asked Poley to "move Babington for the discusse "of those men and their intentions".²⁰

Walsingham had every reason to be highly suspicious of the mysterious

four who had embarked from Boulogne. Babington had shown Poley a letter he received from Thomas Morgan. After that, Babington gave Poley detailed information about a Jesuit plot to assassinate the Queen, and told Poley to tell Walsingham that George Gifford was "practiced by Robert Persons to kill the Queen and had received "3001. or 9001" several times. Also, one of Sir Walter Raleigh's men had received money and undertaken to kill her majesty within five weeks of that time".²¹ Babington also told Poley "of a practice to be executed by means out of France and Flanders for killing my Lord of Leicester, and that to be done before the enterprise to begin in England". Babington asked Poley if Catholic exiles debated "whether it were not possible to restore religion continuing both the life of her majesty and also the government in some state now remaining". Poley replied that that was an old question "so long and often debated amongst them beyond the seas", who concluded that it could not be done except by doing away with Elizabeth's top men, such as Leicester and Burleigh "who removed, her majesty must necessarily incline to that part of her Council which are reputed either Catholic or indifferent for religion".

Thus, in the Summer of 1586 the authorities in England were expecting a "hit squad" of Jesuits and/or accomplices of theirs to land in England. As we know that the authorities were well aware of Southwell's movements since he left Rome, it is very probable that his mission was viewed as one of assassination. Aside from assassinating Burleigh and Leicester, Mary Stuart, according to Poley was to be set "at liberty and entitl(ed) to the successon". Babington showed Poley a transcript of a letter sent to him by Mary Stuart "or some near about her" containing plans for inquiries to be made about ports and places for landing foreign aid; what troops (and in what shires) would be available to aid the foreign forces and where the two armies were to join; arms and ammunition; who would escort Mary Stuart out of her captivity and where she was to be taken. The expected priests were thus supposed to have been an advance party to co-ordinate plans for such ventures.

Southwell and Garnet appear to have set sail from Calais, not Boulogne, at 2 o'clock on Thursday July 7th.²³ "The wind was blowing against us" wrote Garnet, and they had to use oars to hold the ship on course.²⁴ However, after sunset the wind changed, the sea became calmer "We sailed as smoothly as on a river" wrote Garnet. "Shortly before

sunrise we reached the [English coast]".²⁵ They landed at a point between Dover and Folkestone at a place called "The Warren" about a mile East of Folkestone, behind which was high ground known as "Copt Hill" that would have screened off their landing from Folkestone, then a small fishing village. As William, the Flemish lay brother carried each of them ashore on his shoulders, a man stood watching them silently on a hillock overlooking the shore. Frightened of being caught, they approached him asking for directions to Folkestone so as to allay suspicions; grumbling about the ship's captain who had landed them so far away from port. The man was only a shepherd who was quite sympathetic. He felt their predicament and told them "the names of several places in the district".²⁶

On the beach, Southwell and Garnet decided to separate to avoid further detection but to meet again in London.²⁷ They landed on the feast day of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and the two priests mingled with the crowds thronging the fairs held between Dover and Folkstone. Southwell was then on his own. He may already have been fashionably dressed, giving the impression of a wealthy young squire out to enjoy a day at the fair.²⁸ We dont know where he spent his first night in England, but he had acquired or hired a horse, for next morning we find him on horseback on the way to Gravesend. He saw Garnet who was straying off the main road, following 'tracks which a horse cannot negotiate'.²⁹ From Gravesend to Tower Wharf there was a regular service of tilt boats.³⁰ Southwell arrived in London very early the following day and anxiously walked the streets till daybreak. Garnet followed on a later boat. Twice in twenty-four hours they met by chance, this time in the streets of London. Incredibly, yet again by chance, 'they met the man they were looking for'; a mysterious contact who took them to a prison, probably to the Clink prison where they breakfasted.³¹ There, Southwell made his first contacts in England, two priests in the Clink: Edward James who had left Southwell in Rome only a few months earlier and John Lowe, until recently William Weston's (1550?-1615) intimate companion.³² Southwell and Garnet's first task was to locate William Weston, their Superior, hence the prompt visit to the Clink. Then, they were taken by their contact and 'safely hidden away until Weston could contact them. Weston had received orders to leave Seville (where he was first ordained) on Decmeber 23rd 1583 and head for England but didn't arrive there till September 8/9 1584.³³ Weston had

been working extremely hard on his own finding shelter for priests sent from Douai, and it was some time before word of Southwell and Garnet's arrival reached him. In June 1586 Weston was in Buckinghamshire at the house of Richard Bold (see below). "Some days after I got back from this journey" he wrote "I was told that two of our Fathers had arrived in London. This news made me very happy ... So, putting everything aside, I went at once to the inn where they were staying".³⁴ This was, very probably, on July 13th 1586.

After dinner at the inn, Weston took Garnet and Southwell to his own lodgings for the night, a house probably lent him by a friend, a Mrs Francis Browne, in Hog Lane, Norton Folgate between Bishopsgate and Shoreditch.³⁵ That same night or early next morning Anthony Babington collaborating with Walsingham called at Weston's lodgings. Southwell and Garnet were in an adjoining room while Weston talked with Babington, and not knowing how close they were to arrest.³⁶ Later that evening or early the following day, July, 14th, Weston took Southwell and Garnet away to the country, to the home of Weston's friend Richard Bold.³⁷ The three priests were well received. They spent eight days at Hurleyford. Weston describes the reception they were given:

His household was delighted at our arrival and so pleased to see us that, as it turned out, we could not have desired or imagined a more affectionate or cordial reception ... We met also some gentlewomen who had come there to hide; and altogether we were eight days at the house. We were very happy, and our friends made it apparent how pleased they were to have us. Indeed, the place was most suited to our work and ministrations, not merely for the reason that it was remote and had a congenial household and company, but also because it possessed a chapel, set aside for the celebration of the Church's offices. The gentleman was also a skilled musician, and had an organ and other musical instruments, and choristers, male and female, members of his household. During those days it was just as if we were celebrating an uninterrupted octave of some great feast.³⁸

"If all had fallen to our pleasure" Southwell wrote "we should have sung mass with all solemnity accompanied by choice instrumental and vocal music on the feast of St. Mary Magdalen" (July 22nd).³⁹ A company of Catholics in the area had gathered to greet Southwell and Garnet at Hurleyford. They may have included Sir George Peckham of Denham, a brother-in-law of Fr. John Gerard and a cousin of Richard Bold; James Gardiner of Fulmer, described as a 'receiver of priests'; Lord Compton from Wooburn described as 'greatly influenced' by Weston; and William Fitton of Bailes, who exchanged letters with Byrd on music subjects and was arrested with Bold the following September.⁴⁰ Foremost amongst this company was William Byrd. Byrd always helped his fellow Catholics by contributing to musical sessions in Catholic houses. At the time Byrd was setting to music the poems contained in his "Psalms, sonnets and songs of sadness and Piety". The meeting was the start of a friendship between Byrd and Garnet, a keen musician, who probably sang one of Byrd's three masses.⁴¹ Byrd was also engaged at that time on a musical collection known as "Lady Nevile's Book".⁴²

Aside from music, "other business and conferences" were attended to. Weston briefed them on the situation in England in the light of instructions they brought from Rome. Southwell, in his first letter, speaks of having had practical experience of the intense fanaticism which animates the enemies of the truth, and of the hardly less intense fervour of the Catholics".⁴³ Future methods of work were discussed. "... I gave them (Southwell and Garnet)" Weston writes "the names of Catholic houses where they might go and make their residence, and arranged for reliable guides to take them there".⁴⁴ Presumably, on July 22nd (eight days after July 14th). Weston, Garnet and Southwell left Bold's house. Weston separated from them, going to Oxford after receiving an urgent request for assistance from a distressed Catholic family. Garnet went either to Harrowden, Lord Vaux's seat in Northamptonshire or to Mrs Brooksby, Vaux's daughter (see below) at Shoby, Leicestershire, to organise Catholic centres there. Weston's plan was that Garnet should work in the neglected parts of Catholic England, and Southwell should remain in London to organise the reception of incoming priests - most of whom had been his students in Rome - and then assign them to different parts of the country.⁴⁵

Southwell went to Lord Vaux's house at Hackney, from there to help direct incoming priests to centres founded by Garnet.⁴⁶ In his first letter, Southwell describes how Catholic morale was boosted by the presence of priests like himself. "Our arrival here has wonderfully cheered and inspirited the Catholics, for they had previously been complaining that they were practically abandoned by the Society, ...thinking that their pastors, dismayed by difficulties, were abandoning the flock that never stood in greater need of their care".⁴⁷ He was also aware that the authorities knew of his presence in England. "The news of our arrival has already got abroad, and from the lips of those who are members of the Queen's Council, my name has become known to some".^{sn48} Describing his duties in London, Southwell writes: "I am devoting myself to sermons, hearing confessions and other priestly duties: hemmed in by daily perils, never safe even for the smallest space of time. But I derive fresh courage from my very difficulties".⁴⁹

Since his arrival from Hurleyford, Southwell stayed at the Vaux house at Hackney. On the day of his arrival, July 22nd, there was a gathering at the Marshalsea prison that evening. A few priests and some distinguished people were present, and a sermon on St. Mary Magdalen was delivered. A spy's report speaks of "... three gentlewomen very brave in their attire, two of them daughters to Sir John Arundel ..."⁵⁰ Southwell's association with the Vaux family at Hackney was undoubtedly facilitated by Weston. A spy, signing himself "A.B", wrote on May 2nd 1585 "... Henry Vaux (William's son) in company of Edmunds (Weston) the Jesuit ... did lately assemble themselves at the house of Mr. Wylford in Hoxton, where it was ordered the lord Vaux should pay, to the relief of priests that would tarry one hundred marks".⁵¹ Burleigh had sent Lord Vaux to the Fleet on Friday August 18th, 1581 and in March 1582 he was examined before being released shortly before April 19th 1583: By October 1st 1583 he was settled with his family in a house in Hackney rented from Lord Mordaunt.⁵² His son Henry, being involved with Weston in aiding incoming priests whose movements were reported to Burleigh, made the Hackney house the centre of increasingly unwelcome attention.⁵³

The house at Hackney had recently been the scene of an exorcism. From the early till mid 1580's the Jesuits in England were actively engaged in exorcism. A Catholic priest has the power "to interrogate the devil, to

ask his name, whether he has any companions, when he entered the body, for what cause, when he will depart and what sign he will give of his departure". Exorcism was particularly relevant to Catholic ritual because of its connection with transubstantiation. "For Catholics", Professor Walker explains, "the power of the words 'Hoc est corpus meum' produced the supreme miraculous or magical effect, transubstantiation". "Catholic exorcisms were designed ... not only to demonstrate transubstantiation, but also to vindicate other practices and beliefs under attack from Protestants as magical superstitions: exorcism itself, relics, holy water and other blest objects, the sign of the cross, the power of names". Between Spring of 1585 and Summer 1586, six demoniacs were exorcised by twelve Catholic priests in various recusant houses, with William Weston as chief exorcist.⁵⁴ Samuel Harsnett's A Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures (1603) gives an account of exorcisms practised by Weston and other Catholic priests in the mid 1580's. Exorcisms were "performed in the house of the L. Vaux at Hackney, of Ma: Barnes at Fulmer, of Ma: Hughes at Uxbridge, of Sir George Peckham at Denham, and the Earl of Lincoln in Chanon Row in London".⁵⁵

Aside from the obvious aim of fortifying recusant faith in Catholic soteriology, Exorcism also involved the attempted ejection of a superstitious and spiritually detrimental household folklore which had taken root perhaps as a result of fear engendered by harassment. A serving maid in the Peckham household at Denham, Bucks, Sara Williams, examined by the Bishop of London stated that strange names were written on the walls of the Peckham house, such as "flibberdigibet", "Haberdicut", "Cocabatto", "Motubizanto", "Cornercaps" etc ...⁵⁶ She gave the most detailed accounts of exorcisms carried out at Lord Vaux's House in the mid 1580's:-

a) On her last exorcism at Hackney the priests "gave it out that the devell departed out of her by her priviest part"; That she would not conceive because "the devil had torn those parts".⁵⁷

b) During Christmas (not known what year) "there was gaming and mumming at the L. Vaux his house";

c) Mat. Edmunds (Weston) the Jesuit was present.

d) Many men and women "that came thither to see miracles" were daily reconciled". She remembered the priests saying that those coming who refused reconciliation were in great danger, but if they submitted to

reconciliation "the devil should have no power over them".⁵⁸

e) Sara William's evidence suggests that there was close coordination between the Vaux and Peckham households on exorcisms. Williams said that a maid (not known who) that came from Lord Vaux was appointed at Denham to keep an eye on her (Sara Williams) and did always tell the priests what Williams "either did or spoke".⁵⁹

It could not be verified to what extent Williams was telling the truth. She probably was saying what she thought the examining bishop wanted her to say. Her account is partially verified by Anthony Tyrell who in his "Confessions" mentions Sara Williams being at Hackney at Christmas 1586, being, exorcised, and having a "maruailous great fit" on January 10th (1586/1587).⁶⁰

Sixteenth and Seventeenth century English exorcisms were not merely sickly, transient historical episodes. They form a link in the chain of human craving for spiritual purification. Modern press reports speak of our own contemporary Vatican exorcist, the Passionist monk Dom Candido (1924-), having to deal with long queues of people suffering from possession seeking exorcism at his hands, and being so overworked that the Vatican is urgently training priests as exorcists.⁶¹ However, Sixteenth century exorcisms were used by Protestants to severely damage the Catholic cause in England. As Professor Walker points out, the Church of England accused Papists of performing an idolatrous magical ceremony and Catholic writers had to defend practices such as use of holy water, relics and agnus dei "against the charge of being identical with magical operations".⁶² Catholic priests became vulnerable to charges of magical superstition because of the ease with which comparisons could be drawn between the Catholic formulae for exorcism and the magical conjuring of spirits.⁶³ Unreliable, weak-minded and illiterate persons such as Sarah Williams were being used by Protestant ecclesiastical examiners to concoct half-truths about the exorcistic sessions undertaken by Catholic priests.

