



Terms and Conditions of Use of Digitised Theses from Trinity College Library Dublin

Copyright statement

All material supplied by Trinity College Library is protected by copyright (under the Copyright and Related Rights Act, 2000 as amended) and other relevant Intellectual Property Rights. By accessing and using a Digitised Thesis from Trinity College Library you acknowledge that all Intellectual Property Rights in any Works supplied are the sole and exclusive property of the copyright and/or other IPR holder. Specific copyright holders may not be explicitly identified. Use of materials from other sources within a thesis should not be construed as a claim over them.

A non-exclusive, non-transferable licence is hereby granted to those using or reproducing, in whole or in part, the material for valid purposes, providing the copyright owners are acknowledged using the normal conventions. Where specific permission to use material is required, this is identified and such permission must be sought from the copyright holder or agency cited.

Liability statement

By using a Digitised Thesis, I accept that Trinity College Dublin bears no legal responsibility for the accuracy, legality or comprehensiveness of materials contained within the thesis, and that Trinity College Dublin accepts no liability for indirect, consequential, or incidental, damages or losses arising from use of the thesis for whatever reason. Information located in a thesis may be subject to specific use constraints, details of which may not be explicitly described. It is the responsibility of potential and actual users to be aware of such constraints and to abide by them. By making use of material from a digitised thesis, you accept these copyright and disclaimer provisions. Where it is brought to the attention of Trinity College Library that there may be a breach of copyright or other restraint, it is the policy to withdraw or take down access to a thesis while the issue is being resolved.

Access Agreement

By using a Digitised Thesis from Trinity College Library you are bound by the following Terms & Conditions. Please read them carefully.

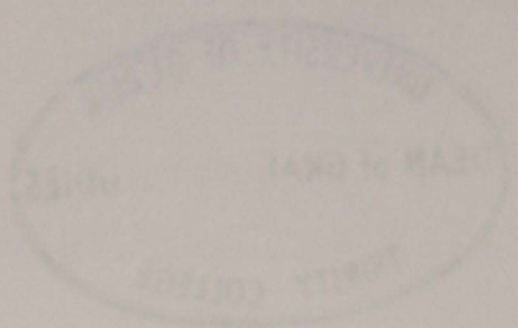
I have read and I understand the following statement: All material supplied via a Digitised Thesis from Trinity College Library is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights, and duplication or sale of all or part of any of a thesis is not permitted, except that material may be duplicated by you for your research use or for educational purposes in electronic or print form providing the copyright owners are acknowledged using the normal conventions. You must obtain permission for any other use. Electronic or print copies may not be offered, whether for sale or otherwise to anyone. This copy has been supplied on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgement.

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

Volume II - Notes and Appendices

THE LIBRARY,
TRINITY COLLEGE,
COLLEGE STREET,
DUBLIN 2,
IRELAND

THIS THESIS MAY BE READ ONLY
IN THE LIBRARY



Faint handwritten text, possibly a name and date.

P 23 NOV 1987
LIBRARY OF THE

A

BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY

OF

ROBERT SOUTHWELL (1561-1595)

AND

HIS HISTORICAL & CULTURAL

MILIEU

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

VOLUME TWO - NOTES AND APPENDICES

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

BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY

OR

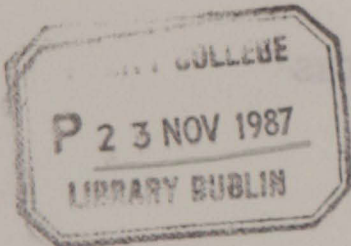
ROBERT SOUTHWELL (1881-1955)

AND

THE HISTORICAL & CULTURAL

MILITARY

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

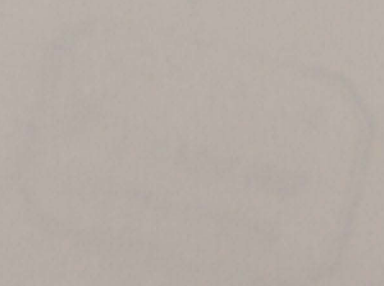


VOLUME TWO - NOTES AND APPENDICES
THESIS
1252.2

IBRAHIM A. MUKAYIL, M.A. (Trinity College, Dublin), M.A. (London)

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

1987



INTRODUCTION

- 1 J.H. Pollen Helps for Students of History No. 39/Sources For the History of Roman Catholics in England, Ireland and Scotland, (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge), (1921,) p. 7.
- 2 Thomas Stapleton The Life of St. Thomas More (Paperback, 1984) pp. 1,2. St. Morontas (or Maurintius) founded at his own expense the College of Priests and the monastery of Marchiennes in Douai which was later to form the nucleus of Douai University.
- 3 Francis Edwards The Elizabethan Jesuits (1981) p. 382, n. 16 citing Alfred Poncelet Necrologe des Jesuites de la Province Gallo - Belge Pays-Bas ... Brussels (1927); Necrologe des Jesuites de la Province Flandro-Belge, Wetteren (1931); and a letter Poncelet sent to Leo Hicks, S.J., dated January 23rd 1932 pointing out More's error in sending Southwell to Tournai.
- 4 Katherine Dorsey "Life of Father Thomas Copley" Woodstock Letters Vol. XIII, (1884), p. 252.
- 5 Edwards Elizabethan Jesuits p. 239.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 Victoria Glendinning "Modern Biography - Lies and Silences" - a lecture delivered at C.M.B. April 13th. (See Bibliography, IV).
- 8 I.A. Taylor Robert Southwell S.J./Priest and Poet, (Edinburgh, Sands & Co., 1906), p. 15.
- 9 Christopher Devlin The Life of Robert Southwell/Poet and Martyr (1956) p. 359 n. 8.
- 10 David Forrester "The Forty Martyrs and their Critics" The Venerable, Vol. XXV (no date of publication given) no. 3 p. 174.

- CHAPTER ONE
- 11 Forrester "Forty Martyrs" Venerabile p. 174.
 - 12 Ibid p. 175 citing Joseph A. Munitiz in an unnamed article published in the now defunct New Christian of February, 1970.
 - 13 Forrester "Forty Martyrs" Venerabile p. 177.
 - 14 Ibid p. 178.
 - 15 Ibid p. 179.
 - 16-17 Pierre Delooz "Towards a Sociological Study of Canonized Sainthood" in Saints and Their Cults/Studies in Religious Sociology Stephen Wilson, ed (Cambridge, 1983), p. 194.
 - 18 Ibid p. 201.
 - 19 Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell Saints and Society (Chicago, 1982) p. 5.
 - 20 p. 191.

CHAPTER ONE

NOTES

- 1 O. Ranum (ed) National Consciousness History and Political Culture in Early Modern Europe (1975), Chapter IV "England" by John Pocock, p. 99.
- 2 Thomas Dorman A Proufe of Certeyne Articles in Religion, Denied by M. Ivell, Antwerp, (1564) - STC (1926) 7062 - p. 138. Recto. Thomas Dorman, D.D. a native of Berchamstead, Herts, attended Winchester School and New College, Oxford. He became Fellow of All Souls in 1554. As a self-exile for religion in Louvain, he was invited by William Allen to join the staff of the English College, Douai in 1569. He died in Tournay in 1577. (Joseph Gillow A Literary and Biographical History or Biographical Dictionary of English Catholics, Vol II (1885) p. 94.
- 3 Dorman A Proufe of Certeyne Articles, p. 138 Verso, Buckland Seaven Sparks (Scholar Press ed.), pp. 50-52.
- 4 R.H. Pogson "Cardinal Pole - Papal Legate in England in Mary Tudor's Reign" - 'On the Sacrament of the Altar' Ph. D Diss. Cambridge (1972) p. 51. Dr. Pogson is citing here the section of Cardinal Pole's De Educendis Pueris entitled "De Doctrina Humilitatis", delivered to the Synod of 1555. Dr. Pogson's references are: Bodleian, Biblio, Vat. Lat 5967 fo. 30.
- 5 Margaret Waugh (ed) An Epistle of Comfort by Robert Southwell (1966), p. 106.
- 6 Lawrence Stone Crisis of the Aristocracy, (Oxford, 1965) p. 47.

- 7 Gregory Martin A treatyse (Scalar Press ed.) f.A.1; Persons A Treatise (Scalar Press, 1976) Vol I, Part II p.303.
- 8 Martin A treatyse f.A.4.; A.5.r.; B.5.r.
- 9 J.J. Scarisbrick The Reformation and the English People (1984), p. 55, citing D. Knowles The Religious Orders in England Cambridge, (1959) p. 249, n.
- 10 Hide Epistle (Scalar, 1972) f.E.6.v., E.7.r; Martin A treatyse C.2.V.
- 11 Walter Rye History of Norfolk "Popular County Histories" Series (1887) pp. 173-177.
- 12 J.J. Scarisbrick The Reformation and the English People (1984) p. 141.
- 13 Martin A treatyse f.C.5.r.
- 14 Max Weber Sociology of Religion, trans. Ephraim Fischhoff, Social Science Paperbacks, (1965), p. 103.
- 15 Nancy Pollard Brown (ed) Two Letters and 'Short Rules of Good Life' by Robert Southwell, S.J., (Charlottesville - University Press of Virginia - 1973), "Short Rules of Good Life", p. 59.
- 16 Ibid pp. 68, 69.
- 17 Peter Brown The Cult of the Saints, Chicago (1981) p. 6.
- 18 See Waugh Epistle pp. 162, 168, 239 et al.
- 19 James McDonald and Nancy Pollard Brown The Poems of Robert Southwell, (Oxford, 1967) p. 47, lines 7-8; 13-16; 21-24; 25-29.
- 20 Ibid p. 49, lines 15, 16.

- 21 A.C. Southern Elizabethan Recusant Prose (1950) p. 43.
- 22 Ibid p. 39, and Peter Holmes Resistance and Compromise/The Political Thought of the Elizabethan Catholics (1982) p. 40.
- 23 Southern Recusant Prose p. 42.
- 24 Laurence Vaux "A Catechisme", ed. T.G. Law, Chetham Society (1885) "Introducton" pp. vii, xxvi, xxviii.
- 25 Ibid p. lxxx, lxxxi, xciii, 3.
- 26 Robert Persons A Briefe Apologie, or Defence of the Catholike Ecclesiastical Hierarchie (1601) p. 184.
- 27 Allen, A True, Sincere... Defence (Scalar Press edition, 1971), p. 38 Buckland Seaven Sparkes pp. 129, 135.
- 28 John Bossy "The Character of Elizabeth Catholicism" Past and Present, Vol 21, (1962), p. 40.
- 29 Ibid p. 40, 41 citing G. Anstruther Vaux of Harrowden Newport, (1953), pp. 247n, 168n.
- 30 Bossy Character pp. 41, 43.
- 31 Lawrence Stone The Causes of the English Revolution (1972), pp. 59, 63, 64.
- 32 Calendar of the Patent Rolls Henry III (1258-1266), (1910), p. 485.
- 33 This is from a document entitled "Robert Southwell the Writer by Pierre Janelle - some notes by Miss Agnes Molt, March 1936". This typewritten sheet was found in Boxfile 46/22/2-3 in Farm Street. Miss Molt traces the Copley genealogies from Foster's Royal Lineage

and Contemporary Pedigree. In consulting this work I have not seen exactly how she worked out these genealogies.

- 34 D.M. Palliser The Age of Elizabeth/England Under the Late Tudors 1547-1603, (1983), pp. 36, 37.
- 35 Stone Causes of Eng. Rev. p. 67.
- 36 A.G. Dickens Reformation and Society in Sixteenth Century Europe, (1966) p. 44.
- 37 Catholic Record Society, vol 52: "Letters and Despatches of Richard Verstegan" - Southwell's despatches to Richard Verstegan in December 1591 - pp. 1, 11, 13, 14.
- 38 Ibid Caput Primum p. 1.
- 39 Elizabethan England: From "A Description of England", By William Harrison (in "Holinshed's Chronicles") Ed. Lothrop Withington, (1890) Chapter IV "Of Fairs and Markets", p. 39.
- 40 Palliser Age of Elizabeth, table 5.2, p. 141.
- 41 J.E. Mouseley "The Fortunes of Some Gentry Families of Elizabethan Sussex" Economic History Review 2nd Series, XI, (1958-1959), pp. 478-9.
- 42 Stone Causes, Eng. Rev. p.70.
- 43 Julian Cornwall "English Population in the Early Sixteenth Century" Economic History Review, Vol. XXIII, (1970), p. 38.
- 44 T.B. Trappes-Lomax "Roman Catholicism in Norfolk 1559-1780" Norfolk Archaeology, Vol. 32 Part I (1958) p. 42.
- 45 Stone Crisis of the Aristocracy, p. 184.

- 46 The Duke of Norfolk The Lives of Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel and of Anne Dacres his Wife, (1857) pp. 271, 272.
- 47 A.C. Southern (ed) An Elizabethan Recusant House Comprising the Life of the Lady Magdalen Viscountess Montague (1538-1608). Translated into English from the Original Latin of Dr. Richard Smith, Bishop of Chalcedon, by Cuthbert Fursdon O.S.B. in the Year 1627, (1954), pp. 25, 26.
- 48 Waugh (ed) Epistle of Comfort p. 106.
- 49 Allen, True, Sincere (Scalar Press, 1971) p. 82; Buckland Seaven Sparkes, (Scalar Press, 1972) p. 137.
- 50 C.R.S., Vol 52 "Letters to Verstegan", caput 2, pp. 2,4.
- 51 Wallace T. Macaffrey "Place and Patronage in Elizabethan Politics" in Elizabethan Government and Society, Essays presented to Sir John Neale S.T. Bindoff, J. Hustfield, C.H. Williams ed. (1961) pp. 116,117, and Allen True, Sincere, Modest Deface p. 53. Buckland Seaven Sparkes pp. 119-123.
- 52 M.D.R. Leys Catholics in England 1559-1829 A Social History (1961), p. 1.
- 53 A.L. Rowse The England of Elizabeth (1950) p. 463. on revenge and death.
- 54 McDonald and Brown Poems p. 32 lines 6-12. on revenge and sorrow.
- 55 Alison Plowden Danger to Elizabeth (1973) p. 216. on morbid preoccupation with death.
- 56 Waugh Epistle of Comfort pp. 160, 48, 138.
- 57 The Workes of Syr Thomas More, Knyght, Some tyme Lorde Chauncellour of England Wrytten by him in the Englysche Tonge (printed by John

- Cawood, John Waly and John Tottel) (1557) - STC 18076, p. 81, "A Treatyse upon these wordes of holye Scrypture", Buckland Seaven Sparkes p. 67.
- 58 Hamlet Act III, Scene I lines 70-74.
- 59 Ibid Scene II lines 71-73.
- 60 Waugh Epistle of Comfort pp. 52, 69.
- 61 Stone Crisis of the Aristocracy pp. 223,224.
- 62 Michael Neve "Delay" - A review of Martin Dodsworth Hamlet Closely Observed (1985); Philip Edwards Hamlet (1985); Roland Mushat Frye The Renaissance Hamlet: Issues and Responses in 1600 (1984) reviewed in London Review of Books 17 October (1985) p. 9.
- 63 Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell Saints and Society, Chicago (1982) pp. 104,105.
- 64 Edwards, Elizabethan Jesuits pp. 249, 250.
- 65 Hide Consolatorie Epistle f.B.2.
- 66 Frederick Harrison William the Silent (1891) Reissued, (New York, (1970) p. 146.
- 67 Recto fii, Verso fii, Recto fiii.
- 68 Herman V - Archbishop of Cologne A Simple and Religious Consultacion (1547). STC - 13213. (Unpaginated.) "Of the Unitie and Concorde of the Church" pi, Recto.
- 69 The edition of the Bible used here is the "Revised Standard edition" - (Fontana Paperbacks).

- 70 Thomas Dorman A Disproofe of M. Nowelles Reprofve (Antwerp 1565) STC - 1926 - 7061. p. 203. Verso.
- 71 Dorman "A Provfe of Certeyne Articles, p. 9 Verso.
- 72 Ibid p. 50 Verso, Chapter Heading.
- 73 Ibid pp. 53 Verso, 54 Recto.
- 74 Ibid p. 54. Recto.
- 75 Holmes Resistance & Compromise pp. 18, 28, 29, 153, 154, 43, 44.
- 76 Ibid, pp. 37, 38, 160 Southwell Humble Supplication p. 1.
- 77 Thomas More Workes (1557) p. 274, Chapter 13 - Heading, 351, 352.
- 78 Dorman A Provfe of Certeyn Articles p. 67 Verso.
- 79 Hide Consolatorie Epistle f.A.II.
- 80 J.A. Froude History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth (1864) Vol III, Appendix, pp. 541-557. Pole does not give any dates or details about Henry VIII's sexual activity with the Boleyn women folk. The original MS was not published but sent to Henry VIII in 1536. In Pole's absence and without his knowledge it was privately printed with the Pope's sanction in 1539. An extract from the Work appeared in English entitled The Seditious and Blasphemous Oration of Cardinal Pole Intytled the Defence of the Ecclesiastical Unitie, translated by F. Wythers and published in 1560 (STC - 1976 - 20087) See Gillow Biographical Dictionary, Vol V p. 338.
- 81 Holmes Resistance & Compromise p. 12 citing Strype Annals, I, ii 408-22.

- 82 Peter A. Quinn "Ignatius Loyola and Gian Pietro Carafa: Catholic Reformers at Odds" Catholic Historical Review Vol LXVII, July (1981), No. 3 p. 396.
- 83 John C. Olin (ed) The Catholic Reformation : Savanorala to Ignatius Loyola New York, (1969) pp. 130-132 - "The Theatine Rule of 1526" - cited by Quinn "Loyola and Carafa" p. 397.
- 84 J.H. Pollen The English Catholics in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (1920) p. 51, n.
- 85 R.B. Wernham Before the Armada/The Growth of English Foreign Policy 1485-1588 (1971) pp. 240, 245, 246.
- 86 "The Execution of Justice in England, not for Religion but for Treason: 17 Dec. 1583" pp. 10, 11, in A Collection of Several Treatises Concerning the Reasons and Occasions of the Penal Laws (Printed for Richard Royston, 1675).
- 87 Ludwig von Pastor History of the Popes Vol XVI - Pius IV, (1928), p. 232.
- 88 Philip Hughes Rome and the Counter Reformation in England (1942), p. 154, 155.
- 89 Wernham Before the Armada p. 261.
- 90 W.R. Trimble The Catholic Laity in Elizabethan England 1558-1603 (1964) pp. 20, 21, 23, 24, 36, 37.
- 91 Wernham Before the Armada, p. 305.
- 92 Richard Simpson Edmund Campion (1907) p. 84.
- 93 Pastor History of Popes Vol XVIII - Pius V 1566-1572 (1929) p. 196.

- 94 C.M. Antony Saint Pius V, (1911), pp. 60, 102.
- 96 Holmes Resistance and Compromise pp. 31-33, Allen True, sincere, modest Defence (1971 ed.) p. 63.
- 95 Donald Attwater A Dictionary of the Popes from Peter to Pius XII (1939) p. 253.
- 97 Pastor History of Popes Vol XVIII p. 214.
- 98 Antony Pius V p. 61.
- 99 Simpson Edmund Campion pp. 516, 517.
- 100 "Important Considerations" pp. 54-56 in A Collection of Several Treatises (1675).
- 101 The Lives and Times of the Pope (Re translated and revised from Les Vies Des Papes by Artaud de Montor) ten volumes, New York - Catholic Publication Society of America (1911) Vol V, p. 83.
- 102 Eric John (ed) The Popes - A Concise Biographical History (1964) p. 349.
- 103 Antony Pius V pp. 72.
- 104 Lives ... of the Popes Vol. V pp. 101, 105-107.
- 105 Burleigh "Execution of Justice" p. 3, 14 A Collection
- 106 Trimble Catholic Laity pp. 49, 64.
- 107 "Important Considerations" p. 59.
- 108 State Papers, Spanish II, 293, February 6th 1571, cited by Trimble Catholic Laity p. 64.

- 109 Hughes.. Rome... Counter Reformation, p. 193.
- 110 J.H. Pollen "Politics of English Catholics" The Month no. 453 March (1902) p. 297.
- 111/ ¹¹² A.O. Meyer England and the Catholic Church Under Queen Elizabeth (1916) pp. 268, 272.
- 113 J.H. Pollen "Politics of English Catholics" The Month no. 457, July (1902), No. V. "Plots and Sham Plots" (2), p. 77.
- 114 J.H. Pollen "Politics of English Catholics" The Month No. 456, June (1902), No. V "Plots and Sham Plots" (1), p. 602.
- 115 Dickens Counter Reformation p. 138.
- 116 T.F. Knox (ed) The First and Second Diaries of the English College, Douay (1878) "Historical Introduction" p. xxxii.
- 117 Burleigh "Execution of Justice" pp. 44, 45; 35, 39.
- 118 Trimble Catholic Laity pp. 68, 69, 81, 82, citings Acts of the Privy Council, Vol X, Nov. 15th 1577 and S.P. 12/117/9 (October 27th 1577).
- 119 Bluet "Important Considerations", pp. 75-77.
- 120 F.A. Inderwicke (ed) A Calander of Inner Temple Records (1896), p. lv.
- 121 Wallace T. McCaffrey Queen Elizabeth and the Making of Policy 1572-1588, (Princeton, 1981), p. 129-131
- 122 Trimble Catholic Laity pp. 107, 108, 123.
- 123 Pastor History of... Popes Vol XIX (Gregory XIII 1572-1585) (1930) p. 254.

- 124 Samuel Harsnet A Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures (1604)
 "The Confession of Mr. Anthonie Tyrrell, Clerke written with his
 owne hand and auouched vpon his oath the 15 June of 1602" - p. 246.
- 125 Holmes Resistance and Compromise pp. 133, 147, 148.
- 126 Pastor History of... Popes Vol XXI (Sixtus V 1585-1590). (1932)
 pp. 48-50.
- 127 Lives and Times of... Popes Vol V, pp. 177, 178.
- 128 Meyer England and the Catholic Church p. 318.
- 129 Baron Hubner The Life and Times of Sixtus V (trans. by Hubert E.H.
 Jerningham) Vol. I (1872) pp. 323-325.
- 130 Harsnet "Egregious Popish Impostures "The Confession of Anthony
 Tyrrell", p. 247.
- 131 "Important Considerations" p. 75.
- 132 Lives and Times of... Popes Vol V pp. 189, 192, 193. This letter was
 delivered by James Belton, Archbishop of Glasgow, Ambassador from
 Scotland to "the Most Christian King". It was then forwarded to
 Rome through Louis Audouin, Bishop of Cassano (Ibid pp. 194, 195).
- 133 Christopher Devlin The Life of Robert Southwell/Poet and Martyr
 (1956) "The Spanish Armada", p. 163.
- 134 "Important Considerations" p. 77.
- 135 C.R.S., Vol V, "English Martyrs - I(1584-1603)" p. 325.
- 136 Waugh Epistle p. 228.

- 137 Edwards Elizabethan Jesuits pp. 240, 241.
- 138 Robert Wilken The Christians as the Romans Saw Them, (1984), pp. 45, 55, 63. Celsus, a Greek Philosopher wrote in A.D. 170 True Doctrine. We know nothing of Celsus except through Origen's reply to his book.
- 139 Holmes Resistance & Compromise pp. 56, 57, 64, 83, Hide Consolatorie Epistle, Fii.
- 140 eo Hicks, MS Life of Southwell, Farm Street. 46/11.
- 141 (Scalar Press, 1971), Vol I p. 635.
- 142 p. 201, 202.
- 143 p. A.5. recto.
- 144 See Holmes Resistance & Compromise p. 244, n.6.
- 145 Leycesters Common-wealth (1641 ed.) pp. 13, 20, 31.
- 146 R.E. Wallis (trans.) The Writings of Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, Vol II, (Edinburgh, 1869) Treatie XI "On Advantage of Patience" p. 35.
- 147 Waugh Epistle p. 129, 238, xiii.
- 148 C.R.S., Vol V, p. 325.
- 149 Hide Consolatorie Epistle f.A.7, D.4.
- 150 Allen A True, Sincere and Modest Defence pp. 53, 54; Buckland Seaven Sparkes pp. 138-140, 149.
- 151 Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell Saints and Society (Chicago, (1982) p. 245.

- 152 Anthonie Copley A Fig For Fortune (Spenser Society, Manchester, 1883), Stanza 16, p. 5.
- 153 Ibid Stanza 140, p. 36.
- 154 Ibid Stanza 148, p. 38.
- 155 Ibid Stanza 222 p. 54. There is an error in pagination here. Pages 54-57 are numbered: 54, 55, 54, 57. Page 54 is the correct one cited here, not the second incorrect one that should have been p. 56.
- 156 D.M. Palliser The Age of Elizabeth p. 86.
- 157 cited in A.G. Dickens Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York 1509-1558 (1959) p. 126.
- 158 Ibid.
- 159 Cameron An Examination, Chapter Two - Heading - p. 5.
- 160 Ibid Chapter Three - Heading - p. 7.
- 161 Ibid p. 3 "Popish Preiudices against the Reformed Religion examined and confuted.
- 162 Philip Hughes Reformation in England - Fifth edition - Three Volumes in one - (1963) Vol II - Religio Depopulata p. 302.
- 163 Philip Hughes Rome and the... Counter Reformation in England (1942) p. 175.
- 164 Christopher Haigh "The Continuation of English Catholicism in the English Reformation" Past and Present, 93, (Nov., 1981) p. 69.