As a result, Henry Garnet taking charge of the English province of the Society expressly forbade all exorcisms to be carried out in England.^{sn64} But Southwell was aware of sessions of exorcism having taken place. "Some extraordinary occurrences, as I gather from ocular witnesses" he wrote "have taken place here in the case of possessed persons". These occurrences had the effect of "converting many to the faith, and greatly

rallying the wavering. The priests, whose piety and extraordinary power in these exorcisms has been most conspicuous, have been styled magicians and sorcerers by the heretics". Catholic casuistry on exorcism taught that "a priest who wishes to exorcize and is in any doubt about the matter should consult (sic) a prudent and pious confessor and also ask him what exorcism should be used." It was also noted by the casuists that "there may be some danger that the faith of bystanders will be weakened if the exorcism is not successful." Both Allen and Persons suggested that exorcism should not be practised except very "cautiously, prudently and rarely", since exorcisms do not always work, "for not even the Apostles themselves could cast out all devils."⁶⁵

He refers to the authorities casting aspersions on such exorcisms as diabolical sorcery, intending to depict Catholics as dabblers in the black arts "... with the object ... of slanderously imputing to diabolical artifice and not to priestly power, facts which they cannot deny".⁶⁶ However, much as Southwell lauds Catholic exorcisms, the practise was strictly forbidden by Garnet, and from Samuel Harsnett's book, we find that no exorcisms had taken place after Summer 1586, the time of Garnet and Southwell's arrival. Southwell's role in England - aside from the sacerdotal one - was that of a psychological therapist - not of an exorcist. "Man always has made therapeutic use of the unconscious" writes a modern psychologist. "The healer brings out aspects of the patient's unconscious and uses them to cure him ... and by using a state of ecstasy that he brings about within himself".⁶⁷ One of Southwell's main functions as he resided in the Vaux and the Arundel household (see below) was one of "exorcistic psychological therapy" so to speak: "The relationship between patient and exorcist" a modern psychiatrist explains "is parallel to that of a psychiatrically oriented clergyman and his disturbed parishioner".⁶⁸ Southwell's role as an "exorcist" in this sense is based on solid theological ground. A missionary would see his role as identical to that of Christ who "when he came would show that he possessed the power of an exorcist".⁶⁹ Peter (Acts, 10:38) speaks of how "God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Spirit and with the Power"; and how "he went about doing good and healing all that was oppressed by the devil".⁷⁰

Southwell's Domicile at the Vaux House at Hackney

Southwell lived in the Vaux house at Hackney after his arrival from the country (see above). Devlin describes its location as being one of a number of houses on either side of the Old Knights-Hospitallers church, now St. John's, on the site of an Eighteenth century "Hackney House", now vanished; situated East of St. John's church "between Tresham Avenue and Brookesby Walk".⁷¹ William, Third Baron Vaux (died August 20 1595) married, first (before March 18 1557) Elizabeth, daughter of John Beaumont. She died in August 1562. They had issue: Henry (died unmarried, 1587), Eleanor, married c. 1577 Edward Brooksby and died c. 1625; Elizabeth, a Poor Clare; and Anne, baptized on July 19th 1562. His second marriage in 1563-64 was to Mary daughter of John Tresham. She died on December 28th 1597. They had issue: George (bapt. 27 Sept. 1564); Catherine (bapt. 25th Feb. 1556? died before 1597); Muriel (bapt. 26 Jan. 1570); Edward (died unmarried on July 25th 1585; Ambrose (born July 1570, married in April 1612); Elizabeth Wyborne, widow (died 25 April 1626).⁷² Ambrose Vaux later went on a pilgrimage with Anthony Copley, Southwell's cousin, to Jerusalem where he was dubbed a knight by the Guardian of the Holy Sepulchre.⁷³ Of interest to Southwell was a cousin of Eleanor, Frances Burrows, then aged about eleven (see below).^{sn74}

Southwell was lying low in the Vaux house at Hackney. The authorities had heard about the conference in Hurleyford. Consequently, Hurleyford was raided; William Byrd's house searched and Bold taken to prison.⁷⁵ Southwell was expecting arrest at any moment. Once, he was watched by a spy who, instead of arresting him immediately, followed him, hoping to be led to the house where he was sheltering in and thereby make a bigger haul, but Southwell managed to shake him off.⁷⁶

But in spite of close surveillance and the real possibility of arrest, Southwell during August and September moved quietly and fearlessly from prison to prison visiting the sick and dying. However, he became far more cautious after the execution of Richard Dibdale, the most active exorcist amongst the Catholic priesthood in England after Weston.^{sn77} Dibdale and another priest, John Lowe were executed at Tyburn on October 8th after which the efforts to catch Southwell were intensified. He did not feel it safe even to write to Rome till December 22nd with news of the Tyburn executions, listing a number of priests who had been taken: Bradford,

Sherson, Potter, Bolton, Bagshaw, Meredith, Bickley, Thules and Hyde.⁷⁸ From his December letter we find that, though times were getting harder by the day, he soldiers bravely on with a philosophic fatalism very much in mind. "The sea is more boisterous than usual and swept by fiercer storms" he writes metaphorically. "We live on in the midst of storms, with but little security for the body. Yet if they do carry us off, they will only be taking us to life and to rest".⁷⁹ What kept him going were two things: the Platonic sense of the philosopher's comfortable death, and the close camaraderie of the oppressed. "Here ..." he wrote "we have so many enemies in common, that there is no time for internal factions".⁸⁰

The Vaux house at Hackney was raided early in November in search of Southwell. On Friday November 4th, Anthony Tyrrell gave informaton "of one Mr. S — a priest that for certain did lie at the Lord Vaux his house".⁸¹ The raid took place early next morning, November 5th 1586.⁸² It was carefully timed to catch everyone by surprise while the household attended early morning mass. The house was rushed before any kind of warning could be given. The Vaux family, Southwell and another priest heard the scuffle in the hall below. Young Frances Burrows, aged eleven, was trained to deal with precisely such emergencies. "She was always let out to go up and down to answer the officers" her biographer reports "because her courage was such as she never seemed to be daunted or feared of anything".⁸³

As the search party scuffled downstairs, Frances got up quickly and left the chapel to attend to her assigned duty. The pursuivants looked up at her blankly with swords drawn. "Oh! put up your swords, or else my mother will die!" she cried out to them "for she cannot endure to see a naked sword!".^{sn84} Hesitating for a moment, the pursuivants then resumed their search. Their chief, Newall, had hoped to storm the chapel and catch the family and priests at mass. (There was another, unidentified priest, other than Southwell).

Southwell himself describes these events:

The pursuivants were raging all around, and seeking me in the very house where I was lodged. I heard them threatening and breaking woodwork and sounding the walls to find hiding places; yet ... after four hours' search they found me not, though separated from them only by a

thin partition rather than a wall ... the house ... was watched for many nights ... I ... slept in my clothes in a very strait, uncomfortable place".⁸⁵

The day after the raid, the London magistrate Justice Young reported the failure of the attack "... the priests were conveyed away so that they could not be found". But incriminating material was discovered. Young reported that "letters were found in Henry Vaux his bag with books, but he will not confess where he laid them".⁸⁶ He was referring to two letters in Latin signed "Robert", evidently entrusted to Henry Vaux to smuggle out of the country.^{sn87}

Exactly where Southwell was hiding when the raiders were "knocking over the furniture, banging on walls and ripping the panels where they sounded hollow", cannot be determined, since the house no longer exists. However, a fairly clear idea as to where Southwell could have hidden is available from priest-holes in other Elizabethan recusant houses. A priest-hole "is usually an almost featureless space, perhaps eight feet by three only identifiable by its secret entrance".⁸⁸ They became necessary with the arrival of the seminary priests in the late 1570's. By the 1580's most recusant houses had been provided with secret cupboards where mass things and books were stored, and which "were usually large enough to provide a hiding-place for the missionaries in case of a sudden raid."⁸⁹ We know that Southwell was hiding behind a partition rather than a wall. Some Elizabethan houses had secret cupboards in the panelling. At Norbury in Derbyshire, the room known as Sir Anthony's Study "contains no less than four secret cupboards in the panelling".⁹⁰ The Chapel in the Vaux Hackney house very probably was selected for this purpose. Usually, chapels had secret cupboards which acted as modern concealed safes where the family kept its valuables. In 1828 a large bundle of books and papers covering the period 1580-1597 was found in a hide measuring five feet by sixteen inches at Rushton hall, Northamptonshire.⁹¹ It is also possible that the space under the closet floor in the master bedroom in the Vaux house might have been used as a 'safe' - or a priest-hole. Southwell's hide was, very probably, quite close to a staircase; as that would ensure that pursuivants would look elsewhere, having climbed the stairs. Numerous such hides had been located. The hide at Sawston is next to a

spiral staircase, and at Harvington (Worcestershire) the priest hole is at the junction where a short straight stairway meets two spiral staircases curving away in opposite directions. There is also a possibility that Southwell climbed to a secret compartment above the panelling. The library hide at Harvington, Worcestershire when found in 1894 contained an Elizabethan or Jacobean joint-stool.⁹² The procedure here was that the priest would climb the stool and then into a ceiling or upper wall hide, lift the stool up with him into the hide by rope and then disjoint it to save space.

After the raid, Henry Vaux was sent to the Council, having been found with incriminating evidence. The house at Hackney was ringed off and all who came and went closely questioned. Southwell offered to give himself up in return for Henry Vaux's release. However, a conference of the household appears to have decided that Henry Vaux was deemed capable of looking after himself, and that his release was only a matter of time (In fact he was released only in May the following year).

The letters in Latin signed "Robert" were given to Anthony Tyrell for translation. It was thought that Robert Persons had returned to organize Catholic resistance: "The writer was Persons the Jesuit now come secretly into England to promote the Catholic cause" wrote Tyrrell in the margin of the letter.⁹³ After the raid, the Hackney house was closely watched for more than a week. Southwell was confined in his hide practically all the time. "Of a truth" he wrote "the house was in such sort watched for many nights together that I perforce slept in my clothes in a very straight uncomfortable place" (see above). Shortly after the week was over, the pursuivants pounced again, hoping to catch the household by surprise. Again, Frances Burrows performed her assigned role by confronting the raiders and detaining them for a few precious moments to give the household a chance to hide priests and religious objects. Her biographer describes the encounter:

... a pursuivant, thinking with terror to make her disclose the secret places 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 in 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 £100 to save her, for to make a present to the Lord Bishop of London, saying it was a pity a maid of her courage should be spoiled with papistry.⁹⁴

The raid uncovered much information about the Vaux household. On November 29th a spy reported to Burleigh that "There is one Thomas Harris, a trusty servant of Mr. Henry Vaux. Much might be found out in him if he were apprehended".⁹⁵

Southwell began to feel how much suffering his presence at Hackney was causing to others. After the siege was lifted he slipped out, though exactly when is not known. London was becoming increasingly unsafe and it was best to lie low in the country. Very probably he went down to Sussex and Hampshire to see his relatives.(See note 197) He wrote to Aquaviva on January 7th saying that messengers between France and England were reliable and asking for gifts to be sent through the Jesuit procurator in Paris. Swithin Wells, now an elderly man, was arrested in March 1587 for acting as colporteur and part of the consignment impounded included presentation Bible copies for Lady Vaux, and others.^{sn96}

While Southwell was out of London, efforts were intensified to find him. London buzzed with rumours of his capture. Bemused and defiant, he wrote to Agazzari on December 21st "I am informed there is a general report that I am taken ... I smiled to think how gratifying that would be for a time unto my foes". From this letter his plan of action is made clear, as well as his thoughts:

Not that I shall undertake aught against them that can hurt the state; but my intention is, never to desist from the works of my calling, though these when done cannot long escape their notice ...; they will know there still lives one of this sort whom they have not taken ... the souls of Catholics are more precious than our bodies; and when one reckons the price at which they were bought, it should not seem much to endanger our lives for their salvation.⁹⁷

By the end of the year he was trying hard to find a place secure enough where he could remain completely hidden. Numerous Catholic families were determined to have him. He was soon contacted by Ann Dacres (1557-1630) wife of Philip Howard Earl of Arundel (1557-1595), to visit her in her house in the Strand. She had embraced Catholicism in 1582.⁹⁸ In 1584 her husband Philip Howard, after a wasteful, dissipated and irreligious career sought reconciliation to Catholicism and contacted for that purpose the only Catholic priest he knew to be resident in England, Weston.⁹⁹ When Weston was first held in the Clink, Anne Dacres visited him and offered money to secure his release, but Weston declined the offer, saying he expected release only through "either God, or they by whose authority he was deprived of his Liberty".¹⁰⁰ Philip Howard came to know Weston well; who had a deep reforming influence on the once dissipated nobleman. From Weston Philip Howard "receiv'd such comfort to his soul as he never had felt before in all his life and such good directions for the mending and ordering of his life, as afterwards did greatly help and father him therein".¹⁰¹ He renewed his acquaintance with Weston during his incarceration in the Tower, where he was committed on April 25th 1585 after an abortive attempt to escape to France.¹⁰²

Between 1582 when she embraced Catholicism and early in 1587 when she met Southwell, Anne Dacres was a very lonely and sad woman of twenty-five or twenty-six with an intensely active inner life, rendered yet more active by the fervour of a recent religious conversion. She was converted after reading a book on the danger of Schism. One Richard Bayly "a Catholicke gentleman who belonged to the Earl her husband" found an elderly Marian (unnamed) priest for her and brought him to Arundel Castle. The castle accentuated the intensity of this devout and lonely woman who played an active role during Southwell's last years. Arundel Castle was the ideal setting for her to delve deeply into her recently acquired creed. With its magnificent setting; its eventful four hundred year history, its circular and Norman keeps; upper and lower baileys; its battlemented South and Barbican towers and its commanding position on a height by the river Arun, Arundel Castle almost rivalled Windsor castle in the medieval romanticism of its battlemented skyline.¹⁰³ It was the ideal place for Anne Dacres to assuage her noble sorrows with her new faith. From her lodgings at the Castle she went "by certain dark obscure wayes

and dangerous passages to the chamber where the Priest was lodged, there to make her Confession".¹⁰⁴

Anne Dacres - and her husband Philip Howard's - association with Southwell had a symbolic significance as important as the real one. The Countess of Arundel could be seen as an embodiment of those Catholic sorrows, deprivations and pieties which Southwell excelled in soothing, assuaging, comforting; and the Epistle of Comfort is the obvious evidence for this. On a purely personal basis - that of background, character and personality, Anne Dacres also represents those aspects of English Catholicism which Southwell could find a deep, close affinity with. Aristocratic, gracious, hospitable, simple in her attire, with a distant Marian spiritual beauty, Anne Dacres to Southwell could be seen as a magnificent emblem of Catholic womanhood. But it was mainly her sorrows that attracted Southwell's comforting spiritual ministrations. Apart from an unhappy marriage, initial marital neglect, loneliness and isolation, her main source of distress was the intense personal dislike the Queen bore her "and how disirouse she was to cross and afflict her upon all occasions": When her husband - in the Tower - suggested that she present a petition to the Queen on his behalf Elizabeth retorted that he had better not; that she would rather set him free than "admit his Lady to her presence to make the intended Petition": Again, it was those attractive qualities that aroused simultaneously, the Queen's jealous chagrin and Southwell's affectionate and soothing spiritual ministrations: her sweet resignation, majestic sorrows and regal graciousness. Her biographer describes her prsence "that it alone was sufficient to move any one to bear a reverent respect unto her": Her appearance combined a freshness of complexion with gravity of countenance, carriage and attire. Her clothes were "decent and grave... homely and plain".¹⁰⁵ She never used jewellery except a gold cross during religious feasts. Yet again Anne Dacres symbolizes, through her simplicity which aggravated Elizabeth, what Southwell had experienced as the cream of Catholic qualities and virtues.