- 165 Patrick McGrath "Elizabethan Catholicism: A Reconsideration" Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 35, (July 1984) pp. 416, 420
- 166 Peter Holmes Resistance and Compromise pp. 12, 15, 83.
- 167 Ibid p. 64.
- 168 Christopher Haigh "The Continuity of Catholicism in the English Reformation" Past & Present, no. 93, November (1981), pp. 39, 40, 48.
- 169 Ibid pp. 55, 58, 59, 62 and Haigh "The Fall of a Church or the Rise of a Sect?" Historical Journal, Vol 21 (1978) pp. 181-86.
- 170 Haigh "Continuity" citing Foley Records, Vol I, p. 338.
- 171 Patrick Collinson "The Elizabethan Church and the New Religion" in Christopher Haigh, ed. The Reign of Elizabeth I, (1984), p. 171.
- 172 Patrick Collinson The Religion of Protestants/The Church in English Society 1559-1625 (Oxford, 1982), p. 235.
- 173 Ibid pp. 189, 190.
- 174 Patrick Collinson "The Elizabethan Church" in Haigh, ed. The Reign of Elizabeth I, p. 189.
- 175 Ibid p. 193.
- 176 Christopher Haigh "The Church of England, the Catholics and the People" in Christopher Haigh, ed. The Reign of Elizabeth I, p. 203.
- 177 Patrick McGrath "Elizabethan Catholicism: A Reconsideration" Journal of Ecclesiastical History, Vol. 35, No. 3 (July, 1984), p. 422.
- 178 Ibid p. 422-425.

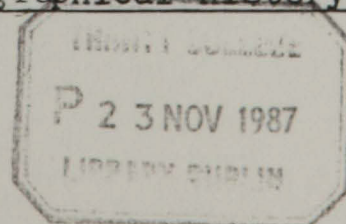
- 179 Christopher Haigh "Revisionism, the Reformation and the History of English Catholicism" Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 36 (July, 1985), p. 402.
- 180 Ibid p. 403.
- 181 Ibid pp. 404, 405.
- 182 Ibid p. 406 - A Reply to Dr. Haigh.
- 183 Ibid.
- 184 pp. 28, 29, Appended to Martin A tratyse of Christian Penegrenation.
- 185 Arnold Pritchard Catholic Loyalism in Elizabethan England (1979), p. 181.
- 186 Ibid.
- 187 Ibid p. 182.
- 188 Robert M. Kingdom (ed) The Execution of Justice of England By William Cecil and A True, Sincere and Modest Defence of English Catholics By William Allen (New York, 1965), p. 47.
- 189 Pritchard Loyalism pp. 8, 9.
- 190 Ibid p. 146.
- 191 Ibid p. 8.
- 192 Kingdom Execution pp. 47, 48.
- 193 Ibid p. 49.

- 194 Ibid.
- 195 Ibid pp. 46, 47.
- 196 "Persons to Agazzari, March 1st 1582, cited in John Paul De Cecco, Jr. "Father Robert Persons S.J. - Early Years 1546-1582" Ph.D. Diss. (Pennsylvania, 1953), p. 276.
- 197 Holmes Resistance & Compromise p. 186.
- 198 Cecco "Persons" pp. 15, 192.
- 199 Ibid p. 192.
- 200 Ibid p. 221.
- John Lodge Peasage of Ireland, Vol VI (1789), p. 1.
- Charles Robert (ed) Calendarium Genealogicum Regni III ed Edward I. Vol I, (1861), p. 125, item 33.
- Lodge Peasage pp. 2, 3. See also Francis Blowerfield in Early Records - A Topographical History of the County of Norfolk Vol I, (1899), pp. 271, 274.
- Pierre Chaplais English Royal Documents 1120-1129: 1561, (Oxford, 1971) - Books of Lincoller, Royal Charters - No. 10 No. 135, p. 62.
- Blowerfield Topographical History, Vol I, (1899), p. 276.
- Ibid p. 276.
- Ibid pp. 274, 275. The fullest genealogical source for the Cornhill lineage is "The Visitation of Norfolk made and taken by William Berrye anno 1561, 1569 and 1612." Harleian Society Vol XXXI, ed Walter Hylle (1874); Blowerfield Topographical History of Norfolk, Vol

CHAPTER TWO

NOTES

- 1 R.C. Bald (ed) An Humble Supplication to Her Maiestie in Answere To The Late Proclamation, (Cambridge, 1953), p. 5.
- 2 M. De Buck (ed) Spiritual Exercises and Devotions of Blessed Robert Southwell, S.J. (Louvain, 1930), p. 84.
- 3 Nancy Pollard Brown Two Letters and Short Rules of a Good Life By Robert Southwell S.J. (Charlottesville, 1973), pp. 28, 29.
- 4 John Lodge Peerage of Ireland, Vol VI (1789), p. 1.
- 5 Charles Robert (ed) Calendarium Genealogicum Henry III et Edward I, Vol I, (1861), p. 125, item 33.
- 6 Lodge Peerage pp. 2, 3. See also Francis Blomefield An Essay Towards A Topographical History of the County of Norfolk Vol X, (1809), pp. 273, 274.
- 7 Pierre Chaplais English Royal Documents, King John - Henry VI, 1199-1461, (Oxford, 1971) - "Duchy of Lancaster, Royal Charters - D.L. 10" No. 135, p. 62.
- 8 Blomefield Topographical History, Vol X, (1809), p. 278.
- 9 Ibid p. 276.
- 10 Ibid pp. 274, 275. The fullest geneological source for the Southwell pedigree is "The Visitation of Norfolk made and taken by William Hervey anno 1563, 1589 and 1613. Harleian Society Vol XXXII, ed. Walter Rye (1891); Blomefield Topographical History of Norfolk, Vol



X p. 274-7 gives a full account of Richard Southwell of Woodrysing and his descendants.

- 11 Blomefield. Top Hist, X, p. 273.
- 12 Ibid, p. 276.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 Ibid. See also "Visitation of Norfolk, 1563" Harlieian Society Vol XXXII, (1891) p. 259.
- 15 De Buck Spiritual Exercises 65, "on Restoring to the Christian Faith the Good repute of which the Scandals of the Religious Have robbed it" p. 107; Devlin Southwell, p. 10; and Christopher Haigh "The Continuity of Catholicism in the English Reformation" Past and Present, 93, (Nov. 1981) p. 59, citing Foley Records, I, p. 338.
- 16 Thomas Dorman A Proofoe of Certain Articles of Religion (Antwerp, 1564), p. 138 Recto.
- 17 Christobel Hood The Book of Robert Southwell (Oxford, 1926), p. 3 citing? Carthew Hundred of Launditch p. 187. Richard Southwell's date of birth is given as 1504 in the D.V.B and 1502/3 in Hist. of Pmt., III, p. 352.
- 18 Ibid pp. 3, Mrs. C. Hood disagrees with Walter Rye and others that Francis Southwell died in 1513. She holds that he died several years before that, referring to the fact that in 1511-12 his widow and executor was £26 in arrears of rent to the manor of Gimingham, Lancaster; thereby proving that Francis Southwell was dead before 1513.
- 19 F.W. Steer Woodrysing Church, Norfolk and Notes on the Southwell and other Families Connected with the Parish, (1959), (Norwich Central Library) p. 16, mentions that the D.N.B. records William Wootton's

wife as "Elizabeth" whereas "The Visitation of Norfolk", Harl. Soci. (1891); Walter Rye Norfolk Families (1911) p. 819, 821; and Blomefield Top. Hist. Vol X p. 275 - all these sources disagree with the D.N.B. and refer to William Wooton's wife as "Ursula"; see also History of Parliament - The Commons 1509-1558, Members III, p. 352.

- 20 F.W. Steer, Woodrusing Church p. 16.
- 21 Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Vol III, Part II (1519-1523) ed. J.S. Brewer (1867), Document 3694, pp. 1527, 1530.
- 22 Records of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn, Vol I, (1896) - "Admissions from A.D. 1420 to A.D. 1799", p. 43.
- 23 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. V. James Gairdner (ed) (1880), Document 452, p. 214.
- 24 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. V (1531-32) Document 657, pp. 294, 295.
- 25 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. V (1531-32) Document 1336 p. 576.
- 26 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. V (1531-32) Document 1139, pp. 507, 508.
- 27 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. V (1531-32) Document 1694, p. 704.
- 28 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. VI (1533) James Gardiner (ed) (1882), Document 1613, p. 659.
- 29 Ibid.
- 30 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. VII (1534) James Gardiner (ed) (1883), Document 1498 (13), p. 558.

- 31 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. VII (1534) Document 512 p. 205.
- 32 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. VII (1534) Document 1613, p. 604.
- 33 See note 30 above.
- 34 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. VIII (1535) James Gardiner (ed) (1885), Document 196, p. 75.
- 35 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. VIII (1535) Document 618, p. 233.
- 36 Nicholas Harpsfield The life and death of Sr Thomas Moore, knight sometymes Lord high Chancellor of England, (Early English Text Society Publications), (Oxford, 1932), pp. 181, 182.
- 37 Ibid p. 192.
- 38 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. VIII (1535) Document 1087, p. 426.
- 39 G.R. Elton "The Political Creed of Thomas Cromwell" Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Vol VI, (1956), p. 81.
- 40 Ibid p. 84, citing Baumer "Thomas Starkey and Marsiglio of Padua" Politica, ii, (1936) p. 188n. See Marsilius Menandrinus (of Padua) The Defence of Peace: lately translated out of Laten into Englyshe by William Marshall, (1535) (STC (1976) - 17817).
- 41 Elton "Cromwell" Tr. Roy. Hist. Soc., VI, p. 85 citing G. de Lagarde La Naissance de l'espirit laique au declin du moyen age. Vol II p. 167,n.
- 42 Elton "Cromwell". T.R.H.S., I, pp. 91, 92.
- 43 Christopher Saint German. Newe addicions p. 7 Recto.

- 44 Ibid pp. 8 Verso, 9 Recto.
- 45 Harpsfield Thomas More, (1932), p. 165.
- 46 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. X (1536) Gardiner Ed., (1887),
Document 79, p. 28.
- 47 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. X (1536) Document 191, p. 67.
- 48 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. X (1536) Document 236, p. 85.
- 49 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. X (1536) Document 436, p. 177.
- 50 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. XI (1536) Gardiner ed, (1888)
Doc. 321, p. 133.
- 51 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. XI (1536) Document 327, p. 134.
- 52 T.H. Swales "The Sequestration of Religious Property in Norfolk at the
Reformation" Ph.D Diss., Sheffield, (1965), p. 207.
- 53 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. XI (1536) Document 1229, p. 497.
- 54 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. XI (1536) Document 1356, p. 543.
- 55 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. XII Part I (1537) Gairdner ed.,
(1890), Document 243, p. 116.
- 56 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. XII Part I Document 512, p. 239.
- 57 Blomefield Topographical History, Vol. III, (1806), pp. 209-210.

- 58 T.H. Swales "Opposition to the Suppression of the Norfolk Monasteries" Norfolk Archaeology Vol 33, Part III, (1964), p. 254. The other Commissioners accompanying Southwell were Sir William Paston, Sir Roger Townshend and Thomas Mildmay.
- 59 Ibid p. 255.
- 60 Ibid pp. 256, 257.
- 61 Ibid pp. 257, 258.
- 62 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. XII Part I (1537) Document 1063, p. 484.
- 63 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. XII Part I (1537) Document 1300, p. 590.
- 64 Swales "Opposition to Suppression" p. 263.
- 65 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. XIII Part I (1538) Gairdner ed, (1892), Document 1520, pp. 572, 573 (Books of the Court of Augmentations - Enrolments of Grants by the Crown in the Augmentations, in 28 Henry VIII).
- 66 Walter C. Richardson History of the Court of Augmentatons 1536-1554, (Baton Rouge, 1961), p. 12.
- 67 Ibid pp. 49, 50.
- 68 Ibid p. 50.
- 69 Ibid pp. 51, 72-84.
- 70 Ibid p. 77n.

- 71 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. XIII Part I (1538) Document 384(46), p. 135.
- 72 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. XIII Part I (1538) Document 646 (48), p. 245.
- 73 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. XIII Part I (1538) Document 1519 (12,50), pp. 562, 567.
- 74 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. XIII Part II (1538) Gairdner, ed., (1893), Document 1213, pp. 508, 509.
- 75 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. XIV Part I (1539) Gairdner and Brodie, ed. (1894), Document 706, p. 348.
- 76 Ibid
- 77 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. XIV Part I (1539) Document 800, pp. 380,381.
- 78 H. Leonard "Knights and Knighthood in Tudor England" Ph. D. Diss. London, p. 187.
- 79 Ibid.
- 80 Ibid p. 192.
- 81 Ibid p. 301.
- 82 Ibid p. 106.
- 83 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. XV (1540) Gairdner & Brodie ed., (1896), Document 14, p. 4.
- 84 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. XVI (1540-41) Gairdner & Brodie ed., (1898), Document 49, p. 15.