Anne Dacres heard of Southwell through Weston. When in London she stayed at Charterhouse, which became known as Howard House when acquired by the Duke of Norfolk on January 1st 1565.¹⁰⁶ By the 1580's she was a distraught, deeply unhappy woman (again notice the symbolic significance of her sorrows to those of English Catholicism as a whole). Her husband's

"unkind usage" drove her to her husband's grandfather, the Earl of Arundel who "used her with all kindness as his own child".¹⁰⁷ The date given for Southwell taking up residence at Arundel House in the Strand is either December 1586 or January 1587.¹⁰⁸ Her biographer describes Southwell's association with her: "... in ye year 1586, she caus'd one of her servants better acquainted amongst Catholiks in London than herself, to make enquiry for some Priest by whom she might sometimes receive ye Holy Sacraments":¹⁰⁹ She did not, however, intend to have a priest reside with her "by reason of ye inconveniency of her house, and ye smal number of Catholicks about her": Having known that Southwell had arrived shortly before from Rome, her servant "found meanes to speak with him, and to declare her Lady's desire of haveing him come to her": Southwell, having been contacted, asked "if her Lady's meaning were whether he should reside with her or no": The answer was yes. Shortly afterwards, Southwell took up residence at Arundel House. First he asked for a hide, "some secret convenience to be made in some part of ye house, wherein himself and his few books together with ye Church Stuff might be hidden in case any sudden search should happen to be made": Apparently, there was a misunderstanding. Contrary to what her servant had told Southwell, the Countess did not really intend him to reside, and was mystified by his request for a priest-hole. But, out of respect, she did nothing; thinking that Southwell "himself within a little time would find by experience how unfit and inconvenient her house was for him or any other priest to make their residence": It was well, says her biographer, that she did not insinuate that "she was not to have him live with her", for had she done so "he never would have offer'd it, but settled himself some where els": Southwell finally stayed at Arundel House.

Her husband, Philip Howard - in the Tower - had fallen "into such troubles, dangers and occasions of sorrow and affliction as necessarily requir'd both comfort and advice": Southwell comforted the imprisoned nobleman "in such solid and abundant manner that he remain'd no less satisfy'd than thankfull for them": Southwell, in his letters to Philip Howard in the Tower gave him "excellent directions how to anser to ye dangerouse questions usually propos'd to Catholicks to ensnare 'em", as well as solace designed to comfort him "... in ye midst of so many afflictions".¹¹⁰ These letters were later printed as "An Epistle of

Comfort to all Catholikes in Persecution". Southwell never actually met Philip Howard, but the letters began a great spiritual friendship between the two and were "of incalculable help in his lonely school of sanctity".¹¹¹ Ms. Waugh says the Epistle was completed shortly before the end of 1587, since Southwell speaks of several martyrs before, but none after 1588. The Epistle of Comfort sheds much light on Southwell's mind as a missionary fighting heresy. His approach is to show the persecuted that it is Evil, the Devil, that is attacking them, not a particular person or regime. Thereby he helps the persecuted muster their resources of steadfastness and defiance by depicting the enemy as so many abstractions, not as individuals who sap scarce and valuable emotional and nervous energies. He stresses the omnipresence of Evil per se: "The first cause of Comfort in Tribulation" he writes is that it is a great presumption that we are out of the devil's power.

... It must greatly comfort all who have been reclaimed from schism or heresy or from a dissolute life ... to be persecuted for that cause by the devil and his instruments. For it is a very sure ... sign that they have been delivered out of his power ... since otherwise he would never pursue them so heavily.¹¹²

Southwell turns woes into joys and sorrows into solace. He points out to Philip Howard that in suffering he is, happily, atoning for his sins. With his long career of dissipation, he has much to atone for. "... if man had persevered in the state of innocence our bodies would not have been subject to any diseases, nor our minds subject to any sorrow: Prison, he reminds Howard, is the abode of the great: "Where did Joseph (decipher) dreams ... but in prison ... Where did Samson recover his strength ... Jonas (come) ... to full knowledge of his fault" - all in prison: Prison is a school of divine and hidden mysteries to God's friends". 'Our mortal life', he preaches "is nothing but a living death, and life continually flieth from us":¹¹³

Southwell compiled his letters to Philip Howard into the Epistle of Comfort. He also wrote the "Short Rules of Good Life" for Anne Dacres. "The purpose of the Short Rules" writes Dr. Nancy Pollard Brown "is to guide the Catholic who has resolved to serve God as a layman so that he

may best plan a life of virtuous action".¹¹⁴ Anne Dacres was quoted by her biographer as saying during times of stress and bewilderment "now I must betake myself to Blessed F. Southwell's remedy".¹¹⁵ The Short Rules were designed to comfort Anne Dacres in a variety of ways, but mainly by showing her that adversity is a quite natural component of life.

Wherefore, he that entereth into the way of life must remember that he is not come to a play, pastime or pleasure, but to a continual rough battle and fight against most un placable and spiteful enemies. And let him resolve himself never in this world to look for quiet and peace, no, not so much as for any truce for a time, but arm himself for a perpetual combat, ...¹¹⁶

Southwell's Short Rules of a Good Life was probably compiled for the use of Anne Dacres Countess of Arundel. It provided her with that form of spiritual aid that a retreatant found in the Ignatian Spiritual Exercises which were not given to women at that time. Southwell's Short Rules "is a handbook of spiritual life in the world, intended for a thoughtful and well-educated householder who is willing to accept its directives and to live according to the rigorous Christian standards it imposes". The Short Rules evince throughout a preoccupation with instructing a lay Elizabethan householder in the virtues of the good life in which Southwell instructed himself in his Spiritual Exercises. As Dr. Nancy Pollard Brown points out, Southwell "is most original in his attitude to the layman for whom he writes, who seems to be present in every section, an anxious, well-intentioned person, harried by the circumstances of life at the head of a substantial Elizabethan household, not too imaginative or highly educated, haunted by the fear of failure in the undertaking to which as a Christian and a Catholic he is committed." Southwell, says Dr. Brown, "is addressing himself to a landowner, a natural leader in the country, and he admonishes him that the affairs of this world must be subdued to higher ends." The landowner is exhorted in the Short Rules to see himself as a tenant to God: "I am only as bailiff, tenant, or officer to demain or govern these things to his best service. And therefore when the time of my stewardship is expired, I shall be summoned by death to appear before my landlord".

In the Short Rules Southwell was careful not to get too personally involved with members of the household through referring to them directly. He taught the importance of "with drawing all disordered love from all creatures, and especially myself, and by loving nothing but in God and for God". However, we can discern a clear enough picture of Southwell's frame of mind, and daily routine from the Short Rules.

First, there is an avid desire to help through prayer. Southwell refers to "an earnest desire to help my neighbour or mine own soul out of sin by praying". Then there is the need to be keenly observant. "Also I must consider, and with my inward eye see God in every creature, how he worketh in all things ... And therefore all creatures must be as it were books to me to read...". This emphasis on being aware of others, how they think and behave and how one is to respond accordingly appears often in the Short Rules: "Always when I am to go to any company, either of my dwelling place or strangers, I ought to forecast their disposition and what talk or action is likely to be tendered unto me by their presence".

From the Short Rules we also have an idea of how Southwell probably spent his time in the Arundel household. "because confusion and an unsettled kind of life is the cause of many sins and an enemy to all virtue" he writes, I must set down with myself some certain order in spending my time". Some time in the morning afternoon or evening was to be devoted "to some good exercise", when things of greater importance do not call him away. Specific times for getting up in the morning, having meals and going to bed, are also laid down. Going to bed is set at either nine or ten p.m., and getting up at either five or six a.m. About seven minutes (half a quarter of an hour) is to be devoted immediately after rising to silent prayer and meditation. As Dr. Brown points out, chapter six of the Short Rules, entitled "An Order How to Spent Every Day" in which much of Southwell's advice is given, is contained in Gaspar Loarte's The Exercise of a Christian Life translated by Stephen Brinkley in 1579. Persons had brought Brinkley to print Catholic books in Greenstreet, and later Brinkley accompanied Persons to Rome. (See Ch. 8 on Persons and Southwell). "Dinner times or flesh days may be eleven; on fasting days, towards twelve of the clock." Southwell teaches that, at table, "I must neither be too curious or doubtful of what I eat". Prayers of thanks are to be given after meals, and again when returning for the

night. One should always be busy during the day, "doing some profitable thing to avoid sloth". At 3 p.m. in winter and 4 p.m. in summer is the time for evensong. Southwell also interested himself in housekeeping: "It is good for me sometimes to go about the rooms of the house and to see that they be kept clean and handsome". Before supper, "it will be good to read some part of some good book." Supper was at six, and "drinking times or fasting days seven of the clock". After supper "I may talk ... or walk for my health, or read some pleasant yet profitable book, as Catholic histories or such like". On holy days, he was to rise an hour or half an hour earlier than usual". On Saturday evenings or nights he confesses to God. Every Sunday and high feast, "and all the festival days of Christ, our Lady, the Apostles, and such other principal holy days, I must prepare myself the day before to receive". At the beginning of each week "I must foresee what holy days there are in the same that I may the better prepare myself for them". Housekeeping figures yet again in his activities. He interests himself in household accounts: "I must twice a week at least go see into the offices of the house and survey the household book". But if he was wholly in charge of the households, "if I have the government of it wholly in mine own hands I must do it oftener". Thrift and good household management were to be assiduously followed, "having regard that waste and lavishing be avoided, frugality used." Southwell probably in the Arundel household, saw himself as a steward, who was accountable to God for any mismanagement. He wrote of the necessity for "behaving myself in the demeaning of temporal things rather as a steward or bailiff of another's goods than an owner of mine own, seeing that in truth I must at my dying day be liable to God how I have spent every farthing". Servants should be closely watched, that they "be not idle nor suffered to use any great gaming". Idleness leads them "into lewd life", and gambling "into swearing, unthriftiness, robbing and such vices."¹¹⁷

Southwell exerted a benign influence on Anne Dacres. She had deep faith in his powers of edification. She "persuade(d) herself that what she apprehended would really succeed": Her biographer states that "Five years or thereabouts he continued with her."¹¹⁸ After his death she obtained, as a sacred relic, one of Southwell's footbones which she had set in gold and "kept it as a relique of great esteem and wore it around her neck till her dying day."¹¹⁹ This relic worked, quite literally, like

a charm. "She esteem'd it ye more because by frequent experience she found much help thereby for ye easing of sundry paines and infirmitys to which she was subject": Southwell had successfully treated Ann Dacre's ailments. She once suffered from "a hard bunch or swelling of great bigness risen in one of her sides", and was unwilling to let physicians "be admitted to the sight thereof": She requested Southwell "to make ye sign of ye Cross over that part of her garment under which it was". Her biographer tells how after that "she found herself perfectly cured without applying any other remedy, as her self told me often times". Southwell appeared to have potent powers of sedation. One of Anne Dacres' gentlewomen, faithful and discreet but staunchly non-Catholic, before her death "being frightened by a vision of devils ready to hold and carry her away, she prayed for Southwell's attendance. He came promptly and provided all comfort for her soul".¹²⁰

Southwell sought to assuage the grief and distress the Catholic gentry and aristocracy suffered from through profuse displays of sorrow in his poetry intended to draw away the sorrows of his co-religionists on the basis that sorrows shared are sorrows halved. Sorrow in Southwell's writings descend to abject, self-contemptuous misery. In "Saint Peter's complaint" he writes:

Ah wretch how oft have I sweet lessons read
In those deare eies the registers of truth?¹²¹

He teaches that one should resign oneself to giving freely to others, even while one is in perpetual discomfort. This form of giving while in distress is in itself a form of comfort.

My Comfort now is comfortless to live,
In Orphan seate devoted to mishap:
Rent from the roote, that sweetest fruit did give.¹²²

In spite of the silence, the loneliness and grief, it is rebuke that shakes one to attention. Thus every form of distress has its positive side:

Heere solitary muses nurse my griefes,
In silent lonenesse burying worldly noyse,
Attentive to rebukes, deafe to reliefes,

Pensive to foster cares, careless of joyes:
Suing lifes losse under deathes dreary roofes,
Solemnizing my funerall behoofes.¹²³

By early February 1587 Southwell, encouraged by Anne Dacres, was taking steps to have his "Epistle of Comfort" published. The Countess, profiting immensely from the therapy of Southwell's ministrations sought to make them available to women recusants generally whose menfolk were languishing in prison. Publishing the Epistle would greatly raise the morale of afflicted Catholic families. On January 12th 1587 Southwell wrote to Aquaviva, "The work of God is being pressed forward - sometimes by delicate women who have taken on the courage of men".¹²⁴ There are references to a printer supplying the Countess in 1587 with a printing press which was installed in the Charterhouse round about February 8th 1587.¹²⁵ The Epistle could thus conceivably have been printed in the Charterhouse in 1587 by John Charlewood, a publisher specialising in play-bills who styled himself until 1585 "Printer to the Rt Hon. the Earl of Arundel" and who earlier had evidently supplied machinery and labour for printing books in Charterhouse.¹²⁶ Devlin suggests that Charlewood was bribed to move the press from Charterhouse to a house in Acton, Middlesex, owned by the Countess. After the secret publication of the Epistle Southwell had to lie lower still at Arundel House. It was an intelligent hide. No one would suspect a Catholic priest to be hiding between the two great mansions of Burleigh and Leicester. But prior to the publication, Garnet came down from Leicestershire to confer with Southwell, presumably about the publication of the Epistle.¹²⁷ Fr. Caraman suggests that Garnet, shortly after February, transferred the press to "a house he himself rented and workmen were engaged and both his and Southwell's books were produced".¹²⁸ Thus, eight months after their arrival Southwell and Garnet were carrying out Aquaviva's orders, "to publish books for Catholic instruction and edification". Aquaviva lauded all their efforts in a letter dated February 20th 1587 in which he congratulated them on "the stations you have established, on your labours, your good health, on dangers escaped, and on the courage with which you face the future".¹²⁹

What is known about Southwell during the rest of 1587 is that he worked closely with Garnet, redirecting incoming priests to various parts

of the country. Prior to their arrival in 1586, priests landing in England were on their own, and their rate of capture was high.

Earlier on in 1587, the condition of Catholics in England had deteriorated so as to arouse serious concern on the Continent. Southwell's grand-uncle Sir Richard Shelley was pressing that he should be sent to England to persuade the Queen to relax her coercion against Catholics. Persons wrote to Don Juan De Idiaquez, Secretary of State to Philip II in February 1587 that Shelley wanted to conclude some agreement with Elizabeth for the relief of Catholics, so that they may "at least have some liberty to conscience". Persons writes that Shelley "has great hope and confidence that he can now do so owing to the special favour in which he is persuaded that the Queen holds him above all Catholics overseas, due to his loyalty to her ... in as much as he has opposed at various times all those who would have counselled war against her Kingdom and promoted it".¹³⁰

Shelley's attempts at making contacts with Elizabeth for Catholic relief were futile, News of the execution of Mary Stuart reached Rome on March 24th 1587. Shortly afterwards Allen and Persons drew up a "Memorandum Concerning the Succession to the English Crown" and the Expedition against England.¹³¹ In this Memorandum Allen and Persons discuss in full the claimants of both houses of York and Lancaster to the English throne, which would have incensed Elizabeth deeply. The Succession and the "Enterprise" were closely linked as Allen and Persons explain:-

"...if the question of the succession ... alone be discussed and talked about generally before the enterprise is completed, much opposition will arise from various princes; all which would be cut short by the enterprise itself and the establishment of his (Catholic) Majesty's legitimate succession, a result which would follow without any difficulty from the enterprise".