- 85 Kytsone, Sir Thomas D.N.B. (1909).
- 86 Ibid.
- 87 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. XVI (1540-41) Document 517, p. 250.
- 88 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. XVII (1542) Gairdner and Brodie ed. (1900), Document 870 p. 473.
- 89 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. XVII (1542) Document 340, pp. 200-204.
- 90 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. XVIII Part I (1543) Gairdner and Brodie ed. (1901), Document 22, p. 10.
- 91 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. XVIII Part I (1543) Documents 22 and 22(2), p.10,11.
- 92 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. XVIII Part I (1543) Document 23, p. 12.
- 93 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. XVIII Part I (1543) Document 7(2), pp. 3,4.
- 94 Richard Grafton Chronicle; or, History of England... From the Year 1189 to 1588, Vol II, (1809), p. 405.
- 95 Ibid.
- 96 Ibid.
- 97 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. XXI Part II (1546) Gairdner and Brodie ed, (1910) Document 634, pp. 321,322.

- 98 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. XIX Part II (1544) Gairdner and Brodie ed, (1905), Document 524, pp. 301-309.
- 99 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. XIX Part II Document 444, p. 250.
- 100 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. XIX Part II Document 506, pp. 286,287.
- 101 Acts of the Privy Council 1542-1547, J.R. Dasent ed. (1890), (1545) p. 239.
- 102 Ibid p. 249.
- 103 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. XX Part II, Gairdner and Brodie ed. (1907), Document 268, p. 125.
- 104 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. XX Part II, Document 874, p. 426.
- 105 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. XX Part II, Document 1049, p. 525.
- 106 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. XXI (1546) Part I, Gairdner and Brodie (1908), Document 24, p. 12.
- 107 H.A.L. Fisher The History of England from the Accession of Henry VII to the Death of Henry VIII (1485-1547), (1906), p. 478.
- 108 Ibid.
- 109 Ibid.
- 110 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. XXI (1546) Part II, Document 533, p. 271.
- 111 Acts of the Privy Council Vol. I (1542-1547) p. 312.

- 112 Ibid., p. 511.
- 113 G.S. Davies Charterhouse in London - Monastery, Mansion, Hospital School, (1921), p. 124.
- 114 A.P.C. (1547-1550), Vol II p. 19.
- 115 Ibid.
- 116 Blomefield Topographical History Vol III, (1806), p. 222.
- 117 Ibid. p. 239.
- 118 Ibid. p. 240.
- 119 Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, Vol. XXI (1546) Part II, Document 634, p. 321.
- 120 D.E. Hoak The King's Council in the Reign of Edward VI (Cambridge, 1976), p. 49.
- 121 Ibid. p. 58.
- 122 Nicholas Pocock (ed) "Troubles Concerned with the Prayer Book of 1549" Camden Society, (1884) p. 84.
- 123 Ibid. pp. 86-88.
- 124 Ibid. pp. 95,96.
- 125 Charles Wriothesley "A Chronicle of England During the Reigns of the Tudors From A.D. 1485 to 1559", Camden Society (W.D. Hamilton, ed) Vol II (1877), p. 27.
- 126 Hoak King's Council, pp. 55,53.

- 127 1642 edition, pp. 62,63.
- 128 Hoak Kings Council p. 58.
- 129 A.F. Pollard The Political History of England, Vol VI, (1547-1603), (1910), pp. 45,46.
- 130 A.P.C. Vol II (1547-1550), (1890), p. 408.
- 131 P.F. Tytler England Under the Reigns of Edward VII and Mary, Vol I, (1839) pp. 256,257.
- 132 A.P.C. Vol III (1550-52) p. 236.
- 133 Ibid. p. 283.
- 134 Philip Hughes "The Reformation in England". (Fifth edition - three volumes in one), Vol II, (1963) pp. 182,186.
- 135 A.P.C. (Mary) (1552-1554) Vol IV, p. 314.
- 136 Ibid p. 318.
- 137 Wyatt, Sir Thomas D.N.B., (1909).
- 138 J.G. Nichols (ed) "The Chronicle of Queen Jane/and of/two Years of Queen Mary/And Especially of the Rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyatt" Camden Society, (1849) Appendix VII - "The Watch At The Court And In The City, On The Eve of Wyatt's Attack", p. 128.
- 139 Ibid p. 131.
- 140 Ibid.
- 141 Ibid p. 132.

- 142 Ibid pp. 132,133.
- 143 Ibid p. 133.
- 144 Ibid
- 145 P.F. Tytler England Under the Reigns of Edward VI and Mary, Vol II, (1839), pp. 383, 384.
- 146 Courteney, Henry, Courteney, Edward D.N.B. (1909).
- 147 Henry Ellis ed. Original Letters Illustrative of English History second series, Vol II, (1827) p. 254,n.
- 148 D.M. Loades Two Tudor Conspiracies (Cambridge 1965), p. 89.
- 149 Ibid p. 91.
- 150 Ibid p. 94 and note 5.
- 151 Ibid p. 94.
- 152 Ibid p. 93.
- 153 Richardson Augmentations p. 71.
- 154 Ibid pp. 11,71.
- 155 Thomas Warton The Life of Sir Thomas Pope, (1772) p. 24.
- 156 Ibid p. 46 and Gresham Sir Thomas D.N.B. Society (1909).
- 157 J.G. Nichols (ed) "The Diary of Henry Machyn" Camden Society (1847), p. 188.

- 158 Henry Ellis "Original Letters" sec series. Vol II, (1827), Letter CXLIII, p. 176.
- 159 J.G. Nichols (ed) "Narratives of the Days of the Reformation" Camden Society (1860), pp. 43,44.
- 160 Hist of Pmt. - The Commons 1509-1558, Members III, p. 354, and A.P. C Vol VII (1558-70) p. 14.
- 161 Ibid p.21.
- 162 Ibid p. 47.
- 163 A.H. Smith "The Elizabethan Gentry of Norfolk - Office Holding and Faction" Ph.D. Diss. London (1959), p. 39.
- 164 Ibid.
- 165 Blomefield Topographical History Vol III, (1806), pp. 279-80.
- 166 Norwich City Records - 176: Guidebook of St. George 1452-1602 pp. 229-30 in Records of St. George's Guild, courtesy of Norfolk Record Office. See also Dennis Rhodes "A Party at Norfolk in 1562" Norfolk Archaeology, Vol 37 (1978), p. 116.
- 167 John Strype Ecclesiastical Memorials, (1822), Vol III, Part II, p. 117.
- 168 T.H. Swales "The Sequestration of Religious Property in Norfolk at the Reformation" Ph.D. Diss. Sheffield, (1965), p. 284.
- 169 T.H. Swales "The Redistribution of the Monastic Lands in Norfolk at the Dissolution" - Norfolk Archaeology, Vol 34, p. 14.
- 170 Blomefield Topographical History, Vol X, pp. 276,277.

171 (1846 ed) p. 254 and Hist of Pmt. - The Commons 1509-1558, Members III, p. 354.

172 J.G. Nichols (ed) "The Diary of Henry Machyn" Camden Society (1847), p. 93.

173 Ibid p. 90.

174 Ibid p. 148.

175 Ibid p. 156.

APPENDIX I - DETAILS OF SIR RICHARD SOUTHWELL'S ATTENDANCE OF THE MARIAN PRIVY COUNCIL

<u>Serial</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Place of P.C. Meeting</u>	<u>Business</u>	<u>Source</u>
1.	August 9th 1552	-	A commission to R.C. to collect embezzled weapons	A. P.C. Vol IV 1552-54, p. 314.
2.	August 14th "	Tower	A warrant to R.S. to issue arms and armour	Ibid p. 318
3.	Ibid 15th "	Clinck	Day-to-day business to which he has a signatory	Ibid p. 319
4.	Ibid 16th "	Tower		Ibid p. 320
5.	Ibid 17th "	Star Chamber		Ibid p. 322
6.	" 21st "	Richmond		Ibid p. 323
7.	" 22nd "	Ibid		Ibid p. 327.
8.	" 23rd "	Ibid		Ibid p. 329.
9.	" 24th "	Ibid		Ibid p. 330
10.	" 25th "	Ibid		Ibid p. 331.
11.	" 26th "	Ibid		Ibid p. 332.
12.	" 27th "	Ibid		Ibid p. 333.
13.	" 28th "	Ibid		Ibid p. 334
14.	October 12th 1552	Westminster	Warrant to "Mr. Peckham" to pay C11 to R.S. for repaying of the Armoryes	Ibid p. 356.

<u>Serial</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Place of P.C. Meeting</u>	<u>Business</u>	<u>Source</u>
15.	November 3rd 1552	Ibid	Day-to-day business to which "Mr. Southwell either to Sir Richard or his brother Sir Robert was a signatory.	Ibid p. 361
16.	" 15th 1552	Ibid	Ibid - referred to as Mr. Southwell.	Ibid p. 365
17.	" 22nd "	Star Chamber	Ibid	Ibid p. 370.
18.	" 28th "	Westminster	Warrant to R.S. to pay Sir Edward Walgrave towards discharge of the debtes of the warderobb one thousaunde pounds.	Ibid p. 374
19.	February 27th 1553	Ibid	Day-to-day business to which R.S. was Signatory	Ibid p. 394
20.	February 23rd 1553	Ibid	Directions to R.S. and others to see to the distribution of grain in Ireland, Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight.	Ibid p. 397
21.	Last of February 1553	Ibid	Day-to-day business to which R.S. was a signatory	Ibid p. 401
22.	March 1st 1553	Ibid	No names of Privy Council House attending this meeting are given	p. 402.
23.	March 2nd 1553	Ibid	Ibid.	p. 403.
24.	March 3rd 1553	Westminster	Day-to-day business no names of attending councillors given	Ibid p. 403.
25.	March 4th "	Ibid	Ibid	Ibid p. 403.

<u>Serial</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Place of P.C. Meeting</u>	<u>Business</u>	<u>Source</u>
26.	March 5th "	Ibid	A letter to R.S. as master of Ordnance to deliver to the Master of Ordnance of Ships "two lastes of Serpentyne Poulder, and one laste of grosse courne poulder and xxx ^{biti} dosen of top dartes	Ibid p. 404.
27.	March 6th 1553	Ibid	A letter to R.S. to order lieutenant of the Tower "to permit and suffer the Lord Cobham to have the libertie of the gardein, and his weif to come unto hym"	Ibid p. 404.
28.	March 7th "	Ibid	No names attending P.C. given	Ibid p. 411.
28(a)	March 22nd "	Saint James	R.S. attended P.C.	p. 411.
29.	July 28th "	Ibid	Warrant from P.C. to R.S. to paye a Richard Lewkenor £4 "in consyderatyon of his good new[s] broute owt of Fraunce"	Ibid p. 422.
30.	March 27th 1554	St James	R.S. informs the Council that only 14 lasts of powder remain in the Tower Armoury. He is therefore empowered to request Thomas Gresham in	A.P.C. (1554-1554) Vol V, pp. 3,4.

<u>Serial</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Place of P.C. Meeting</u>	<u>Business</u>	<u>Source</u>
			Flanders to provide x of Salt Petre & XX lasts of Serpentine Powder and V ^C (100) harquebuses 'from oute of Flanders'.	
31.	March 28th 1554	Ibid	Board of Commissioners including R.S. to be formed to examine Irish accounts and other aspects of Irish Affairs.	Ibid p. 4,5.
32.	May 8th 1554	Star Chamber	Letter to R.S. and Arthur Darcy "to repayre to the Towre and there to take musters as well of the personnes their remaigning as of all other thin habitants of Surrounding hamlets. Also, a letter to him and to Sir Henry Bedingfield and Thomas Bridges to summon all officers of the Armoury And Ordinance and not to depart without Special licence.	Ibid p. 19.
33.	May 10th 1554	St. James	Order to R.S. to deliver to Lord Clynton, appoynted to lead "men of Warr about London", xx corseletes c (100) pykes, 1 hale, 1 tent and other material of ordnance.	Ibid p. 20.