They then give nine reasons why this should be so. The reasons given include: no one can claim to succeed by the House of Lancaster; the Yorkist claimants are unfit through heresy; because Mary Stuart had willed that Philip should be her successor; that Philip has a right to exact

retribution for Mary's blood; that Spain had already incurred great costs in Flanders and elsewhere and has a right to claim England as payment; that the Lutheran Council gives to all Catholic princes the Kingdoms they can take from heretics if there are no Catholic heirs to claim them; and finally "the Commonwealth of the Catholics in England ... will with the greatest unanimity and joy embrace his Majesty's succession".¹³² A Memorandum of Allen or Persons, or both, dated circa June 1587, entitled "Some points on which His Majesty's Decision is Desired at the earliest moment, the matters themselves demanding this urgency" pointed out that:

"There are a number of Englishmen on this side of the water this year whom it would be necessary to send to England a little in advance of the expedition which is to follow, in order to prepare the way with certain principal parties in the kingdom giving them some sort of commission or general instructions, but without their knowing the secrets of the expedition itself."¹³³

The memorandum then outlines the claims of Philip II to the English throne:

"...the line of the King of Spain is the only one now remaining in the world that traces from the House of Lancaster, and that in this respect he clearly takes precedence, not only (over) other competitors, but also of the whole of the line of Scotland and England which descends from King Henry VII"¹³⁴ (See below on Persons' A Conference about the next succession)

Thus, 1587 was the year in which the storm which broke out the following year was gathering. The persecution of the Armada year had its very probable causes in the machinations of Catholic exiles in Rome and their designs on England and its throne. All Jesuits in England would be the prime suspects in any attempt of this kind. The Head of the Jesuit mission in England enjoyed a great deal of power and privilege from the Catholic hierarchy and was thereby a source of great danger to Elizabeth's government. In "Instructions Given to Fr. Robert Persons and

Fr. Edmund Campion, The founders of the mission" it was decreed that "Fr. Robert will be in charge of all who are now being sent, until otherwise determined, and all are to obey him as they would ourselves. And, so that he may be the better able to give consolation to all in every event, we gra him all privileges faculties and favours ... that we have power to grant ... and those that we ordinarily give to Provincials inthe Society".¹³⁵

The Year of the Armada - 1588

In January 1588 Southwell and Weston had met briefly, probably in Southwell's quarters at Arundel House - their first meeting since July 1586. Southwell was concentrating his efforts on London prisons. That month Weston, in the Clink prison (in Southwark near London Bridge), was about to be transferred to Wisbeach Castle (near the Cambridge/Norfolk border).¹³⁶ By February 1588 Southwell had been providing accommodation for priests arriving from Rome and Rheims. Some he lodged in Fleet Street where he had friends (see below), others in Gray's Inn fields, Clerkenwell and other outlying districts.¹³⁷ He was supervising several priests in London prior to their being sent to the shires - Richard Leigh, Christopher Buxton, Robert Moreton, Robert Charnock, Robert Gray - all were his former pupils. From Rheims two missionaries had arrived, Anthony Middleton and William Gunter - the first was posted to Clerkenwell, the other to Fleet Street.¹³⁸ The Armada year, 1588, was an extremely difficult one for Southwell. The impending war with Spain would jeopardize Catholics still further. In a letter to Aquaviva dated July 10th 1588 Southwell describes the imprisonment of Catholics since early that year, first at Ely then in prisons and castles throughout the country as a result of rumours of an invasion. Branded as traitors, they languished in detention awaiting the turn of events. Diplomatic sources in London believed that English Catholics would rise against Elizabeth only with foreign assistance. As early as February 9th 1582 Mendoza, the Spanish Ambassador, wrote that "without foreign assistance the English Catholics would not rise against their government".¹³⁹ In March 1583 Mendoza described English Catholics as "paralyzed with fear, though their courageous adherence to the faith does not grow weaker". He felt sure

they would call for the King of Spain, if upon the death of Elizabeth a strong Spanish army were to appear on the Coast. In April 1587 a Spanish sailor was reported to have heard that "great numbers of English would take the Spaniards side".¹⁴⁰ Detention of Catholics was thus due to the widely held view that their sympathies were overwhelmingly pro-Spanish, moreover, between 1581 and 1587 plots against the Queen's life "were freely talked about": On March 1st 1582 Dr. Owen Lewis wrote to the Cardinal of Como "When I was in Rome, an English gentleman wrote to me from Belgium, offering to kill the Queen, if the Pope would deposit 10,000 gold crowns with his Nuncio in France, to be paid to the assassin after the commission of the deed".¹⁴¹ Aside from genuine conspiracies there was a plethora of sham plots which kept rumours rife and tensions high. One George Elliot devised a fictitious plot whereby two priests, 'Payne' and 'Johnson' had allegedly told him that fifty armed men should ambush the Queen while she "took the air", kill her, "and tie her by the hair unto a horse, to be lugged and haled up and down, to the joy (of) all Catholics and distress of all heretics".¹⁴² The Jesuits were also implicated in real plots against the Queen of England. The Nuncio Ragazzoni wrote to the Cardinal of Como in Rome on March 10th 1585 from Paris: The father Provincial of the Jesuits told me to-day that Father Crichton has been asked in England whether he knows that the Pope deposited 12,000 scudi ... (with) Fr. Claude [Mattieu], the Jesuit, to procure the assassination of the Queen of England.¹⁴³

Thus, rumours of a Spanish invasion, of plots and sham plots against the Queen, were stoking the fires against Catholics. The two were closely connected. Plots against the Queen's life were seen as a vital strategic role in the Armada campaign; far more so than a wishful Catholic uprising simultaneous to an invasion. Philip II, in a letter to the Prince of Parma of September 1586 dismissed the military significance of such a Catholic uprising in England. "The Spanish" he was convinced, knew already "the best method to manage the invasion" and therein "these (English) Catholics will be of small advantage to us". Their only role, he felt, might be the provision of useful assistance "in the protection of our eventual conquests".¹⁴⁴ In fact, Philip II had been warned by several advisors not to count on English Catholics, who had had no military training for thirty years, during which they lived in perpetual terror of

their government.¹⁴⁵

In short, by 1588 Southwell's co-religionists were persecuted as active enemy agents when, in fact, the enemy had little respect for their usefulness. Executions of Catholic priests continued. On August 26th 1588 Richard Leigh (c. 1561-1588) one of Southwell's star pupils at the Roman College was condemned to death at Sessions Hall Without Newgate and executed on August 30th, aged twenty-seven.^{sn146} Southwell described the plight of Catholics to Aquaviva:

I felt uncertain whether it was better to confine to home my lament over our domestic calamity, or to impart to other nations the inward sorrow we here alone endure ... the trials of the afflicted cannot be related without speaking of the tyranny of the oppressors".¹⁴⁷

To add further to insult and injury, anti-Spanish hatred was being whipped up to frenzied hysteria. Thomas Deloney, balladeer, accused Spain of wanting:

To kill and murder man and wife
As malice doth arise;
And to deflower
Our virgins in our sight;
And in the cradle cruelly
The tender babe to smite.

A tract entitled "A Skeltonical Salutation or Condign Congratulation and Just Vexation of The Spanishe Nation" written to mock Spain on its defeat tells that Englishmen might cease to eat fish because it feasted on Spanish flesh, but, all is well: Fish could be eaten as it cannot transmit venereal diseases and other poxes infesting the Spanish flesh it had feasted upon.¹⁴⁸ The most vitriolic of anti-Spanish writing describes in lurid detail, the Spaniards' ... "insatiate avarice ... Tigerish cruelty... filthy monstrous and abominable luxury" ... People were warned of the Spaniards ... "wasteful burning of thy houses, their lustful and inhuman deflowering of thy matrons, wives and daughters ... their sodomitical ravishing of young boys ... committed in the presence of aged burgesses that were fathers, brethren or husbands of those tormented

patients, who to grieve them the more while they committed all these execrable villainies and outrageous cruelties, did tie and chain them at their bed's feet" ...¹⁴⁹

Southwell had to endure, and operate in, this atmosphere of vitriolic almost insane, hatred. The Catholics were supposed to be allies of Spain. M. Maltby argues that English Anti-Hispanism was a unique feeling: Spain's deeds were no more outrageous than those of other nations. No reciprocal Anglophobia developed in Spain. The reason Maltby gives is that England had a large Catholic community, a considerable Puritan one, and a mass in between the two whose religious beliefs ranged from staunch Anglicanism to complete indifference. Protestants and Puritans were apt to feel that the majority of Englishmen were in need of exhortation. Their lukewarm support for Protestant causes was reprehensible. They could not rest until they - 'Catholics, Anglicans, and heathens alike - had been brought to an edifying state of hatred for the "Romish Babylon and Spanish Periander"'.¹⁵⁰ Thus Southwell not only had to contend with religious persecution, but with his co-religionists being labelled as sympathizers of an enemy power the hatred of which was almost an insane one.

Burleigh explained to the Queen her Catholic problem: Their numbers are very great. They could not be yet more harshly coerced. Massacring them in large numbers would be difficult. Coming to terms with them means appeasement at the expense of the Queen's own convictions and policies. Burleigh suggests in his 'Memorial of 1584' entitled "An Antidote against Jesuitism written by the Lord Treasurer Burleigh to Queen Elizabeth" that their loyalties be divided by a new oath of allegiance, to answer "yes" or "no" to the question: "If the Pope were to send an invading army, would you fight him?" A "yes" reply would be denying Papal supremacy and a renunciation of Catholicism; "no" would be self-incrimination as a traitor. This method had been used during the execution of priests. Richard Leigh was asked to reply "yes" or "no" to the question whether or not the Queen was Supreme Head of the Church. Replying "no" he was immediately hanged (see note 146).¹⁵¹ How were the captured priests to answer when interrogated by Burleigh's new method?

The solution was explained by Southwell "... when the answers of priests might entail disaster on the Catholic body, it was thought more

prudent to use language that was truthful and yet would not irritate the magistrates".¹⁵² Priests were directed to reply that it was unlawful for them to bear arms; that their prayers were offered to God to favour the side on which his cause and that of justice stood": All to no avail. "The judges" wrote Southwell "had already made up their minds that all must suffer the death penalty, the fact that the prisoners were priests, or had befriended priests, or had been reconciled to the Catholic church, being considered sufficient evidence against them". Executions began on August 28th 1588. "Thirteen were sentenced to death on one day" wrote Southwell "and two on another day", (John Lowe and Richard Leigh - executed August 30th), among whom were six priests, seven laymen and one woman". He describes the anti-Hispanic feelings of the street mob during the executions:

It was strange to hear with what incessant shouts the mob followed them to the scaffold, uttering all manner of harsh and savage abuse against the servants of God ... There was an extraordinary concourse of citizens, and a crowd surging on all sides ... The martyrs were hung in various groups here and there about the city, by twos and threes and even singly, on six specially erected gibbets ... like robbers they were conveyed to the place of execution in carts ... one priest, William Dean, was making strenuous efforts to address the crowd, they gagged his mouth with a cloth ... In the case of some the horses were whipped up, and (the prisoners) were carried outside the city and were put to death in the neighbouring townships.^{sn153}

From early November 1588 till about the end of December, Southwell left London for the country to escape the harrowing effects of the executions. Evidently, Garnet suggested he take a seven-week tour. "My companion" wrote Garnet "is now out of London snatching souls for heaven in a freer atmosphere".¹⁵⁴ His object was to bolster Catholic morale outside London, severely shaken by the recent horrific executions; which were so effective that by December there appeared to be only three Catholic priests left in England - Southwell, Garnet and Weston. John Gerard

(1564-1637), arriving in London in December writes: "when I reached London some Catholics helped me to find Father Henry Garnet who was then Superior. Apart from him the only other Jesuit priests in England at the time were Fr. Edmund Weston (William) in Wisbeach gaol, ... Father Robert Southwell, and the two of us who had just landed".^{sn155}

The itinerary of Southwell's tour is not clear. But he did go, it seems, to Braddocks, home of the Wiseman family, near Saffron Waldon (Essex). Braddocks then was a magnificent imposing mansion, standing in a fine deer park, and though two thirds of it was pulled down it still survives and was occupied in the 1950's as a farmhouse. John Gerard used a secret hide at Braddocks, so it did offer sufficient shelter and protection for Southwell to stay there for a while.¹⁵⁶ Southwell in his letter of December 28th 1588 mentions visiting Catholics in Ely Prison. A straight line from Braddocks to Ely, Devlin deduces, passes through Cambridge where Southwell may well have met "the bevy of Aristocratic youths" mentioned in his December letter. After Cambridgeshire nothing is known of Southwell's movements.

By the end of December 1588, Southwell hurried back to London after hearing that Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel was to stand trial. On his arrival he probably stayed at the Acton House, Middlesex, which the Countess had hired and at another house "at the Spittle without Bishopsgate".¹⁵⁷ The Earl's trial for high treason was an indicator that the defeat of the Armada did not signify that Spain was no longer a threat, and that the Queen could consider her Catholic noblemen spent, harmless entitles. The defeat of the Armada in 1588 seriously damaged Spain's prestige, but it did not destroy it completely. Due to events in France, especially the reception of King Henry IV of France into the Catholic Church on July 13th 1593, Philip II's power on land was even more significant than it was before the Armada.¹⁵⁸ Robert Persons was in Madrid, possibly carrying messages from William Allen to Philip II "on the prospects of the forcible restoration of Catholicism in England" and had secured from Spain better payments for the seminaries of Douai, Rheims and a new College in Spain.^{sn159} On December 23rd 1588 the Duke of Guise was assassinated, thereby creating a power vacuum which Philip II was most anxious to fill; and had he done so, France would, for all intents and purposes be very heavily influenced by Spain.