<u>Serial</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Place of P.C. Meeting</u>	<u>Business</u>	<u>Source</u>
34.	May 19th 1554	Ibid	Warrant to R.S. to deliver to Sir Henry Bedingfield "corselletes, XXV almayne ryvettes l ^t ie Pykes, XXV billes, XXV gonnes and bowes with their full furnitures".	Ibid p. 24.
35.	June 30th 1554	Farnham	Letter to R.S. to punish those "that whisteled in the wall"??	Ibid p. 49.
36.	July 30th 1554	Winchester	Letter to R.S. inquiring what monies had been paid to disband the Earl of Darby's men	Ibid p.54.
37.	October 27th 1554	Westminster	"Mr. Southwell, Mr. Englefield and Lord Page" to examine those exporting Corn out of Norfolk and Suffolk.	Ibid p. 80,81.
38.	February 23rd 1554/55	Westminster	Letter to R.S. to deliver Sundry munitions and arms to be employed in the "Northe Partes"	Ibid p. 98.
39.	March 27th 1555	Ibid	Letter to R.S. to deliver 50 coates of mail & 50 "hagbuttes" and powder "to be imploied in the King and Queenes Majesties service upon the Seas"	Ibid p. 108.

<u>Serial</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Place of P.C. Meeting</u>	<u>Business</u>	<u>Source</u>
40.	September 23rd 1555	Greenwich	A Letter to R.S. informing him of the King's return home from Flanders and "requiring him to make his repaire hither with speade tattend upon his Highnes upon the seas, to bring over his moost roiall persone".	Ibid p. 184.
41.	November 14th 1555	St. James	R.S. " <u>Mr Secretary Bourne, and Sir Thomas Wharton</u> " to arbitrate in the dispute between Sir Robert Brandline and Sir John Witherington	Ibid p. 193.
42.	November 27th 1555	Ibid	A Letter to the Attorney & Solicitor with a Pardonne for Richard Southwell "which they are willed to consider" p. 194	
43.	June 2nd 1556	St. James	A letter of thanks to R.S. "not only for staying of the Duchess of Suffolk's man in Norfolk being sent from beyonde the Seas with sundrie letters but also for sending him upp higher together with the same letters, requiring hym to use and contynue his dilligence in all other like cases".	Ibid p. 277,278

<u>Serial</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Place of P.C. Meeting</u>	<u>Business</u>	<u>Source</u>
44.	June 14th 1556	Ibid	R.S. intercepting "two leases" made by Katherine, Duchess of Suffolk and sent by him to the Lord Treasurer who summoned the Duchess and other parties concerned.	Ibid p. 283.
45.	November 29th 1556	Ibid	"A warraunt to the Master of thordynaince" (R.S.) to deliver Powder to Calais 'for the furniture of the Queen's majesty service there".	A.P.C. (Mary) Vol VI, p. 24.
46.	February 3rd 1556/57	Star Chamber	Letter to R.S. to repair immediately to the Court for "bringing into order of those things that by wanting in his offices of the Thordinaunce and armourye".	Ibid p. 47.
47.	August 1st 1557	Richmond	Letter to R.S. to 'haste away Mr. Bellingiam, Treasurer of Barwicke, with the treasure" (Money to be sent north).	p. 137.
48.	August 11th 1557	Ibid	Letter to R.S. Sir Thomas Pope, and Sir Anthony Darcy to inspect 300 men levied by Cuthbert Vaughan before their despatch for service in the North.	p. 148.

<u>Serial</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Place of P.C. Meeting</u>	<u>Business</u>	<u>Source</u>
49.	August 28th 1557	Ibid	Letter to R.S. from Chester Merchants requesting him to supply their ships with "foure mynyons of yron" for the defence of the Irish Coasts.	p. 152.
50.	August 25th 1557	Westminster	R.S. and "Mr. Secretary Bourne" appointed to examine Lord Latimer touching the death of a woman.	p. 159.
51.	October 28th 1557	St. James	"Letter to R.S. and others to examine one Newport and his man, and one Cowley, "touching certain counterfeit Crownes taken with the saide Newporte".	Ibid p. 186/7.
52.	October 30th 1557	Ibid	Letter to R.S. and others to examine one Newport and his servant, suspected of coining.	Ibid p. 193.
53.	December 19th 1557	Ibid	Letter to R.S. and others to examine the Supplication exhibited here by merchants of Flanders against merchants of London.	Ibid p. 218.
54.	January 6th 1557/8	Greenwich	To R.S., to make declaration of the State of the Ordnance	Ibid p. 233.

<u>Serial</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Place of P.C. Meeting</u>	<u>Business</u>	<u>Source</u>
55.	January 19th 1557/8	Ibid	To the Maste of thordynance to send to Berwick XXX ^b iti gunners for "great pieces".	p. 245.
56.	January 21st "	Westminster	To the Master of Thordynance, R.S., to attend early next morning, and to supply bowes, bylles and Pykes and Hagbuttes for the men that now go over".	p. 246.
57.	February 4th 1557/8	Star Chamber	To R.S. to keep the previous batch of gunners at Berwick & to send more, so that the total sent shall be 30 gunners.	p. 258,259.
58.	February 8th "	Westminster	R.S. ordered to summon Lieutenant or Clerk of the bande of the Sowldiours of Guysnes" to deliver a list of soldiers' names.	p. 263.
59.	March 15th 1557/8	Greenwich	To R.S. to supply the Duke of Norfolk with xliij peces of yron ordynance to be bestowed on the sea coasts within the precinct of his Lieutenancy, and to "indente" the said Duke for the "re-delivery" of the same to the Queen's use	p. 284.

<u>Serial</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Place of P. C. Meeting</u>	<u>Business</u>	<u>Source</u>
60.	March 17th	"	To R.S. to deliver arms and ammunition for the defence of the Isle of Thannett in Kent	p. 286.
61.	March 19th	"	To R.S. to deliver to the Earl of Sussex Lord deputy of Ireland, timber to stock guns.	p. 90.
62.	March 20th	"	To R.S. to report on stocks of powder and munitions presently at Berwick.	p. 290.
63.	March 23rd	"	To R.S. to provide arms and ammunition for 'the furniture' of the Isle of Alderney	p. 291.
64.	April 1st 1558	Greenwich	To R.S. questioning him closely about the qualities of munitions for the navy, and to order him to furnish the previously specified arms and munitions	Ibid p. 298.
65.	April 28th 1558	Ibid	Warrant to R.S. to deliver arms and ammunition to Mr. Bedingfield, captain of the Guard.	Ibid p. 306.
66.	August 12th 1558	Ibid	Warrant to R.S. to deliver to the Navy Ordnance Master, William Wynter Powder, weights, shot, hydes, sheepskins, corne powder, canvas for cartridges etc.	Ibid p. 375.

APPENDIX II

Main Points of Sir Richard Southwell's Will

[The whole will runs into 17 folios of closely written script]

(P.C.C 19 Stevenson - Prob. 11/47, ff. 144-52)

'In the name of God, Amen' 24 July 1561 (3 Elizabeth)

- 'I Sir Richard Southwell of Woodrising in the Countie of Norf. Knight knowing that I am naturally borne to die and passe from this transitory lief minding to put in order as well of all my goodes moveables and chattels as also of my landes and tenements to thentent there should be no strife growe for the same after my decease.
- Renounces all previous wills.
- Soul left to Almighty God, his most blessed son Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost. Body to be buried in the northsyde of the Chauncell of Woodrising Church.. nere the north dore of the same chauncell and under the place where the Sepulchre was yerely wont to be sett and made if he dies within a 100 miles of Woodrising; otherwise to be buried within the church of the parish where he dies.
- Church were he is buried - 40s. towards repairs.
- 'Unto the poore Lawe' - £100 to be distributed among the most impotent persones, men women and children' dwelling within a radius of 10 miles of Woodrising, at the discretions of the executors, any remaining money to be distributed among the poor of Norwich.
- Debts to be paid.
- Brothers and kinsfolk and household servants present in house at time of burial - a black gown each.
- Friends present in house at time of burial - a black gown each.
- Forbids a hearse of wax : desires only two fair...? of virgin wax with branches to be set upon the hearse.
- 24 Poor men and 24 Poor women to attend funeral - a black gown and 12d. each (besides 100 already provided).
- Daughter Elizabeth, now wife of George Henneage esquire - 2000

sheep, provided they enter into a recognizance of #4000 with the executors not to dispute the will or indentures made on 20 April 1559 between Southwell and Nicholas, late Archbishop of York and Sir Nicholas Bacon, otherwise the sheep are to be given to my nephew Thomas Southwell sonne and heire unto my late brother Sir Robert Southwell on condition that he does not intermeddle with the will or estate.

- Anne, late wife of my brother Anthony Southwell - manor of Little Cressingham for Life, remainder to nephew Thomas Southwell.
- Anne widow of Anthony Southwell and her children (Robert, Anne and Elizabeth) - sheep grazing at Little Cressingham; if she has married again, she and her new husband are to be bound in 100 marks to settle the flock on her children Robert, Anne and Elizabeth, otherwise the flock to be settled on nephew Thomas Southwell.
- Henry Paston my son-in-law and Mary his wife - 200 marks if Henry survives to be 21, 2000 'good' sheep on reaching 21; 'my flaggon chaine of golde' which he used to wear in folds about his neck but which he has already given to Henry and Mary; 12 good pieces of hangings called "brankeredge' or parkworke' from the house of Woodrising; 4 good feather beds with bolsters, pillows, sheets and covers; my testers of black wrought velvet and my tester of purple velvet and cloth of gold with my arms thereupon embroidered; basins, ewers, pots, salt cellars; all provided Henry makes a satisfactory settlement for his wife yielding 300 marks a year and binds himself in a recognizance of #100 to do this : otherwise all items to be delivered to Mary after the death of her husband. If Mary dies childless, remainder to be divided between:
 - a) younger Sons of Richard Darcy alias Southwell by his wife Bridget and b) younger children of Thomas Audley of Berechurch, Essex, esquire, by his wife Katherine.
- Thomas Audley of Berechurch and his wife Katherine - basons, eweres, bowls, livery pots, jug with a cover being the Queen's New Year gift for 1561; 2 feather beds with various fittings; a testor of crimson velvet fringed with silver and gold; other furnishings; 100; debts outstanding.
- My nephew Thomas Southwell - my best hangings of Imagery work

containing eight pieces in the dining chamber of Woodrising used in the hall on all high and solemn fests; 12 pieces of hangings of brankeredge of parkeworke; my best tester of cloth of silver tinsell and crimson velvet embroidered mine arms are set with companion fittings; furniture; contents of dairy; lead and other building materials, to about half (sic).

- Richard Darcy alias Southwell, late of Lincoln's Inn - half of lead and other building materials towards the repair of his decayed houses at Saint ffaithes'.
- My nephew Thomas Southwell - half steer and oxen at Woodrising, Scoulton and Whinborough : remaining half to be shared between Henry Paston and his wife Mary and Richard Darcy alias Southwell late of Lincoln's Inn.
- Horses kept at Woodrising or Whinborough Park to be equally divided between Thomas Audley of Berechurch and Richard Darcy alias Southwell late of Lincoln's Inn.
- My daughter Bridget now the wife to the said Richard Darcy alias Southwell late of Lincoln's Inn and to her children begotten of her body by the said Richard - household stuff, stock and store; items remaining at my house at Horsham St. Faith's and lordship of Spyksworthe; 6000 sheep, paying £840 over 7 years to the executors (of) the daughters of the said Bridget begotten of her body - £420 (i.e. half the above mentioned sum) to be used for the advancement of the said daughters.
- Thomas Southwell second son of Bridget - £420 (i.e. half of the above mentioned sum) to be paid to him at the age of 21.
- Thomas Southwell, Francis Sturges, Henry Riches, Thomas Thwaytes of Hardingham, Norfolk and Francis Southwell second son unto Sir Robert Southwell deceased - to be remaindermen for (£)6000 if Bridget and her husband and children predecease testator; paying £2000 over 7 years.
- My daughter Bridget - plate in her charge and keeping as appears in an inventory signed by her: her husband Richard is to be bound in a recognizance of 100 marks to guarantee these items pass in their entirety to their children.
- Thomas Audley of Berechurch esquire and Katherine his wife - other

parcells of plate.

- Thomas Southwell alias Darcy son of my late wife Dame Mary - plate.
 - Daughters of the said Bridget Southwell begotten of her body by the said Richard Southwell her husband.??
 - Dorothy Southwell alias Darcy daughter of Dame Mary my late wife - plate.
 - Nephew Thomas Southwell son of Sir Richard (Robert?) Southwell manors of Carbrook and Woodhall and commandery of Carbrook.
 - My daughters Elizabeth Henneage - manors of Tottington cum Stampfort and Mortymers in Tottington.
 - My son Thomas Darcy alias Southwell son to Dame Mary my late wife - manors of Helmyngham, Morton cum Ringland.
 - My nephew Thomas Southwell son of Sir Richard Robert Southwell manor of Westfield, rectory of Totlington and Carbroke, various advowsons.
 - William Bacon my servant - keepership of the Park of Woodrising for life.
 - Repair of Churches in neighbourhood of Woodrising - 20s. each.
 - My friend Sir Henry Bedingfield, my harness complete (also left to Duke of Norfolk).
 - Bridget Southwell now wife of Richard Southwell alias Darcy - hangings, featherbeds, remainder of undesigned household stuff to be equally divided between children of testator.
 - Thomas Southwell second son of Richard Southwell alias Darcy late of Lincoln's Inn - remaining years of lease of manor of Burnham Thorpe with remainder to his father.
 - Executors - Duke Norfolk, Sir Robert Catlyn, Anthony Brown, j.Q.B(sic) Sir Thomas Cornwallis, my brother Francis Southwell, my cousin Osbert Moundforde, and Francis Gawdy, esq.
- Duke of Norfolk - A cross of gold, 40
Sir Robert Catlyn - 40 marks.
Mr. Justice Browne - 40 marks.
Sir Thomas Cornwallis - 40 marks
Francis Southwell - 20.
Osbert Maudforde - 20.
Francis Gawdy - 20.

- My very good neighbour and assured friend Sir Thomas Lovel and his very good lady wife - a standing cup weighing 75 ounces.
- My very good cousin and friend Thomas Townshent - a silk gown.
- My son-in-law Thomas Audley of Berechurch and Katherine his wife - my horse litter.
- Richard Darcy alias Southwell - all my books of Scripture, profane stories and other Latin authors and my books of law and statute books.
- Bridget and Richard her husband - my coach and wagon.
- My good neighbour and friend Thomas Cicell esq. - a silk gown, a ring worth 3.
- Executors requested to supervise the education of my ward Henry Paston and Robert Southwell my nephew one of the sons of my late brother Sir Robert Southwell in the study of the laws of the realm whrein and wherat my special desire is (for the better well doing) and to increase them in virtue and knowledge... at the Inns of Court: also (the) education of Thomas Darcy alias Southwell son of my late wife Dame Mary with special requests to Cornwallis, Lovell, Francis Southwell, Moundford, Francis Sturgis and Thomas Twiates to look after him and send him to Cmabridge.

Signed...

Witnesses - Edmund Sandell, Michael Spilman, Robert Holdiche, Thomas Crier, Henry Santrell, William Nicolls and Walter Jerningham.

Memorandum: 11 January 1563

Servants individually remembered.

Several small additional bequests.

Witnesses - Richard Southwell, Michael Spillman, Francis Sturges, John Thomas, Robert Holdiche.

Probate - 22 June 1564.

(Transcribed by Mr. A.D.K. Hawkyard,
Palaeographer and record agent.)

CHAPTER THREE

NOTES

- 1 1846 (ed) pp. 202, 203.
- 2 "The Visitation of Norfolk made and taken by William Hervey Anno 1563"
Harleian Society, Vol XXXII, (1891), pp. 259, 260, and C. Hood,
Southwell p. 5.
- 3 History of Parliament - The Commons 1509-1558, Members III, p.356 on
R.S. date of birth Ralph Houlbrooke Church Courts and the People
During the English Reformation 1520-1570, (Oxford 1979), p. 67.
- 4 Tudor and Stuart Proclamations 1485-1714, Calendered by Robert Steele,
Vol I - England and Wales, (Oxford, 1910). Proclamation No. 327.
- 5 Blomefield Topographical History, Vol X, p. 455.
- 6 John Lamb Master's History of the College of Corpus Christi and the
Blessed Virgin Mary in the University of Cambridge, (1831),
Appendix - List of Members p. 488. Lamb erroneously describes him
in a footnote as "Knt... One of Henry VIII's executors, and
councillor to his son Edward VI" (Ibid). Obviously, he was
thinking of his father, Sir Richard Southwell.
- 7 H.C. Porter and John Fines "Letter of Corpus Association" No. 60
(Michaelmas 1981) p. 37. Lamb explains that the title of the
College in legal deeds is stiled "The College of Corpus Christi and
the Blessed Virgin Mary, commonly called Bene't College". The
correct title of the College is "Corpus Christi". The
"adventitious title" Bene't College was acquired circa 1389,
"probably from its vicinity to the church of that name" (Lamb
Master's History p. 40).

- 8 Ibid p. 35 citing John Foxe "Book of Martyrs" - NRG.
- 9 Ibid p. 37, citing Foxe's "Book of Martyrs" - N/R/G.
- 10 Ibid p. 35.
- 11 Ibid p. 41. Lamb gives the date of Lowthe's admission to Benet as 1544 (Lamb Master's History p. 478).
- 12 J.G. Nichols "Narratives of the Days of the Reformation" Camden Society (1859), p. 1.
- 13 Ibid p. 2, 3.
- 14 Ibid p. 35.
- 15 Ibid p. 36.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 Ibid.
- 19 Ibid p. 37.
- 20 Ibid pp. 37, 38.
- 21 Ibid pp. 7, 8.
- 22 Ibid p. 46.
- 23 Ibid pp. 45, 46.
- 24 Derek Wilson A Tudor Tapestry/Men Women and Society in Tudor England, (1972), p. 169.

- 25 Ibid p. 168.
- 26 Ibid pp. 179, 192.
- 27 Nichols (ed) Narratives... Reformation, p. 45.
- 28 Ibid.
- 29 Ibid p. 46.
- 30 The Records of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn Vol I, (1896)
(Admissions 1420-1799) p. 56.
- 31 The Records of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn - "The Black Books", Vol I (A.D. 1422 to A.D. 1586) (1897), p. 291.
- 32 Hist. of Pmt. - The Commons 1509-1588, Members III, p. 356 and Ibid p. 292.
- 33 Records, Lincoln Inn (Black Book) p. 293.
- 34 Ibid p. 296.
- 35 Ralph A. Houlbrouke The English Family 1450-1700, (1984), p. 25.
- 36 Hist. of Pmt. - The Commons 1509-1588, Members III, p. 356 and Christopher Devlin The Life of Robert Southwell/Poet and Martyr, (1956), p. 7n and "Visitation of Norfolk" Harleian Society, (1891), pp. 259, 260.
- 37 British Museum Additional MS. 27960 - "Letters poste betwixte Edward Clere and Richard Southwell esquires" (The Correspondence of Edward Clere and Richard Southwell on the Shire Elections of April 1572). (Transcribed by Mr. A.D.K. Hawkyard).
- 38 Ibid folios 9-10v.

- 39 G.H. Dashwood Visitation of Norfolk in 1563 by William Harvey Vol I, (1878), pp. 315, 316 and Hist. of Pmt. - The Commons 1509-1588, Members III, Vol I, p. 650.
- 40 B.M. Add. MS. 27960 f. 9-10v.
- 41 Ibid f. 9v.
- 42 f. 10.
- 43 Ibid f. 10v.
- 44 A.H. Smith "The Elizabethan Gentry of Norfolk: Office Holding and Faction" Ph.D Diss. London, (1959), p. 118.
- 45 Ibid pp. 118, 119.
- 46 A.H. Smith County and Court Government and Politics in Norfolk 1588-1603, (Oxford, 1974) p. 155.
- 47 Ibid p. 181.
- 48 Norfolk Record Society, 8656 Shelf mark 21.C.4, Hobart.
- 49 Norfolk Record Society, 8462 Shelfmark 21.B.3.
- 50 Norfolk Record Society, 17290 Shelfmark 32.F.7.
- 51 Norfolk Record Society, 11186 Shelfmark 26.A.1.
- 52 Norfolk Record Society, 12507 Shelfmark 27.D.6.
- 53 Norfolk Record Society, 11187 Shelfmark 26.A.1. (References 48-53, transcribed by Mr. T.L.M. Hawes).

- 54 The Genealogist Vol XXVI, (1910) p. 182.
- 55 I am indebted to Dr. Conrad Swan, York Herald and Register of the College of Arms for his assistance in confirming these grants of arms, and to his assistant Ms Elizabeth Dorman for this letter, dated October 10th 1984.
- 56 Cited in S. Schoenbaum William Shakespeare - A Compact Documentary Life, (Oxford 1977), p. 38.
- 57 D.M. Palliser The Age of Elizabeth/England Under the late Tudors, 1547-1603 (1983), p.70.
- 58 J.S. Cockburn (ed) Calendar of Assize Records - Essex Indictments, Elizabeth I (HMSO, 1978), p. 408, item 2471.
- 59 Acts of the Privy Council, (new series) Vol IX, (1894) (1575-1577) p. 112.
- 60 Ibid p. 117.
- 61 Ibid p. 125.
- 62 Ibid.
- 63 Ibid p. 129.
- 64 Henry Spelman History and Fate of Sacrilege, p. 203.
- 65 Norfolk Record Office - Walsingham Documents (Merton) V/16.
(Transcribed by Mr. T.L.M. Hawes).
- 66 Norfolk Record Office - Norfolk Consistory Court, Will register
entitled MOYSE ALS SPICER f. 198.
- 67 College of Arms letter to author, dated October 10th 1984.

- 68 J.H. Pollen Sources for the History of Roman Catholics in England, Ireland and Scotland, (1921), p. 7. Hist. of Pmt. - The Commons 1509-1588, Members III, p. 351; Holmes Elizabethan Casuistry, C.R.S., (1981), p. 30.
- 69 Historical MSS Commission, Salisbury (Cecil) MSS, Vol IV (1892), pp. 535, 536.
- 70 Hist Mss. Comm, Salisbury (Cecil) Vol II (1572-82), (1888), p. 8.
- 71 O. Ogle (ed) Copy-Book of Sir Amyas Paulet's letters Written During His Embassy in France (A.D. 1577) (Rosburghe Club, 1866), p. 199.
- 72 Ibid p. 219.
- 73 Ibid.
- 74 J.A. Bossy "English Catholics and the French Marriage 1577-81" Recusant History Vol V (1959-1960) p. 3.
- 75 Richard Southwell was probably tolerated at Court as a possible source of information about the activities of the Catholics.
- 76 His being tolerated by the Council and his being a conforming member of the Anglican church may be linked, in the sense that the Council's toleration was forthcoming due to his religious conformity.
- 77 Acts of the Privy Council, Vol XV (1587-88) pp. 353, 354.
- 78 Ibid.
- 79 A.P.C. Vol XVI, 1588, p. 89.
- 80 Ibid p. 90.

- 81 Ibid p. 110.
- 82-84 Ibid pp. 407, 408.
- 85 A.P.C. Vol XVII, (1588-9), p. 354.
- 86 Ibid.
- 87 Ibid p. 351.
- 88 Hist. of Pmt. - The Commons 1509-1588, Members III, p. 357. A.P.C. Vol XX (1590-91) p. 228.
- 89 Ibid p. 331.
- 90 Farm Street 46/22/2-3: A cutting, probably from a catalogue of deed polls, numbered 229 and entitled "Southwell, Richard senior of Horsham St. Faith's".
- 91 Cited by Richard Simpson "Religious Associations in the Sixteenth Century" THE RAMBLER (3rd Series), May 1859, pp. 30, 31.
- 92 Francis Edwards The Elizabethan Jesuits, (1981), Book the Fifth, p. 239.
- 93 Foley Records, Vol I, Series I, pp. 186, 189.
- 94 C.R.S. (Vol. 39) Letters & Memorials, Robert Persons, pp. xx, xxxii, xxxiii and C.R.S., (Vol 2) Miscellanea, p. 180.
- 95 A.C. Southern Elizabethan Recusent Prose (1950), pp. 139, 142, 143.
- 96 Garnet Apology p. 6, 8, 9, 10.; C.R.S., vol. 39, p. 61; Holmes Resistance & Compromise pp. 101-105, 108; Persons

A Briefe Discourse (Douai, 1601 ed.) B.12.r; B.13.r; C.2.v;
C.8.r,v; D.8.r.; D.9.r,v; E.1, E.5, E.7.

- 97 Richard Simpson "Religious Associations in the Sixteenth Century"
The Rambler (May 1859) p. 30 and Joseph L. Altholz "Material for
Recusant History in the Rambler Recusant History Vol VI, (1961-62)
p. 87.
- 98 J.A. Bossy "English Catholics and the French Marriage" 1577-81
Recusant History Vol V (1959-60) p. 6, citing Mauvissiere, The
French Ambassador who also wrote on this subject to Henri III on
October 29th 1579. (Ibid p. 13 n.16).
- 99 Wallace T. MacCaffrey Queen Elizabeth and the Making of Policy 1572-
1588 (Princeton 1981), pp. 249, 250.
- 100 Simpson "Religious Associations" Rambler (May 1859) p. 31 citing
Mauvissiere to Henri III Jan. 11th 1581.
- 101-103 Ibid.
- 104 Ibid p. 35.
- 105 MacCaffrey Queen Elizabeth p. 250.
- 106 R.B. Wernham Before the Armada/the Growth of English Foreign Policy
1485-1588, 1971, p. 310.
- 107 J.H. Pollen "The Politics of English Catholics During the Reign of
Queen Elizabeth" The Month No. 456, (June 1902), No. V "Plots and
Sham Plots" p. 607.
- 108 Stone Crisis of the Aristocracy p. 402.
- 109 H.M.C., Salisbury (Cecil) MSS, Part VIII (1899) p. 449 and Harleian
Society, Vol xxxii, (1891), p. 260.