Thus, even after 1588 the Spanish/Catholic threat to Elizabeth was a real one. She saw no relaxation in the Spanish pressure on her, and did not relax her own measure against Catholics at home. Reacting in her usual manner, she took it out on English Catholics by bringing her foremost Catholic nobleman to trial. Philip Howard admitted to Southwell that he had "wished well to the Spaniards; for he was a godson of Philip II, and years before he had publicly rebuked Francis Drake for speaking disrespectfully of King Philip".¹⁶⁰ The affinity between the Southwells and the Howards were rooted in local Norfolk tradition; for at Horsham St. Faith according to Pollen "fealty to the Howard Dukes was strongest".¹⁶¹

Preparations for the trial were begun early in 1589. The Earl was convicted and sentenced to death, though it seems the Queen wanted only the sentence, not its execution. In fact, he lived on in prison until his death in 1595. The execution, however, could have been carried out any day for weeks. During this nerve-shattering period the convicted Earl was in dire need of Southwell's comforting ministrations. "I beseech you, for the love of God", the nobleman pleaded with the priest "procure me to be remember'd in the morning of my Execution in as many ways as you can by that meane which you know most effectual to do me good, and by ... a mass at the hour of my last conflict".¹⁶² Southwell gave him steadfast consolation: "The present condition of your soul is such that you can expect at no other time to possess ... It will not be so unpleasant on account of the loss it will bring as delightful on account of the miseries it will cut off".¹⁶³

Southwell's association with Anne Dacres came to an end by December 1590. Lord Hunsdon, a bitter enemy of her husband, appropriated Arundel House in that month; though the Countess was allowed to retain some rooms and to use the garden. The Countess then moved to a house at Bishopsgate,¹⁶⁴ a much smaller house which could not provide the protection that Arundel House had given Southwell.

1590 - The Year of the Mermaid

By January 1590, Southwell had very little to report. A dull, after-the-storm inaction seems to have pervaded the scene. In his first letter of the year to Aquaviva dated January 16th 1590, Southwell had no hard news to convey. Instead he chatted amusingly about whales "forty to sixty

feet" long washed ashore in the North and, incredibly, of a mermaid - "a woman formed like a fish from the waist down" who "rose from the sea and sat on a rock singing": Eventually, writes Southwell, someone let off a shot at her and "with a loud and very piteous wail she dived from the rock and was seen no more". Returning to more serious matters, he reported that he and Garnet were organizing "their different provinces and were working hard at reclaiming souls".¹⁶⁵

Late in February, Southwell and John Gerard set out for Warwickshire. To deflect curiosity about their true identity they posed as two young gentlemen out for a week's hunting, talking only about falconry with strangers. In the "Epistle to the Reader" of Mary Magdalen's Funerall Teares, he writes:

Yet sith the copies thereof flew so fast, and false abroad that it was in danger to come corrupted to the print, it seemed a lesse evill to let it flie to common view in the native plume, and with the own wings, than disguised in a coat of bastard feather, or cast off from the fist of such a corrector, as might happily have perished the sound, and stuck in some sick and sorry feathers of his own phansies.¹⁶⁶

In Southwell's Epistle of Comfort metaphors are drawn from natural history. Margaret Waugh suggests that this might reflect the current interest in animals generated by a small zoo housed in the tower, and by a popular work. John Maplet's A Greene Forest or Naturall Historie (1567); part III of which deals with beasts, fowls and fishes.^{sn167}

Southwell and Gerard were heading for Baddesley Clinton, Warwickshire. This attractive Fifteenth century moated manor house in the "Arden" countryside of Warwickshire is situated six miles Northwest of Warwick and ten miles due North of Stratford-upon-Avon (OS 131:SP200714).¹⁶⁸ It was then in the possession of the Vaux sisters, Eleanor and Ann. With increasing pressure on them in London, the Vaux family through Weston's intercession with Lord Windsor who had attended the Hurleyford conference (see above), had obtained a lease of Baddesley Clinton. A property which in the 1580's was known to have had harboured Marian priests. In January 1584, a William Skinner of Ronnington, a mile and a half South of

Baddesley Clinton had been in trouble for entertaining an old Marian priest called Robert Baker, and in 1590 Robert Whately - "an old massing priest" and one "Hales, a very old massing preeste" were all within the near vicinity of Baddesley Clinton. Baddesley Clinton's popularity with priests is shown by the number of priest-holes there. One was found in the Nineteenth and another in the present century. The first was a lath-and-plaster hutch in the roof above a closet off a bedroom in the gate house block. The second was a medieval sewer in the west wing in which Garnet, Gerard and Southwell and four other priests were concealed by the Vaux sisters on October 18th 1591 (see below).¹⁶⁹

Not much is known about Southwell's stay at Baddesley Clinton in February 1590, except that efforts were made to re-establish from that property the Catholic religion in that part of England. In his letter of March 3rd 1590, written on his return to London from Warwickshire, Southwell wrote "We have all together with the greatest joy renewed the vows of our Society according to our custom, spending some days in mutual exhortations and conferences ... I saw the cradle of the Catholic religion which is now being born in England ..." ¹⁷⁰ The object of the trip to Warwickshire was to assess Baddesley Clinton as a possible base for future action should London become uninhabitable for Southwell and Garnet.

Southwell returned to London sometime during the first week of March. On March 4th, Christopher Bales (1564-1590), a priest who came to work in England in 1588 was executed at Fetter Lane, Fleet Street together with Nicholas Horner and Alexander Blake, two laymen hanged the same day for "relieving and assisting him". Southwell mentions these executions in the second of two letters he wrote to Rome, both dated March 8th 1590.^{sn171} Where Southwell stayed in London after his return there in March is unknown. With increasing surveillance and harassment, recusants were being hauled to Bridewell in increasing numbers. Southwell, in his letter of January 1590 describes Bridewell as a "slaughter house where the cruelties inflicted are scarcely credible": The food was "so filthy and nauseous, that the very sight of it was enough to turn their stomachs".¹⁷²

An Account of Richard Topcliffe

In this letter of January 1590, Richard Topcliffe, the vicious pursuivant and priest hunter is mentioned by Southwell for the first time. A short analysis of Topcliffe's career and the effects it had on Southwell's capture, trial and execution are appropriate within the present context:

Richard Topcliffe may well have owed his rise to his brother-in-law Thomas Brudenell of Deene, Northants (d. August 6th 1587), who married Topcliffe's sister Ann and Topcliffe came every year with his wife to stay at the Brudenell home of Deene.¹⁷³ Ann was also first cousin to Edmund Brudenell's wife, Agnes Bussy. Topcliffe had been brought up as a child with Agnes and on this basis was admitted by Agnes's husband, Edmund Brudenell, as a kinsman and a friend, to Deene. But, as it turned out, Topcliffe "was a sinister figure, and did much to foment the strife between Edmund and his wife". At Elizabeth's accession the Brudenells, due to their unrivalled knowledge of their locality, provided invaluable military, judicial and administrative services. Edmund Brudenell, was on the Commission of the Peace whose quarter sessions were held at Northampton Castle's Great Hall. He sat with Burleigh's eldest son Thomas Cecil and others such as Sir Walter Mildmay and Sir William Fitzwilliam: "They all dined together after their day's work at one of the local inns, possibly 'The Angel' in Bridge Street, or 'The Peacock' in Market Square". They discussed national and county affairs and "retailed to each other the gossip from their own districts". Edmund Brudenell quickly won the Council's approval as a dependable man. He was on the Commission for Musters, was deputy Lieutenant; High Sheriff of Northants in 1564 and 1577, and High Sheriff of Rutland in 1588. He received the Council's thanks for his "Diligence and Pains" in tracking down jewels stolen by robbers from Mary Queen of Scots while she was held prisoner at Wingfield, near Tutbury, Derbyshire. The Council suspected that the jewels were intended to finance Mary's friends overseas. Edmund Burdenell also helped suppress the Earls of Northumberland and Cumberland's rebellions by providing trained troops. Edmund Brudenell was personally known to the Queen, who visited 'Deene' in 1566.¹⁷⁴ Thus, Brudenell may well have mentioned his kinsman Richard Topcliffe as a possibility for rendering dependable service to the Council. Born in Sowerby, Lincolnshire circa

1532, son of Robert Topcliffe, a country gentleman; Richard Topcliffe had ambitions early in life. We find him attending a great banquet as a guest of the Duke of Norfolk given in honour of the Earls of Northumberland and Huntington in 1562; his name appearing on the guest list as "Mr Rychard Topclyff of Lyncolnesheere"; the same banquet to which Southwell's grandfather Sir Richard Southwell was invited.¹⁷⁵ After the collapse of the 1569 abortive uprising, and while spoils were shared by the victors, Topcliffe petitioned for the lands of Richard Norton, "The Standard bearer" of the rising. Very possibly through the influence of Edmund Brudenell, he got something of the spoils. He speaks of "Lynton, a town sometime old Richard Norton's, the rebel in the North, now the Queen's Majesty's and under the charge and rule of Richard Topcliffe her Majesty's Servant".¹⁷⁶ He was returned MP for Beverly in 1572. In 1581 he appeared on Burleigh's payroll and was given the job of pursuivant and priest-hunter. He was the Queen's and Burleigh's - rather than Walsingham's - protege.¹⁷⁷

There is no question about Richard Topcliffe's evil nature. He was described accurately by Henry Garnet as "Homo Sordidissimus".¹⁷⁸ In employing him Burleigh and the Queen were making apt and judicious use of his monolithic evil power, employing it against what they saw as the Evil of Jesuit machinations and conspiratorial activity. The use of "Evil against Evil" is a common ploy in histories of political oppression as depicted in theatrical and operatic history in which Topcliffe could well have appeared as a stock character. One is reminded here of the lewd and depraved police chief, Baron Scarpia, in Puccini's Tosca.

Topcliffe's career was given a boost by Walsingham's death in April 1590. Walsingham's secret service was not deemed to have been up to the challenge posed by the Jesuit threat. A contemporary writer using modern parlance describes Walsingham as not being "a KGB chief, but a conscientious, overworked, understaffed government official ... combining the function of Home and Foreign secretaries, head of M15 and Special Branch". The whole service depended on Walsingham's "flair to sort out the mass of ... apparently unrelated material which flowed through his office, piece it together and make from it a coherent whole ... which required infinite patience ... and the talent for spotting the single relevant fact".¹⁷⁹ After Walsingham's death Burleigh was desperate for a

suitable replacement. With no one available with Walsingham's patience, fortitude and studiousness, Topcliffe's evil brute force was the next best alternative. The barbarous persecution and torture that Southwell and others endured in the 1590's were due mainly to Topcliffe taking over after Walsingham's death. Walsingham, though bitterly anti-Catholic, "had a certain grim sense of propriety". He would not have allowed the law to be taken fully and uncontrollably into private hands as Topcliffe allowed himself the liberty to do. The Queen, seeing that neither the defeat of the Armada, nor Walsingham's secret-service had protected her from the Jesuit threat, decided in "revulsion and desperation" to give Topcliffe full powers and a free hand. From 1590 onwards Bridewell prison was put at his - and Young's - disposal. Topcliffe lived in a private house annexed to the prison built originally by Edward VI "for strumpets, rioters, and vagabonds. (where) Promiscuity, whippings, nakedness, and shameful postures on the treadmill", were daily occurrences.¹⁸⁰

1591 - The Gathering Storm

The rise of Topcliffe had sent shivers down many a spine. The full powers he was given coincided with wide-scale reports of Spanish and Jesuit intervention in English affairs, the most widespread activity of its kind since the Armada. By May 1591, Burleigh was getting disturbing reports about a new Jesuit missionary offensive. On May 21st one John Snowdon, an agent, wrote that Persons procured authority from the King of Spain to send to England a fresh batch of priests newly graduated from his seminaries in Spain. They were to be sent by the circuitous route of Biscay, Galicia, Brittany and Ireland. Four priests named as "Fisher, Blunt, Dudley and Younger" were presented at Court, then sailed from Seville in three different vessels disguised as soldiers.¹⁸¹ Persons was assuring the King of Spain that the English Catholics were his to command; and that they depend on him for their directions. John Snowdon was a double agent who was in contact with both Persons and Burleigh. Persons had told Snowdon "to talk about the succession, and persuade Catholics to cast their eye upon Lord Strange, if he would correspond with the Cardinal and with Catholics on promise of help from his cousin, Sir W^m. Stanley": However, "...this was to be revealed to none but Southwell or Garnet ...". Snowdon was thus providing Burleigh with very alarming information about

Sir William Stanley, information about whose forthcoming aid to his cousin Lord Strange only Southwell and Garnet were to be entrusted with. Stanley, Snowdon reported, "who has 3600 crowns pension, ... went to Flanders, hoping to be sent with 1000 men and 30 ships to Ireland" and Parsons offered to go with him".¹⁸²

Southwell, therefore, was being seen in a dangerously new light by 1591 - that of a serious connection between a new impending "Armada" and Catholics in England. An agent, John Fixer, alias Thomas Wilson, also wrote [to Cecil?] on May 21st 1591 that he was instructed by Persons, Sir Francis Engelfield and Sir William Stanley to play down the possibility of a new invasion of England and "to remove from Catholics' minds the fear of conquest and assure them that the Spanish King only intended to reform religion and set up a Catholic King allied to Spain".¹⁸³ The very next day, May 22nd 1591, Thomas Wilson reported that Sir William Stanley "wants much to land with 2,000 or 3,000 men in England, and thinks he can do much, but does not hope much from an attempt upon Ireland": Wilson mentions that he heard that "Southwell and Garnet, Jesuits are the principal priests in England". The day after that, on May 23rd, Snowdon mentions a packet containing "Southwell's relation of the death of certain priests" among the list of parcels left in Gilbert Jacob's ship in Amsterdam".¹⁸⁴ On July 7th 1591, Snowdon wrote to Cecil that he hopes to get wind of Southwell and Garnet in Flanders".¹⁸⁵ This shows that Southwell and Garnet's disguise and undercover work in England was so successfully impenetrable that Flanders was considered the next best listening post.

A scenario thus emerges whereby Burleigh was receiving alarming reports of a new invasion plan aided and abetted by Jesuits such as Southwell, Persons and Garnet in league with Catholic noblemen like Strange and Stanley. This required stern coercive counter measures. Topcliffe was given a free hand to "deal" with suspects. With the "heat" on in London, Southwell and John Gerard decided to withdraw to the relative security of Baddesley Clinton which they had previously explored. The two priest rode out in the autumn of 1591, heading for Warwickshire where a conference of priests and laymen was being held at Baddesley Clinton. The object of the meeting was to discuss how to reconcile the purely religious aspirations of the English Jesuit mission with the

increasing political and "Conspiratorial" activities with which English Catholic priests had been labelled. The meeting lasted from October 14th to the 19th, 1591.¹⁸⁶

The conference proceeded in a calm orderly manner till the evening of the 18th. Suddenly someone asked a question: "What would we do if the priest-hunters broke in without warning?" There were insufficient hides for all the nine or ten Jesuits and other priests and laymen present. At dinner that evening, Garnet, the Jesuit superior, said he was unable to guarantee the safety of all those present after dinner was over. After dinner, some took horse and left, leaving five Jesuits and two secular priests behind.¹⁸⁷ At five o'clock next morning, October 19th 1591, Southwell was about to start mass, Gerard was meditating and the rest were at prayer. Suddenly, there was a great uproar. Shouting was heard downstairs. "Someone was swearing at a servant for refusing him entrance". Four pursuivants with swords drawn were pounding at the door demanding entry, but it was held fast by a faithful servant. Southwell slipped off his vestments and gathered the altar things. Calmly but quickly belongings were gathered so as not to leave any tell tale marks. Servants still held the door shut, saying that the mistress, a widow was still not up but would be down presently. "This gave us enough time" says John Gerard" to stow ourselves and all our belongings into a very cleverly built sort of cave".¹⁸⁸

This "cave" was a medieval sewer in the west wing, converted into a hiding place.¹⁸⁹ The chapel was on the upper floor of the west wing. A narrow passage, twenty-two inches wide and about four feet high runs the full length of this wing, turns east and runs for twelve feet under the end of the wing. This passage, a sewer, stops at the wing's South end, and terminates in a square hold just above the moat's waterline. Its total length is eighty-five feet. In the floor of the sacristy, below a window is a modern trapdoor beneath which a shaft twenty-two inches by forty-four inches, leads to the passage; to the sewer. It was originally designed for just such a purpose as Southwell and his companions made use of -viz. a means of escape. At the end of the sewer, a plank could be pushed out over the moat on wheels or rollers.¹⁹⁰ Also at its end there was a slot, or grooving, into which a slab could be raised and lowered to let out sewage into the moat. Seven weeks after this search Southwell

wrote in the Humble Supplication, as if recalling this sewer:

"If any displeasing accident fall out, whereof the Authors are either vnknowne or ashamed, Catholiques are made common Fathers of such infamous Orphanes, as though none were so fitt sluces as they, to let out of euery mans sinke these vnsavoury reproaches".¹⁹¹

Gerard describes how he, Southwell and a few others hid in this sewer. "When they (the pursuivants) had gone", he narrates "... a lady came and called us out of our den ... The hiding-place was below ground level; the floor was covered with water and I was standing with my feet in it all the time. Father Garnet was there; also Father Southwell and Father Oldcorne"¹⁹²

Southwell returned to London by the end of October. By then the 'Great Proclamation' of 1591, had appeared, dated October 28th 1591. Its title is self-explanatory: "A declaration of great troubles pretended against the Realme by a number of Seminarie Priests and Iesuits, sent, and very secretly dispersed in the same, to worke great Treasons vnder a false pretence of Religion, with a prouision very necessary for remedy thereof. Published by this her Maiesties Proclamation".¹⁹³

The proclamation of 1591 was an attempt to plead intelligently for people's understanding of what the Queen was trying to defend the realm against.

"the former violence & rigor of the malice of our enemies (specially of the King of Spaine)". The Queen's enemies, the Proclamation declares had "practiced with certaine principall seditious heads, being vnnatural subiects of our Kingdom (but yet very base of birth) to gather together with great labors vpon his charges, (the King of Spain's) a multitude of dissolute yong men, who haue partly for lack of liuing, partely for crimes committed become Fugitiues, Rebelles, and Traitors, and for whom there are in Rome, and Spaine, and other places certaine receptacles made to liue in, and there to be intructed in Schoole pointes of Sedition, and from thence to be secretly and by stealth conueyed into our Dominions, with

ample authoritie from Rome, to mooue, stirre vp, and perswade as many of our subiects, as they dare deale withall, to renounce their naturall allegeance due to vs and our Crowne, ..."

Towards, this end, the Proclamation accuses the Jesuits of binding the Queen's subjects "to yield their obedience to Spaine", and promising heaven to those "as will yealde". It accuses the seminarians of facilitating yet another Spanish invasion, promising the Spanish King that "thousands ... will be ready to assist such power as he shall set on land". For this purpose, Jesuits are now in "sundry parts of the realm secretly harboured". For all these reasons, the Proclamation explains and to meet such threats "It is our dutie ... to use al reasonable means ... to impeach these seditions and treasons". Anti-Jesuit measures were vigorously defended. Jesuit "underminings of our good subjects under a false face of holiness and so train them in treason, was to be dealt with by speedy remedy".

This proclamation drew a reply from Southwell - An Humble Supplication to Her Maiestie in Answere to the Late Proclamation. The Queen's Proclamation with its tone of self-justification for what Southwell saw as appalling brutality simply cried out for refutation. It bristled with barbed remarks against practically everything Southwell stood for. A reply to the Proclamation was a heaven-sent opportunity to communicate with Elizabeth, to plead his case with her; a chance to recite the litany of woes and wrongs with a hope of redress. The Humble Supplication brings out a hidden talent of Southwell; it being a genre of his writing hitherto not fully recognised - that of a political essayist and pamphleteer. The 'Supplication' is rich in historical material, packed with valuable references to the Babington plot and to such contemporary figures as William Parry, Ballard, Walsingham, Poley, Gifford, Mary Queen of Scots, the Duke of Guise, the French Ambassador Chateauneuf etc. It could be seen as a minor historical tract of some significance.

In the Humble Supplication, Southwell refutes the Queen's points consecutively and rhetorically. As to Catholics being "unnaturall subiectes" he cites discrimination against them. "If we live at home as Catholiques ... we are imprisoned for Recusancy, impoverished, troubled

and defamed. If we depart the realm, taking other countries charity" Southwell writes, "we are straight reckoned for vnnaturall Subiectes". He defends Allen who is called "a traitor honoured with a Cardinal's hatte", and Persons, described as "a scholeman arrogating to himself the name of the King's Catholicke Confessor". "What Cause have they given to this slander" asks Southwell "vnles it be accounted Seditiō to gather the ruynes of gods afflicted Church", and provide sanctuary for persecuted souls? He then defends the seminaries in which nothing "is either intended or practised, but the reliefe and good education of such forsaken men": As to Jesuits being "dissolute young men", they had gone, says Southwell, into exile abandoning country, friends and "all such Comforts as naturally all men seeke and finde in their natiue soil", forsaking "all possibilities of favour, ritches and Credit"; and who, by joining the Jesuits in exile whose rules are strict and government austere, had their "wills broke, (their) least faults chastised, and a most absolute virtue exacted ... For who can thinke them dissolute?"

As to the charge of their being rebels and traitors Southwell replies that "if we were to come as Rebels" we should have been trained "in Martiall exercises ... hardened to the field, and made to the weapon", whereas Jesuits had been taught only "Philosophy and Devinity". If we had wanted to kill the Queen he argues, having suffered so many martyrs "we could with the losse of fewer lives have perfected our purpose". Catholics could not possibly be of help to Spaine in the event of an invasion. "... if the King (of Spain) should come soe slenderly provided, as to neede the handfull of Catholiques help ... youre Maiestie neede not greatly feare him": Clemency, he urges, would be far more effective a policy than oppression. "doe they (Catholics) not with a most resolute patience ... obey a scourging and afflicting hand?" He asks. "Then how much more would they be wiling to doubel their duties ... increase their other subiects enioy ..." If to be ordained a priest by the Authority of the "Sea of Rome" is treason "then all the glorious Saints of this land (Augustine etc,) were noe better than Traytors, and their Abettors Fellons".¹⁹⁴

The audacity of the Humble Supplication and its tone of refutation was probably due to Southwell being encouraged by his mother's blood and service ties with the Queen. His retort to her Proclamation could thereby

be seen as being prompted by claims of familiarity. Southwell started writing the Humble Supplication about December 1591.^{sn195} Southwell would have had relatively easy access to Sackville House's (Lord Buckhurst's town house), which was opposite the Conduit in Fleet Street. Lady Margaret Sackville stayed at Sackville House when visiting London. She was Buckhurst's daughter-in-law and half-sister to Anne Dacres, Countess of Arundel. Southwell must have translated for Margaret Sackville Diego de Estella's, Meditaciones Piisimas del Amor de Dios.^{sn196}

The authorities, especially Topcliffe, were probably aware that "Popish" activity was going on in Sackville House which was somehow connected with Southwell but it was difficult to raid Lord Buckhurst's town house. Southwell was aware that Sackville House, Holborn and London generally, was becoming, yet again, increasingly unsafe. After completing the Humble Supplication, he decided to leave the capital.

1592 - Eluding the Hunters

Topcliffe was hot on Southwell's trail since summer 1591. It appears that early in 1591, Southwell left for Surrey and Sussex. There, where the county was studded with recusant houses, it would be difficult for Topcliffe to catch him. References to his being in Surrey and Sussex in 1591 comes from a letter of Topcliffe's to the Queen dated Monday, June 26th 1592 referring to Anthony Copley (Southwell's cousin, son of his uncle Thomas Copley) who "last Summer threwe his dagger at ye (parish) Clerke" at Horsham Church and who, according to Topcliffe, at that time was "Most familiare wth Sowthewell".^{sn197}

Since January 1592, Topcliffe made it his top priority to catch Southwell as he needed a spectacular 'coup' such as capturing "Southwell the Jesuit". He was then under a cloud, due to the "Pormort Affair". Thomas Pormort (1559-1592), a priest, was a prisoner that winter in Topcliffe's house.^{sn198} Pormort left the English College, Rome on March 6th 1588 to serve in the household of Bishop Owen Lewis at Cassano. Acting as Prefect of Studies at the Swiss College, by September 18th 1590 Pormort was on his way from Lucerne to England. Christopher Grene (Collectanea M.f.84) wrote that when Pormort arrived in England, Southwell took great pains to look after him.

"He received him on his arrival with great kindness, gave

him food and sustenance provided him with clothes, and brought him with honour to his own house, a special benefit in these days of persecution. He also gave him 20 crowns, procured him friends of high rank and established him in a very safe position; afterwards when captured by heretics ... a few months later [he was] very well clothed and had 40 crowns in his pocket."¹⁹⁹

Pormort kept careful notes of what Topcliffe said to him, (which were subsequently sent by Verstegan to Persons in 1594). The notes were then "delivered to Wade, one of the Clarkes of Y Counsel and by him shewed to the ... (Council) in November last ...(?)"²⁰⁰ Topcliffe was reported to have offered Pormort liberty if he said he (Portmort) was a bastard son of the Archbishop of Canterbury who "Mayntayned him beyond the seas": More serious for Topcliffe, Portmort's notes relate that

Topcliffe said (that) he was so ... familiar with her Maty that he many tymes putteth his hand between her breasts and papps and in her neck ... that he not only seen her leggs but feeleth them with his hands above her knees. That he hath felt her belly and sayed unto her Maiesty she had the softest belly of any woman kinde that she sayd unto him be not these the armes legges and body of King Henry to w^{ch} he answ^d yea. That he is so familiar with her when he pleasth to speake with her he may take her away from any company ... That he did not care for the Counsel for he had his authority of her Maiesty. That the Archbishop of Canterbury (Whitgift) was a gutter counsell, or [should rather be?] in a kitching among wenches than in a Prince's court".²⁰¹

Pormort not only refused to deny what he wrote about Topcliffe, but repeated what he had written, during his trial. "In effect" writes Pollen Topcliffe consequently was disgraced for a short time in 1595, and even imprisoned and his power was afterwards abridged. It is not impossible that the representations of Pormort contributed to this result. He had made the charges openly at the bar, stating that 'Topcliffe had said unto

him that he had used very secret dealing with the Queen".²⁰² Pormort was tortured and executed but his notes had become known to the Privy Council in spite of Topcliffe's frantic efforts to trace them.²⁰³ Topcliffe was worried, and had to produce rapid, spectacular results - such as capturing a top Jesuit like Southwell - if he was to remain in favour. Early in 1592, probably in January, Southwell and other priests were frequenting various Catholic households in certain London areas. A spy, "Chomley", wrote of masses being said "at Haley's house in the Old Change" by Mr Wilson, a priest, who afterwards went to "Lord Montague's house, St. mary Ovary's ". Another Mass "was held at Ersley's house in the same street, by Mr. Williams, a priest who went from thence to Mr. talbot's house at Islington. Chomley mentions "Trawnsome, another priest uses Dr. Smythe's house, as did Mr. Cuthwell, a Jesuit, who also uses Mr. Cotton's in Fleet street." The spy's report also refers to priests residing in the Gage household in Sussex, Southwell's relatives, "That at Edw. Gage's house, Bentley, Sussex there are always three priests always residing, and another at Mr. Shelley's at Michelgrove, Sussex...". Another possible haunt of Southwell in the London area was the Shelley house in Trinity Lane, where, says the report, "There is a lot of books and papers secretly hid".²⁰⁴ Thus, there were no shortages of Catholic households in the London area several of whom were those of Southwell's relatives, in which he could find shelter.

There was another dark shadow in 1592 - the "Anne Bellamy Affair". Uxenden, the Bellamy family home, a manor house in St. John's wood a few miles East of Harrow, was known to Topcliffe as a refuge for recusants.²⁰⁴ Campion was a guest there in June 1581 and Richard Bristow of the English College, Douai was buried there on October 19th 1581. William Bellamy's (d. 1581), granddaughter Anne, described as a very pious and unsophisticated girl, roamed the woods hoping for a vision of the Virgin and the saints and refusing to attend the Protestant Church. On January 26th 1592, she was committed to the Gatehouse as an obstinate recusant. At the Gatehouse, says Henry More "she gradually lost her virtue".²⁰⁵

A Robert Barnes of Mapledurham was in the Gatehouse and knew about Anne Bellamy's seduction by Topcliffe. Called to the Bar in 1598 after his release he delivered an indictment of Topcliffe's method of torture. "She had not been there six weeks" says Barnes "but was found in most

dishonest order": Six weeks after that Topcliffe let her out of the Gatehouse on condition that she stay at a prescribed location and "not to depart above one mile from the city".²⁰⁶ She was forced to lodge in Holborn till midsummer 1592. There she was blackmailed by Topcliffe to lure Southwell to Uxenden "under promise from the Council that none should be molested in the house where he was taken".²⁰⁷

Anne Bellamy was kept at "Mr. Basforde's in Holborn". Topcliffe and his servant Nicholas Jones worked hard at Ann Bellamy to perfect the trap she was to lay for Southwell. Topcliffe knew Southwell was bound to return to London from the Southern counties sooner or later, and that his usual haunts were between Chancery and Fetter Lanes, Holborn.