- 110 Charlotte Fell Smith John Dee (1527-1608), (1909), pp. 198, 217, Dee had settled, on September 15, 1586 for two years at Trebona (or Tribau) in Southern Bohemia, at the invitation of Court Rosenberg, Viceroy of Bohemia, Knight of the Golden Fleece, and patron of the arts. (Smith, Dee p. 174).
- 111 Frances A. Yates The Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age (1983) p. 79.
- 112 Smith Dee p. 18.
- 113 Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth, 1581-1590, Robert Lemon ed. (1865), Vol CCXXVIII, p. 628.
- 114 H.M.C. Salisbury (Cecil) MSS, Part VI, (1895), p. 143 - "Thomas Ferrers to the Queen".
- 115 H.M.C. Salisbury (Cecil) MSS, Part X, (1904), pp. 441, 442, "Marquis of Brandenburg".
- 116 Ralph Houlbrooke The English Family, p. 41.
- 117 Ibid.
- 118 Ibid p. 247.
- 119 Foley Records Vol I (Series One) p. 339.
- 120 Nancy Pollard Brown Two Letters and Short Rules of Good Life By Robert Southwell S.J. (Charlottesville, 1973), p. 8. I have used both Foley's and Dr. Brown's translations of Southwell's letter according to the turns of phrase used and as would give maximum interpretation of Richard Southwell's character.

- 121 Foley Records, Vol I p. 343.
- 122 Ibid p. 345.
- 123 Ibid p. 339.
- 124 Norfolk Record Society 8559 Shelfmark 21.C.1.
- 125 Prerogative Court, Canterbury, 56 - Probate 11 (96, ff. 137-8 PCC 56).
(Transcribed by Mr. A.D.K. Hawkyard).
- 126 I am indebted to the Bourne Society and Society of Genealogists for
this point.
- 127 Surrey County Council - Surrey Record Office. Letter to Author dated
July 13th 1983.
- 128 William Dugdale Monasticon Anglicanum Vol II, (1819 ed), pp. 455, 457;
and Victoria Country History Hampshire, Vol II, p. 122.
- 129 William Berry Sussex County Genealogies (1830), Copley Genealogies -
West Sussex Record Office - Ref. MF 711, and John Comber Sussex
Genealogies (Horsham Centre) - "Copley of Roughway and Gatton", p.
71.
- 130 Henry Kamen European Society 1500-1700, (1984), p. 27.
- 131 D.M. Palliser The Age of Elizabethan/England Under the Late Tudors
1547-1603, (1983), p. 41.
- 132 Ralph Houlbrooke The English Family p. 66.
- 133 W.H. Woodward Studies in Education during the Age of the Renaissance
1400-1600, (1906), pp. 124, 125.
- 134 Ibid p. 125.

- 135 Joan Simon Education and Society in Tudor England, (1966) p. 11.
- 136 J. E. Neale The Elizabethan House of Commons, (Penguin edition 1949), pp. 22, 23.
- 137 Simon Education, Tudor England p. 11.
- 138 Dugdale Monasticon Anglican, Vol II p. 451.
- 139 Ibid.
- 140 Ibid p. 452.
- 141 "Robert Southwell the Writer by P. Janelle - Some notes by Miss Agnes Molt, March 1936" - Farm Street Boxfile 46/22/2-3. Miss Molt is citing Foster's Royal Lineages". See also "Some Account of Leigh Place, Surrey and of its owners" Surrey Archaeological Collections Vol XI Pt II - Pedigree of Copley of Leigh Place and Gatton.
- 142 V.C.H. Hampshire, Vol II p. 126, Eileen Power Medieval English Nunneries, (Cambridge, 1922), p. 60.
- 143 Dugdale Monasticon Anglicanum Vol II p. 456, and Power Nunneries pp. 60, 73, 152, 153.
- 144 Dugdale Monasticon Anglicanum Vol II p. 457.
- 145 A.W. Parry Education in the Middle Ages (1920), p. 176.
- 146 Ibid p. 175.
- 147 Cited in C.J. Curtis History of Education in Great Britain London (1948) p. 54, by J.E.G. Montmorency in "The Medieval Education of Women in England" The Journal of Education", (June 1909).

- 148 Power, Nunneries pp. 1, 2.
- 149 Ibid p. 2.
- 150 Ibid p. 5.
- 151 Ibid pp. 13, 14.
- 152 Joseph Kennedy "The Dissolution of the Monasteries in Hampshire and the Isle of Wight" M.A. Diss. London (1953), p. 32.
- 153 Ibid p. 47 and V.C.H. "Hampshire", Vol II p. 122.
- 154 Kennedy "Dissolution" p. 47.
- 155 Dugdale Monasticon Anglicanum Vol II p. 456.
- 156 V.C.H. "Hampshire" Vol II p. 125.
- 157 Power Nunneries pp. 237-239.
- 158 Ibid pp. 240, 241.
- 159 V.C.H. "Hampshire" II p. 124.
- 160 Power Nunneries p. 252.
- 161 A.W. Parry Education in the Middle Ages" (1920), p. 229.
- 162 Carroll Camden The Elizabethan Woman - A Panorama of English Womanhood 1540 to 1640, (1952), p. 54.
- 163 Ibid p. 57.
- 164 Retha M. Warnicke Women of the English Renaissance and Reformation, (1983), p. 56.

- 165 Camden Elizabethan Woman p. 57.
- 166 Warnicke Women of... Renaissance p. 92.
- 167 Ibid.
- 168 Camden Elizabethan Woman p. 58.
- 169 Lawrence Stone "The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800
(1977), p. 203.
- 170 Ibid p. 203.
- 171 Ibid p. 204.
- 172 Warnicke Women of... Renaissance p. 56.
- 173 Foster Watson, ed. Vives and the Renaissance Education of Women,
(1912), pp. 62, 137.
- 174 Ibid p. 123.
- 175 Francis Edwards The Elizabethan Jesuits p. 239.
- 176 Foster Watson "The Beginnings of the Teaching of Modern Subjects in
England", (1909), pp. 1, 2.
- 177 Thomas Warton The Life of Sir Thomas Pope (1772 ed.) pp. 77, 78.
- 178 Ibid p. 78.
- 179 Ibid pp. 107, 108.
- 180 Ibid p. 89.

- 181 Agnes Strickland Lives of the Queens of England from the Norman Conquest, Vol III, (1884), p. 75.
- 182 Ibid.
- 183 Ibid.
- 184 H.E.D. Blakiston University of Oxford College Histories - Trinity College (1898), pp. 36, 42, 43.
- 185 Warton Thomas Pope p. 208n citing Tusser Husbandrie, (1593 edition 4 to) p. 159.
- 186 William Berry Sussex County Genealogies, (1830), - Copley Genealogies - West Sussex Record office Ref. MF 711.
- 187 J. Comber Sussex Genealogies, (1931), (Horsham Centre), "Copley of Roughway and of Gatton" p. 71, and Hist. of Pmt. - The Commons 1509-1588, Members III, p. 356.
- 188 Stone Family, Sex, Marriage p. 87.
- 189 Ibid p. 88.
- 190 Ibid p. 85.
- 191 Ibid pp. 85, 86.
- 192 Comber Sussex Genealogies p. 71.
- 193 Ibid.
- 194 S.T. Bindoff (ed) Hist. of Pmt. -The Commons 1509-1588, Members III, (1982), pp. 694, 695, Copley, Thomas (1532-84) of Gatton, Surrey.

- 195 Ibid p. 695.
- 196 Ibid.
- 197 F.A. Inderwicke A Calendar of Inner Temples Records; (1896), p. 151.
- 198 A. Hamilton The Chronicle of the English Augustinian Canonesses Regular of The Lateran, at St. Monica's in Louvain, (1904), Vol I, (1904), p. 111.
- 199 R.C. Christie The Letters of Thomas Copley, (Roxburghe Club, 1887), Appendix, p. 184.
- 200 A.C. Southern Elizabethan Recusant Prose 1559-1582, (1950) pp. 176, 177.
- 201 A.H. Smith County and Court p. 4.
- 202 John Watney "Some Account of Leigh Place, Surrey, and of its Owners" Surrey Archaeological Collections, Vol XI p. 153 and Comber Sussex Genealogies, p. 71.
- 203 Bindoff History of Parliament "Copley, Thomas, p. 694.
- 204 Robert Southwell, The Writer (by P. Janelle) some notes by Miss Agnes Molt, Mar. 1936. (Farm Street, Boxfile 46/22/2-3). p. 11.
- 205 Ibid.
- 206 V.C. Sanborn "The Copleys of Roughey and Gatton" The Genealogist, Vol XXXIII, (1917) p. 73.
- 207 Christie Letters, Thomas Copley, "Introduction", xiv.
- 208-210 Ibid.

- 211 Ibid, xvii.
- 212 "Leigh Place, Surrey" (Copley pedigree) Surrey Arch. Collects., Vol XI, (facing p. 180).
- 213 Christie Letters, Thomas Copley "Introduction, xix.
- 214 "Leigh Place" Surrey Arch. Collects, Vol XI pp. 152, 153.
- 215 Lawrence Stone Family, Sex, Marriage p. 89.
- 216 Victoria County History, Surrey, Vol I p. 376.
- 217 V.C.H. Surrey, Vol III p. 191.
- 218 Ibid p. 210.
- 219 Ibid p. 237.
- 220 Ibid, Vol IV p. 184.
221. Ibid, Vol I p. 396.
- 222 Christie Letters.. Thomas Copley. Appendix pp. 185, 186.
- 223 Inquisition Post Mortem - Sir Thomas Copley (C 142/89/124 and C 142/210/85.
- 224 "Leigh Place", Surrey Arch. Collect., XI, Pt II, p. 156.
- 225 Christie Letters... Thomas Copley, Appendix p. 186.
- 226 Stone Crisis of the Aristocracy p. 192.
- 227 Stone Family, Sex, Marriage p. 201.

228 Stone Crisis of the Aristocracy p. 599.

229 Ibid.

Richard Southwell's Will

Richard Southwell, Armiger, will

In the name of God Amen. 17 October 1595 (23 Eliz.).
I, Richard Southwell late of Norwich St. Faith in the
county of Norfolk Esquire being of good and perfect
memory and being of full age and ripe in years do hereby
declare my last will and testament.

Soul left to God the Father, and our Holy Ghost
believing by and through the merits of the death and
passion of our Saviour of Christ Jesus to have remission of
all my sins and to be an inheritor of the eternal
kingdom of heaven.

- body to be buried in the parish church where he died.

- wife Margaret - at twenty of 50 pounds out of the
cessor of Norwich St. Faith, (presumably out of the 1588
sale to Henry Robert) payable in equal portions at the
Annunciation of the B.V.M. and at Michaelmas yearly until
her death, payable immediately following testator's death.
Payments to be made within 15 weeks of the time appointed.
- for her jointure to each of the parishes of Norwich and
Bramscote in the county of Norfolk and of messuages,
lands, tenements and hereditaments to the value of 100 a
year.

Four of Norwich St. Faith - 100 to be distributed 'at my
burial day' at the discretion of executor, the whole sum
to have (been?) distributed within three years of the
burial.

- Executrix - wife Margaret

Signed Richard Southwell

CHAPTER THREE - NOTES

APPENDIX I

Richard Southwell Jnr's Will

"Richard Southwell, Armiger: will

- "In the name of God Amen. 17 October 1596 (38 Eliz).

I, Richard Southwell the elder of Horsham St. ffaythe in the countye of Norfff. Esquier being of good and perfect memorye god be praised doe ordeyne and make this my present Testament.

Soul left to God the Father, son and Holy Ghost

'believing by and through the merittes of the death and passion of my Saviour of Christ Jesus to have remission of all my synnes and to be an enheritour of the eternal kingdome of heaven'

- body to be buried in the parish church where he dies.

- wife Margaret - an annuity of 80 issuing out of the manor of Horsham St. Faith, (presumably out of the 1588 sale to Henry Hobert) payable in equal portions at the Annuniacion of the B.V.M. and at Michaelmas yearly until her death, Payable immediately following testator's death. Payments to be made within 12 weeks of the time appointed.

- for her jointure so much of the manors of Werenham and Brancaster in the county of Norfolk and of messauges, lands, tenaments and hereditaments to the value of £40 a year.

Poor of Horsham St. Faith - £10 to be distributed 'at my burial day' at the discretion of executor, the whole sum to have (been?) distributed within three years of the burial.