Succumbing to her disgrace, and under full pressure, Anne Bellamy tried, for about three weeks, to lure Southwell to the trap. Once, her brother Thomas called on her, completely unaware of her involvements with Topcliffe. She pleaded with him to take her to Southwell "who lived hard by and whom she much praised for virtue and learning".²⁰⁸

She wrote to her sisters begging that if Southwell came to Uxenden to let her know at once. Thomas and the sisters suspected something sinister and did nothing. Southwell, by a tragic quirk of fate, did Anne Bellamy's work for her. He had met, by chance, "Thomas Bellamy in Fleet Street, stopped him, and claimed acquaintance as a countryman of his mother's, asking him to stay with him that night, and the next morning to ride with him to show him the way to Uxenden".²⁰⁹

Thomas Bellamy agreed. "The next day they started at ten o'clock, and by noon arrived at Mr. Bellamy's house". Jones, Topcliffe's servant and married secretly to Anne, got wind of Southwell's departure to Uxenden, probably from Anne herself. He immediately rode off to Greenwich to inform Topcliffe who was attending the Queen. Topcliffe had had Uxenden closely watched for some time. "He had his horses ready laid for three weeks previously, and so rode off in hot haste and came to Uxenden by midnight having full directions written by Anne Bellamy on how to know the interior of the house and where to find the secret place in which Southwell was sleeping".²¹⁰

Southwell approached Uxenden. He was expected. Mass was being prepared for him to celebrate. Anne Bellamy had told Southwell she wished to meet him at her father's house, and arranged a day. The day Southwell

was to arrive "the lady (Anne Bellamy)" writes Henry More "revealed all to the gaoler, the day, the place, and the man she had destined for his prey".²¹¹ Having been informed by his man Jones of Southwell's departure for Uxenden, Topcliffe rushed at once to the house and had it surrounded by a posse of his strong-arm men. He set a watch on every approach lest anyone escape him. By midnight of Sunday June 25th 1592 (July 5th as given by Garnet), he led the assault. First he "commaunded the dower to be opened, which done he entered, and first bound all the men in the house, then called for the gentlewoman and ... willed her to deliver him Mr. Cotton". This was the alias Southwell was using "for so was he they named that came that day to her house, which she at first very shortly denied".²¹²

At length, Topcliffe succeeded in intimidating the household. "In fyne", Garnet related "overcome with threats she sayeth her secret place where into she had conveyed him being betrayed, she yielded to deliver him which she performed speedily, fetching him there".^{sn213}

At last Topcliffe had his quarry. As soon as he saw Southwell he almost ran him through with his sword, roaring "Traitor!". Southwell denied he was one. "What are you, then?" Topcliffe demanded. "A gentleman" Southwell replied. "Priest! Traitor!" the priest-hunter yelled. Southwell, imperturbably, demanded that he prove it. Topcliffe was incensed enough, "he would again have run at him with his rapier". Southwell remained cool. "It is neither priest nor treason that you seeke for but only blood and if myne shall satisfy you, you shall have it".²¹⁴ Topcliffe turned away. He despatched an aide to the Court to deliver the good news. He then searched the house, finding mass things, Catholic books and pictures; all of which he had loaded onto a cart.

By six o'clock next morning, Monday June 26th, the cart, with Southwell in it bound hand and foot trundled along heading for Topcliffe's house at Westminster. That day, Southwell remained in Topcliffe's house while his captor wrote to the Queen of "havinge Fr. Robert Sowthwell ye Jhezew^t in my stronge chamber in Westm church yearde": Topcliffe manacled Southwell with a pair of "Hande gyves" so as "to keepe hym eather from vewe or conference wth any": He wanted information from Southwell about the Countess of Arundel and Persons. To this end, he forced him "to stande against the wawle, His feett standinge vpon the grownde, & his hands

But as highe as he can reatche ageinst ye wawle".²¹⁵ This was the essence of crucifixion torture which leads to contraction, cramp, convulsive spasms, making the sufferer half-mad with pain before being mercifully released by death. Professor Bob Smalhout describes the physiological processes of this form of torture:

A body suspended by the wrists will sag downwards, pulled by gravity. This produces enormous tension in the muscles of the arms, shoulders and chest wall. The ribs are drawn upwards so that the chest is fixed in position as if the victim has just drawn a large breath - but cannot breathe out. The condemned man begins to stifle. The severely strained arm, shoulder and chest muscles develop agonizing cramp. The metabolic rate is raised, but the oxygen supply reduced. One result is the production of ... lactic acid in the bloodstream, leading to "metabolic acidosis", often seen in athletes driven to exhaustion and severe cramp. This is aggravated by difficulty in breathing and in ridding the body of carbon dioxide. Unrelieved, the victim finally dies of suffocation. This can occur within half an hour.²¹⁶

Southwell was not crucified, only "half so"; his feet being on the ground. Yet the cramp effects of crucifixion did take place (see below). But he did not respond to torture, and remained "obstinate". Before nightfall of the first day, Topcliffe was worried, and so were the Council. Garnet reported the Council sending "Mr. Killigrew, Mr. Wade, Mr. Bele and Mr. —" "to help interrogate Southwell."^{sn217} The prisoner said only that he was a priest true to the Queene ... free from all treasons ... only doing and attending his functions".²¹⁸ He was repeatedly questioned as to "whether he were not employed there for the Pope and King of Spain". He refused to answer that, saying ... "he would confesse nothing unto them but they would still enfeer further matter uppon it, and seke to get from him more than he knewe".²¹⁹ He was left half-hanging from the wall for many hours. A servant saw that the prisoner was about to die and "called (Topcliffe) hastely home againe to lett him downe for that tyme".^{sn220} What most probably helped Southwell

withstand repeated and coercive interrogation was a deeply held conviction on the necessity to maintain Catholic secrets. His friend and fellow Jesuit Henry Garnet in his An Apology Against the Defence of Schism (1593) writes: "Neither ... must every simple bodye whan he is examined before Commissioners, traiterosly vtter the secrettes of Catholickes; for to tell tuth than, were a mortall sinne, and to tell a lye vnsworne, were but a veniall sinne. Yet both may be auoided, either by silence, or by lawfull equiuocation and less harme it is, if either must be committed". The official Elizabethan public position on torture was clearly shown during Southwell's trial. Southwell protested that he was so cruelly tortured that the least of such torments was worse than ten executions. The Judge, Chief Justice Popham (see Plate 22) said he never knew he was so tortured, and the Attorney General, Sir Edward Coke, said he never knew that Southwell was ever racked, Topcliffe said Southwell was never racked, but there were forms of torture worse than racking and began to explain them till he was interrupted by the Judge who stated that such tortures were lawful and were used by all nations. Southwell replied "I confesse it to be lawfull & other Nationes have the like, but when by torture nothings can be gott out of them, I wish there might be some measure therin, lesse a man in ye ende by extremitie of paine be dryven to desperatio." He was asked to show the marks of his torture and replied "lett a woman shewe her throwes". Topcliffe said he had the Council's letters to show that he was instructed "to sette him against the wall, and to use him as he did". The Attorney-General said that there was no need for Topcliffe "to goe about to excuse his pceedinges, in the maner of his torturinges", and turned angrily to Southwell: "thinke yow that yow shall not be tortured, yes, wee well teare yor hartes out of an hundred of yor bodyes.", to which Southwell calmly replied: "wheare is charity".²²¹

It would be erroneous to overestimate or dramatize whatever torture Southwell had endured. First, as a student, he would probably have been acquainted with Aristotle's Rhetoric which declared that five 'extrinsic' proofs may be used in a legal process: "the laws, witnesses, custom, torture, and oaths": As Professor Edward Peters points out, Aristotle's term for torture and the general Greek term is "basanos" - "which is philologically related to the idea of putting something metallic to a touchstone in order to verify its content".²²² Southwell's torture may

thus have been a form of self-exploration, a test of the mettle he was made of. Torture was part of the Roman legal process, and from the first half of the Thirteenth century, Roman doctrines on torture were approved in civil law procedures. Till the end of the Eighteenth century "torture was part of the ordinary criminal procedure of the Latin church and of most of the states of Europe". Southwell's case shows the place of torture in English law. It was strictly controlled by the Privy Council "as an instrument for uncovering information, rather than eliciting formal evidence" as was the case on the Continent: As such, torture was prevented from becoming an integral part of English law.²²³ Prior to Edward's VI's reign torture warrants were more frequently issued directly by the King and his principal officers. By the mid Sixteenth century such warrants were recorded in Privy Council minutes.²²⁴ Torture was prevalent in Henrician, Edwardian and Marian regimes for quite commonplace felonies. Elizabeth gave her first order of torture only four months after her accession in a letter of March 15th 1558-9 to the Lieutenant of the Tower to torture two men - Pitt and Nicholls - accused of robbing a widow in London: On March 17th 1580 Thomas Myagh was tortured by Skevington's irons; later he was directed to be tortured by the rack and inscribed his agony on his prison walls, still legible by the Nineteenth century:

Thomas Miagh, which liethe here alone,
That fayne wold from hens begon,
By torture straunge mi trouth was tryed,
Yet of my libertie denied.²²⁵

Up till the late 1580's the rack appears to have been the standard instrument of torture, as it was indeed in Roman times.²²⁶ Orders to rack prisoners were issued on April 17th 1586; 13th May 1586; December 23rd 1586; April 24th 1587; January 7th 1587.²²⁷ However, by 1591 we find the manacles replacing the rack as the standard form of torture. Orders to manacle prisoners were given out on October 25th 1591; October 27th 1591; November 12 1595; 28th February 1595/6; November 21st 1596; December 19th 1596; February 2nd 1596/7 and December 1st 1597.²²⁸

On June 30th 1592, Southwell was transferred to the Gatehouse from Topcliffe's house. The Queen had hitherto given permission for Southwell to be tortured privately by Topcliffe. But by the end of June, Robert

Cecil and other interrogators from the Council decided to relieve him of Topcliffe so as to keep him alive. All his money having been taken away at his arrest, he was thrown among the pauper prisoners in the Gatehouse. He was left for a whole month in cold, hunger and filth. His father, coming to see him, found him "covered with dirt, swarming with vermin, with maggots crawling in his sores, his face bleared and like that of a corpse, and his bones almost protruding through his skin".^{sn229}

Richard Southwell presented a petition to the Queen demanding that his son might be either executed or treated as a gentleman.²³⁰ He also requested permission to send him whatever was necessary to sustain life. The request was granted. Southwell was sent food, a Bible and - by his own request - the works of St. Bernard.²³¹ Southwell found great comfort in the life and teachings of St. Bernard, much of which closely paralleled his own background and beliefs. A full account of the relationship between Southwell and St. Bernard is given within Appendix I - of this chapter.

Although Southwell, in the Gatehouse, was allowed to receive food and reading material, visitors were restricted. Sometimes his sister, Mary Bannister - according to Henry More - was allowed to visit him.²³² The Queen's acceding to Richard Southwell's petition for his son shows that she still tolerated, if not approved of, Richard Southwell. It also shows she may well have nursed memories of affection and gratitude towards Southwell's mother, with whom she read Latin in 1550's (see chapter three). Southwell remained in the Gatehouse till about Tuesday, July 28th 1592. On that date the Council, meeting at Greenwich wrote to the Lieutenant of the Tower instructing him to receive into his "custodie and chardge the person of Robert Southwell, a prieste". Topcliffe was to deliver him personally and he was to "be kepte close prysoner so as no person be suffered to have access unto him but suche an one as ... Mr. Topcliffe shall appointe to remayne with him as his keeper": The Tower keeper was warned that Southwell should be closely watched, "being a most lewde and daungerous person".²³³

Southwell in the Tower 1592-1595

Torture and interrogation greatly subsided after Southwell's transfer to the Tower. Verstegan reported on August 22nd 1592 that "[Southwell]

his father hathe somuch labored by meanes of frendes that his sonne is not so continually tortured as he was".²³⁴ The Tower was well provided with torture facilities. First, there was the Pit - "a ... cave twenty-feet deep and entirely without light": Second, "a cell, or dungeon, so small as to be incapable of admitting a person in erect posture ... and known as 'Little Ease'": Third, the Rack on which limbs are drawn in opposite directions: Fourth, 'The Scavenger's Daughter' - an iron ring bringing the head, feet and hands together till they form a circle: Fifth, an iron gauntlet which "encloses the hand with the most excruciating pain": Sixth, chains or manacles attached to the arms: Seventh, "Fetters, by which feet are confined".²³⁵ The fact that Southwell was spared these instruments was probably due to an easing of tensions, albeit a temporary one, between Elizabeth and the Catholic powers, mainly Spain and the Papacy.

Although they never did meet, a consolation for Southwell in the Tower was Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, incarcerated there since 1590. Arundel had developed a friendship with Sir Michael Blount who took over from Sir Owen Hopton in July 1590 as Lieutenant of the Tower. Blount also developed a kind of affection for other Catholic prisoners such as Sir Thomas Fitzherbert and John Gage.²³⁶ The Earl had spoken to Blount with a veneration for Southwell. A form of semi-respectful treatment awaited Southwell in the Tower.

Southwell was simply left to languish in the Tower, almost half-forgotten. Far more serious matters occupied the Council's attention. By October 1592, there was an invasion scare. Verstegan reported to Persons that "uppon a reporte that a fleete of Spanish shippes were seene aboute the Isles of Jarsey and Garnsey". Suspected Catholics were rounded up. "... all the principall gentlemen that had liberty uppon certaine dayes warning were called to prison". A Spanish fleet sighted in the Channel was reported to the Council. On September 1st 1592, the Council wrote to Lord Buckhurst about "a great number of ships armed and set owt to sea with great store of men and municion in warlick manner by the Spanish King and Leaguers are presentlie com into the Sleeve (The English Channel), and that yt is doubted they have purpoze to do som notable accompt on the Isle of Wight or som maritim port of that countie of Sussex under your Lordship's jurisdiction".²³⁷ On October 15th 1592, Verstegan wrote from

Antwerp to Persons "Uppon a reporte that a fleete of Spanish shippes were seen aboute the Isles of Jarsey and garnsey, all the principall gentleman that had liberty uppon certaine dayes' warning were called to prison: The government then was busy mobilising troops for service in England as well as on the Continent. "We have had many musters of late, and many men are prest to be in redyness to be sent into Fraunce".²³⁸ The Council was also worried about the plague striking London. Verstegan reported that "The plague is still in London, and dispersed in sundry places of England. 20 of those that followed the Queen in this progresse have died of the plague. The most of them were her own servantes".²³⁹ During such epidemics prisons were normally avoided as being breeding grounds for disease.

Months dragged on. Repeated attempts were made to persuade the government to bring Southwell to trial. There are even references to communications between London and Rome to ransom both Southwell and Weston and for their deportation from England.^{sn240} While in the Tower, Southwell was constantly provisioned by the Countess of Arundel through his sister Mary. "During the time of his imprisonment she reliev'd him with apparall and other necessary(ies) getting 'em convey'd to him ... in the name of one of his sisters".²⁴¹ The Countess also raised the question of a ransom with Southwell. Her biographer states that Southwell being ransomed was "(a thing very faisable, by many at that time)". But, he writes, the Countess declined to pursue the ransom question because she promised Southwell never to try to procure his release. She had respected his request "never to concurr to ye hindering of his Martyrdome".²⁴²

The year dragged on to an end. In March 1593, Southwell was questioned by Robert Cecil and other Privy Councillors about a Thomas Bell, an apostate Lancashire priest who had offered his services. The Council sought to verify Bell's information from another priest - Southwell.^{sn243} This interrogation by Robert Cecil opened up the possibility of a new contact for Southwell. On April 6th 1593, Southwell wrote a letter to Robert Cecil. In doing so, as Dr. Nancy Pollard Brown points out "he had determined to break a silence he had imposed on himself since his arrest nine months before".²⁴⁴ He admitted to being a Catholic priest and a Jesuit, and described the conditions of his imprisonment. "I have lived thus eight months as one enclosed up in an anchorite's cell,

having had no more part of the whole world but the scope of a few paces, no more use of life but to expect and behold my death".²⁴⁵ He lauds the keeper of the Tower. "Her Majesty's Lieutenant, whose resort, though it be but seldom, bringeth such content and leaveth so mild a relish as doth not a little qualify the gallish taste of my other aggrivances": The purpose of writing this letter is not wholly clear. It endangered his legal position. As Dr. Brown points out, in admitting being a Catholic priest and a Jesuit, and in giving this evidence against himself he knew that he was liable to the supreme penalty of the law under the Act of 1585. Writing the letter was also a death wish. Southwell "supposed that the authorities would move speedily to bring him to trial and so, inevitably, to execution".²⁴⁶ For the rest of 1593 Southwell was virtually ignored. By the end of 1593, and throughout 1594, however, he began to re-attract hostile attention. Protestant successes in France and the clamour raised by Henry of Navarre against the Jesuit order, very probably re-ignited Elizabeth's hostility to the Jesuits.^{sn247} Jesuits in France were banished from the Dominions of Navarre.²⁴⁸ But this re-awakened hostility to Jesuits was largely related to the succession issue. Elizabeth, though growing old, not only did not have a named heir but obstinately considered any talk about the succession as treason.²⁴⁹ English Catholic politicians abroad did all they could to arouse public opinion in England on this delicate matter and to induce legitimate claimants to the English throne to assert themselves. By the end of December 1593 Persons was in Amsterdam writing "A Conference about the next Succession to the Crowne of England" (Antwerp, 1594-STC 19398), under the pseudonym "R. Doleman". In this work Persons mentions "... al those ten or eleuen familyes of the English blood royal, which remayne at this day".²⁵⁰ Aside from opening the succession question to competition among some ten-odd claimants, Persons was insisting that England should be ruled by a Catholic Sovereign. "... nothing in the world" he wrote, "can so iustly exclude an heyre apparent from his succession as want of religionin this case (the commonwealth) should resist his entrance ... if they iudge him faulty in this pointe": Persons writes as if Elizabeth was already dead, or was expected to expire in the immediate future. "You may see ...that it was a doubtful case who should be our next Prince": He debates the eligibility of various claimants - all Catholics. The House

of Suffolk, the Pole family, the House of Portugal, the King of Spain, the Duke of Parma and Braganza (through the House of Lancaster) etc.²⁵¹ (See above on Persons and Allen's Memoranda on the Succession).

The Queen and her Council found Persons book, published in 1594 in Antwerp, extremely provocative. As J.H. Pollen pointed out "It was certainly a most unwise, unfit and impolitic publication for a Jesuit to have engaged in ... it was a calm and deliberate assertion of the claims of the Church against the State, not advanced as an abstract theory, but asserted as a right to be conceded at once". The ageing Elizabeth shuddered at the spectre of the Arch-Jesuit Conspirator, Robert Persons, assuming leadership after the international Catholic hierarchy she had been accustomed to dealing with had died away: William Allen died on October 16th 1594; Philip II was dying; all the active members of the Guise clan were dead.²⁵² As a result, Elizabeth felt outraged enough as to "take it out" on some of Person's top men in England, now conveniently at her mercy. On April 14th 1594, the Lieutenant of the tower reported that he had in his custody

"Robt. Southwell, alias Cotton, a Jesuit and infamous traitor.

John Boost, a Jesuit and notable traitor.

Hen. Walpole, a Jesuit, lately come over to do mischief.

John Ingram, a Jesuit or priest.

Gilbert Laton, sent from Rochelle to kill the Queen, a man of great importance ...

... There are also divers priests and other dangerous persons in the Marshalsea, Gatehouse, and other prisons".²⁵³

Apart from what was seen as Person's machinations against Elizabeth from abroad, Southwell himself, though in the Tower was being seen in an ominous new light. Henry Walpole (see above), interrogated in July? 1594, stated that Garnet, Southwell, or both, told a "Fr. Holt at Rheims that Edward Walpole left 100 (livres) with Southwell which has all been sent". [sic]²⁵⁴ More seriously, Walpole confessed that "Before coming to England ..." Persons "told him and others in Spain, that he had news that some in England had confessed they had a purpose to kill Her Majesty": It would

be natural to envisage the Council suspecting that "those in England" may well have been headed by Southwell. The Queen and Council may thus have now viewed Southwell ^{yet again} as an assassin. Moreover, Henry Walpole^e revealed that the Armada was by no means past history. There was persistent talk in Spain of a new invasion. Walpole reported Persons as saying that the Adelantado of Castile desired to be employed to invade this realme". Walpole added that "Those who wish for violence desire the Spaniards ... Father Persons wishes the Catholics to keep themselves quiet, and take no part until some one is declared, and then to offer their services to him": he confessed that he "Knows Garnet, Currie and Holtby, Jesuits, and others named but not their resort" that he "knows some of those in prison as Southwell, Bagshaw and others".²⁵⁵

The rest of the year 1594 could be described as the gloomiest of Southwell's life. Languishing in prison, his dream of attaining martyrdom was his only hope of deliverance.

1595 - The Last Year

On January 3rd 1595, a book entitled A Discourse of the Usage of English Fugitives by the Spaniard was entered in the Stationer's Register. It was written by Lewis Lewknor, a discontented Catholic exile who returned to England and apostasized. The English government gloated over the revelations unearthed in this book. It gave it wide publicity, much to the distress of English Catholics, and three editions were printed in 1595 alone. "... our Catholique freindes in England may thereat be much agreaved, and our enemies therat as greatly rejoyce" wrote Verstegan from Antwerp on March 25th 1595, distressed by the publication of this book. "The King of Spain" Verstegan explains "... and his officers dealing with our nation this booke painteth oute very particularly". The book gave intimate details about Philip II and Jesuit designs on England as were to be carried out by English fugitives in Spanish territories. It shocked even native English Catholics. "God comforte us" wrote Verstegan "and send us meanes to live withoute depending upon any forraine frendes".²⁵⁶

This book completed the indictment, so to speak, of Jesuits and Jesuit activity and designs on England. It was time to bring the principal Jesuits in England to trial. n February 18th 1595, Southwell, by special



Plate 22 Portrait of Sir John Popham (1531?-1607)) the judge who sentenced Southwell to death, by an unknown artist. (Courtesy of National Portrait Gallery, London).

warrant of Sir Robert Cecil, was removed from the Tower to Newgate prison, "the most severe of the twelve London gaols" so as to be "always at hand when he should be called for trial".²⁵⁷ At Newgate he was thrown into a "horrible underground dungeon, dark as night, commonly called "Limbo"; a subterranean cell of evil repute where condemned felons await the hangman's stroke.²⁵⁸ However, through the kindness of the keeper and a Catholic prisoner, his cell was provided with a bed, candles and fire. He was given a cup of wine, his first for two years. On February 20th Southwell was informed of his impending arraignment and trial. On March 2nd (or February 20th old style), he was removed from Limbo to the High Court in Westminster for immediate trial. Just before he was taken away an old woman gave him a cup of soup. "This is broth for champions, not for condemned men", he replied, drinking.²⁵⁹ The charge against him was his being a Catholic priest who entered the realm without licence in breach of "An Act Against Jesuits, Seminary priests and other such disobedient persons"(27 Elizabeth Caput ii).

Our knowledge of Southwell's trial is based on a number of largely overlapping sources. While giving more or less similar accounts of the trial, there are variations, contractions, and even contradictions in their own individual versions. The fullest printed account of Southwell's trial is given in Devlin (p. 305-316). This is based on a number of sixteenth-century sources. "Leake's Relation of the Martyrdom of Father Southwell" is printed in volume V of the Catholic Record Society publications (p. 333-337) and claims to be an eye-witness account. A more detailed account is Richard Verstegan's "A brefe discourse of the condemnation and execution of Mr. Robert Southwell priste of the Soc^eie of Jesus". This is extant in the Stonyhurst Archives (Anglis MS. A. III i. (ii.1). Due to the extreme frailty of these MSS they are not open to inspection, but a transcription (15 pp.) is available in Farm Street (46/22/2) under the above mentioned title and ending with the following endorsement: "A coppie of the araiment and condemnation of, Father Southwell Jesuit in London An^o 1594, 26 of February". As well as the C.R.S.'s "Leake's Relation", there are two transcriptions, one Latin, the other English in Farm Street (46/22/2), the originals of which are in the Stonyhurst Archives: The Latin account in Farm St. is entitled "Relatio Thome de condemnatione et morte p.(?) Sotwelli qui Thomas League

(puesseus?) aderat" (unpaginated). The name Thomas Leake appears to be a pseudonym. The English transcript is headed "An Account of condemnation and death of Father Southwell S.J. - 1595" (13 folios). It ends with: "The whole of this paper has been printed by Mr. Foley - series I". A transcript of the original Stonyhurst MSS of Leake's relation on which the C.R.S. version is based is also available in Farm Street.

One of the most interesting accounts of Southwell's trial is the "Narrative of the Martyrdom of the Bl. Fr. Robert Southwell of the society of Jesus, which Fr. John Deckers sent to our Rev. Fr. General in the month of August 1595" (51 folios, Farm Street 46/22/2). This is largely based on Verstegan's "Brief discourse", but it is attractively, if somewhat enthusiastically written by someone who knew Southwell well - John Deckers - and he was bound by very close ties of religious friendship. The interest of Decker's "Narrative" lies in the descriptive embellishments with which he endowed Verstegan's account of Southwell's trial. These embellishments could not be entirely considered as fictitious. Deckers knew Southwell well. The "stage directions", so to say, in the "Narratives" were based on Deckers' knowledge of Southwell's mannerisms, modes of thinking and speech patterns.

But one of the basic and most reliable sources for Southwell's trial are Garnet's three letters to Aquaviva: Those of February 22nd and March 7th 1595 are in the Jesuit Roman Archives, described as "identical in some passages, complementary in others"; and a third letter dated May 1st 1595 in the Jesuit Roman Archives (fondo Gesuitico 651) was first used by Devlin.²⁶⁰ Extracts from these letters have been used in previous biographies as source material for Southwell's trial.

Southwell's execution on March 3rd (February 21st in England), was in accordance with the "Statute of Treasons" enacted in 25th Edward III (1352), and continued to be the law of the land for centuries. Philip Hughes mentions that a man was executed according to this law in the 1920's. Under this law, treason may be committed through adherence to the King's enemies in this realm, giving them "aid and comfort in the realm or elsewhere".²⁶¹

CHAPTERS EIGHT AND NINE - EXTENDED SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The years 1578-1595, spent in Rome and in England, represent the entire span of Southwell's adult life. His Roman years were a preparation for, and had thereby affected to varying extents, his last years in England. Perhaps the most instructive aspect of the Roman period in so far as it affected the English one way Southwell's association with Persons. From Person's wide experience of people and politics and his first hand experience of the Catholic situation in England through his mission of 1580, Southwell would have found a valuable source of guidance and advice on how to survive in enemy territory, on printing Catholic books, and on how to contact and reside with the Catholic gentry and aristocracy.

The concept of Martyrdom with which Southwell was imbued in Rome found a most practical application in the heresy-torn battle ground of England. English Catholics - indeed Catholics generally - upheld those various forms of martyrdom that Southwell was exposed to in Rome as being multifarious, ascending phases of martyrdom. Such phases of martyrdom as Southwell endured in England included the martyrdom of the mind, the endurance of various forms of mental anguish and which Southwell used to mitigate Catholic distress. This was mostly reflected in Southwell's poetry and other writings especially The Epistle of Comfort.

Southwell's quality Jesuit education in Rome (and in Douai and Paris), played a key role in facilitating not only his reception and acceptability to the milieu in which he operated, but, more significantly, in assuring his position in posterity as a religious poet and writer. All his writings emanated from those Jesuit educational directives on literature and creative writing and bear very close resemblance to those literary exercises given in Jesuit Colleges. So, Southwell's historical role as a poet must necessarily be viewed within the context of the intensive counter-Reformation Jesuit education he received. Within the context of his mission to England, Southwell's education could be seen as a life-belt that kept him afloat in the open hostile seas of Elizabethan England. His high levels of education gave him acceptability and respect. His literary efforts which had their roots in Rome, were probably motivated both by the urge to acquire and enhance this acceptability and respect, and

to console, comfort and minister to fellow Catholics. The educational aspects and aims of martyrdom which had been intensively nourished on the theoretical side in Rome, was vigorously and practically applied in England.

Another form of vigour which had been nourished and cultivated in Rome and found an outlet in England was that of self-confidence, vibrant high spirits, and a penetrating ability to assess character and personality. Rome nourished and fortified Southwell through its ecclesiastically aristocratic cosmopolitan atmosphere; its sizeable and influential English expatriate community; the ubiquity and power of the Jesuit order; and - last but not least - through the trust and confidence placed in Southwell as a result of personal and academic merits and with the help rendered by the circle of influential people like Sir Richard Shelley and Robert Persons to which Southwell was linked. Evidence suggests that Southwell in England in spite of the dolorous nature of his writings - which perhaps was motivated by the concept that sorrows shared are sorrows halved - evinced an inherently hopeful and confident expectancy, joyfully mentioning - to take just one example - "the bevy of aristocratic youths" in Cambridge. His eight year sojourn in Rome contributed more than its fair share to bolstering Southwell's confidence and inner vigour; since a large closely linked community of exiles living in propitious surroundings and amongst staunch allies can be expected to face confidently the usurping power in their home country.

In Rome Southwell was given ample opportunity to be a perspicacious judge of character through such events as the troubles of the English College, and the advice he was given from people like Persons with whom, for example, he exchanged information about the character of Christopher Bagshaw, Persons former colleague at Balliol. His caution in deportment, speech, and dealing with others is copiously reflected in his Spiritual Exercises and Short Rules of a Good Life. This caution seemed to have served him well in the field.

The whole of Southwell's adult life, can be divided between the eight years he spent in Rome and the last nine years of his life he spent in England. In Rome he acquired various types of spiritual and educational supplies and ammunition he was to later discharge against heresy in England.

One of the most striking aspects of Southwell's short life was the moving confrontation between him and the Elizabethan state from the time he landed secretly in England 1586 till his execution in 1595. His being persistantly hunted down by the authorities whom he eluded for several years demonstrate Southwell's resilience, wariness, fortitude and stealth - qualities which he very probably acquired in Rome through such factors as the troubles of the English College; the frescoes of Martyrdom he was exposed to; his association with experienced political English Jesuits such as Persons and his experience of instability in Douai, and to a lesser extent, in Paris.

The varying degrees of harshness with which Southwell and other prominent Catholics like Arundel were treated reflect the ups and downs of post-Armada Anglo-Spanish relations. Spanish designs on England have been shown in Chapter nine to have coincided with harsh anti-Catholic measures at home. Spanish or Jesuit interference which Elizabeth considered threatening prompted her retaliation against - among others - her most prominent Catholic noblemen and a Spanish sympathizer, Arundel, and her topmost Jesuit prisoner Southwell, by bringing both to trial.

Southwell's last years display certain features that epitomize his whole life. His affectionate care for Catholics, his being directly influenced by events, the heretical spectre of persecution which haunted his milieu, and finally the martyrdom he always yearned for - all show that such aspects of his psyche as had been dealt with in depth in various parts of this Biographical study have been vindicated by his last years as being the overriding concerns of his life, his *raison d'etre*.