- Executrix - wife Margaret

Signed Richard Southwell

- Witnesses - Edmund Stile, gabriel Marsden, Lancelot Boswell, Richard Wishall?, Robert Berslaye 'and me Peter Barker'.

- Memorandum : 19 March 1599 Richard Southwell the elder acknowledged his last will and the codicil thereto annexed in the presence of Robert Hutton, William Shatswill, John Smith, Hugoe Holland, Va. Windesor.

- Codical dated 10 September 1597
wife Margaret - 'my right title interest estate and tenure of yeares which I have in the manor of Spixworth alias Spixforth, Norfolk and in all other landes tenaments or hereditaments there.

tithes in the townes, parrishes, hamlettes and feilds of Barnham, Nof.

Signed - Richard Southwell

- Witnesses - Peter Barker, Edmund Stile, Thomas ffayerwether,

- Probate - September 1600 to John Smith notary public on behalf of Margaret, widow and executors.

(Not described)

a tenement in the tenure of William Speck - 13s. 4d.
a tenement with appartenance in the tenure of Widow Marye
of John White - 13s. 4d.

a tenement in the tenure of Thomas Cope - 13s. 4d.

a tenement with a garden in the tenure of Robert Slane - 8s.

a tenement recently in the tenure of Edward Salpe and now of
Richard Slane - 8s.

A tenement in the tenure of William Speck - 20s.

A tenement in the tenure of Henry Woodhead - 50s.

The tenements in the tenure of William Speck - 31s. 4d.

The tenements in the tenure of John Speck - 21s. 4d.

[From the above letting records of Charterhouse we find that many dwellings were available for letting. One of which Sir Richard Southwell had probably were given as a free life tenure.]

MS. 12/22/21

APPENDIX II

Following is an account of the possible location of the Charterhouse London Home of Sir Richard Southwell in which Ric. Southwell, Jnr. and probably Bridget Copley, and their tutor, John Lowthe had lived, on and off in the 1540's and 1550's. [This is a continuation of Note 23.] The following document mentions a 'Southwell' in the context of "Rental of Possessions", which suggests that his house in Charterhouse might have been rented:

SC11/950 Rental of possessions:

Parochia Sancti Michaelis apud quenehithe

Southwell ffirma unius alias tenementi ibidem cum omnibus sive pertinenti in tenure Relictae ... Grey de anno in annum i inde per annum - xxxiiij^s iiiij^d.

Suburbie Cuitatis Predicti

Southwell ffirms unius tenementi ibidem cum gardino adiacente in tenure Willilme Oggborne de anno in annum. Reddendi inde per annum - viij^s.

(Rest summarized)

a tenement in the tenure of William Symon - 13s. 4d. a tenement with appurtenances in the tenure of Widow Daynys and of John White - 13s. 4d.

A tenement in the tenure of Thomas Celye cook - 13s. 4d.

A tenement with a garden in the tenure of Robert Alene - 8s.

A tenement recently in the tenure of Edward Daiye and now of Richard Alene - 8s.

A tenement in the tenure of William Austell - 20s.

A tenement in the tenure of Henry Woodland - 50s.

Two tenements in the tenure of William Smith - 33s. 4d.

Two tenements in the tenure of John Lankym - 23s. 4d.

[From the above letting records of Charterhouse we find that many dwellings were available for letting. One of which Sir Richard Southwell had probably were given as a free life tenure.]

SC 12/32/31

The Charterhouse, Middlesex [Henry VIII], valor of possessions in the city of London, Fenchurch Street, Bishopsgate Street, St. Nicholas Fleshambles, Parish of St. Leonard Shoreditch, Cornhill - (No reference whatever to Sir Richard Southwell).

SC 12/11/14

Charterhouse, valor of possessions in the city of London, parishes of St. Michael Cornhihl and St. Marie Walchurch - (no references to Sir Richard Southwell.)

From the above documentation, the only document referring to a 'Southwell' is SC 11/950 - Henry VIII, in which the rental of possessions are listed. Details of Sir Richard Southwell's living in 'the Charterhouse' as affirmed by his son's tutor John Lowthe, could thus only be explained through conjecture. The Monastery was surrendered to the King in November 1537. It was immediately divided into 3 portions: The Church, and perhaps the Chapter house were given into the care of 'Dr. Cane' and remained locked up for about a year. The Prior's house and the three small cells in the new small court were given to the owner for the time being of the adjacent house outside the enclosure which was, at the time of the suppression, in the hands of Sir Arthur Darcy, brother of the late Lord Darcy, executed after the Pilgrimage of Grace. (David Knowles and W.F. Grimes Charterhouse (1954), p. 36). Sir Richard Southwell, connected by marriage to the Darcy family, might well have occupied this particular portion of Charterhouse. Another possibility, was that part of Charterhouse comprising 'the east, north and south walks of the great cloister and the buildings in and beyond the little cloister'. (Ibid). This part of the former monastery 'was turned over in June 1542 to the King's servants to be used as a store house for tents and hunting-nets and other tackle'. For some years it was virtually derelict, and "although no record has been discovered of other tenancies at this time it is very probable that the little cloister and offices on the one hand, and the prior's house and adjoining Court on the other were let out to tenants other than the King's servants" (Ibid p. 37). (Transcribed by Mr. A.D.K. Hawkyard).

APPENDIX III

The Will of Agnes Stile, mother of John Style, grandmother of Margaret Style (John Style's daughter - possible second wife of Richard Southwell) and mother-in-law of Margaret Styles (John Styles wife and widow also, possibly Richard Southwell's second wife). It is not known whether Richard Southwell married John Styles' daughter, Margaret, or his widow, also Margaret.

Will of Agnes Stile of Great Ellingham, widow dated November 7th 1580. (Norfolk Record Office - Norfolk Consistory Court - Will Register entitled MOYSE ALS SPICER, 198) - Extract of Contents:- "To be buried in the church porch of Ellingham [Presumably of the established Church]; to mending the Parmentyle (sic) of Ellingham Church 3/4; to Anthonie John (sic) Style my sonne one of my beste neates and a brynded bullocke. To Richarde Edmonde (sic) Style my sonne one blacke cowe. To sonne Richard Style one red cowe. To daughter Margaret Hecton "My beste golde ringe". To daughter Plesens Este "my beste skarlette peticoate and my leaste silver ringe spoone (sic). To my sister Alice Style "my beste silken hatte and a kercher". To Anne Style "wieff" to son James "my beste pewke gowne". To "everyone of my fyve sonnes one silver spone. "To Anne Styles and Ellen Style daughters of my son James Styles (sic) "my worsted kirtle with a garde of velvet and iii ferred clothes and my scarell (sic) peticoate. "To Son Edmunde Style my blacke geldinge". To son James S. "my blacke mare". To son John S. "all my free land and copiehold lande being in Ellingham "according" to the last will of my husband James S. subject to John paying 6. 13s. 4d. within one year to Anne and Ellen, daughters of James and the residue of 4 to my son James St. To son James S. "a fetherbed and bolster & beste coveringe & a P (parcel?) of blankettes. To Anne S. (?daughter) of John S. (sic) "a silver spone delivered before into the hands of her father". To Margaret daughter of John S. "a possnet of brasse and a latten pot spone. To Susan S. daughter of John S. "twoe pewter platters. To Anne S. and Ellin S. daughters of James S." to eyther of them one posnet". To Margaret Eyre "my beste silke hatte savinge one and my white petticoate. "To Katherine Stephenson "my fresse gowne". To Agnes Barre 3/4. To Richard Pollen 3/4. The residue to my executors,

sons Edmund S. and James S. Witnesses John Todde, Clerke, Jerome Browne, Richard Pollen, with others witness Margette (sic) Eyr. Margette Stevenson and Clement Greene.

Proved at Norwich Penultimate day of February 1580 [1581].
(Transcribed by Mr T.L.M. Hawes).

Richard Southwell's second wife,
John Styll's widow - also possibly
Richard Southwell's second wife.
Will of James Styll of Orsett Ellingham in the County of Norfolk, Yeoman,
dated August 24th 1580 - (Norfolk Record Office - Norfolk Consistory
Court Wills - Will register James - 335).
"Being in good and holy memory... my soule be almightie god trustinge
to have the benefites of his glorious presence amonge the saints in
heaven... To the high altar in Ellingham for which negligently forgotten
I am. My executors be desired upon the poore people in S. at my buryall
to have some wine and drinke etc. and at my last will... To the poore
man's box in S. 4/3. To Agnes my wife my tenement half of the lord Erie
of Sussex and 3 roods ... of Manor Ellingham, [follows a long list of
pieces of land with descriptions, free of Cowsheild, and of what held, 3
roods, 1 acre, a tenement, a piece of 1/2 acre, 2 acres, a lease of 12
years] for her lifetime subject to her surrendering to the lord of Burgh
Hall maner at the next Court a messuage I now dwell in... and 1/2 acre &
1/2 acre close & 1 1/2 acre close and at the next Court of Ellingham Hall
maner to surrender the messuage I now dwell in... and close... & 2 acres
that at her decease to my son John Styll, he paying to my son Edmund S.
10 and also to my son James S. 5 and to my daughter Pleasance
5. 13s. 4d. each [follows a lengthy section detailing what each
part of is to be made, with provisions in case of default.] To my son
Anthony Styll a tenement in S. and a 2 1/2 acre close subject to paying
20/- to my godson James Styll at age 18, and to Edmund Styll and Margaret
his wife 26/8 towards bringing up their children, and 4/3 each to son
James S. and daughter Pleasance each towards bringing up their children,
and to Thomas Drouwe son of Pleasance 5 marks at age 21. To son
John S. my bedstead standing in the old parlor with the fatherbedd
bolster pillows shete blankets coverings and Testers with table stool
and a fyne chaire my bedstead standing in the new parlor chamber with
the fatherbedd tester... & my table with the benches furnished &

APPENDIX IV

Will of James Style (husband of Agnes Style, father of John Style, grandfather of Margaret Style - possibly Richard Southwell's second wife, and father-in-law of Margaret Styles John Styles widow - also possibly Richard Southwell's second wife.

"Will of James Styles of Greate Ellingham in the Countie of Norff. Yeoman. Dated August 4th 1558" - (Norfolk Record office - Norfolk Counsistory Court Wills - Will register" Jerves - 355).

"Being in good and hole mynde... my soule to Almightye god trustinge to have the benefightes of his glorious presence amonge the saints in heaven... To the highe alter in Elingham for tithes negligently forgotten xiid. My executors to bestowe uppon the poore people in E. at my buryell in monye meate and drinke xxxs. and at my xxx daye xs.. To the poor men's box in E. 6/8. To Agnes my wief my tenement hold of the lord Erle of Sussex and 3 roods ... of Master Mnyvet... [follows a long list of pieces of land with descriptions, free of Copyhold, and of whom held, 3 roods, 1 acre, a tenement, a close of $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres, 2 acres, a lease of 12 acres] for her lifetime subject to her surrendering to the lord of Bury Hall manor at the next Court a messuage I now dwell in... and $\frac{1}{2}$ acre & $2\frac{1}{2}$ acre close & $1\frac{1}{2}$ acre close and at the next Court of Ellingham Hall manor to surrender the messuage I now dwell in... and closes... & 2 acres; then at her decease to my son John Style, he paying to my son Edmund S. 10 and also to my sons James S. & Richarde S. and my daughter Pleasaunce Este 6. 13s. 4d. each [follows a lengthy section detailing when each payment is to be made, with provisions in case of default.] To my son Anthony Style a tenement in E. and a $2\frac{1}{2}$ acre close subjet to paying 20/- to my godson James Stile at age 18, and to Edmund Stille and Margaret his wife $\frac{26}{8}$ towards bringing up their children, and $\frac{6}{8}$ each to son James S. and daughter Pleasaunce Este towards bringing up their children, and to Thomas Drowrye son of Pleasaunce Este 4 marks at age 21. To son John S. "my bedstead standynge in the olde parlor with the fetherbedd bolster pillowes shetes blankettes coverings and Testure with table stoles and a fyne chiste my bedstead standinge in the newe parlor chamber with the fetherbedd tester... & my table with the benches formes cubbarde &

pyctures & 2 carpet my cupboards standinge in the hall..." to my wife Agness "my beste mylche neat, my graye geldinge, my woodstack & all my corne in my barne". To my daughter Margaret Adam 2 angell nobles. To my son Edmunde S. one Cowe. "To son Anthony S. "one cowe" to son James S. "all my worken tooles with all groove bordes & all other tymber that is cut and squared for anye manner of joyned worke. "To Allys West one bullock, my wiefs black worsted kyrtell & 10/- & her dwellinge in hir chamber while a widow. To my servant John Salter "my tawnye cite and russet hose". To Margaret S. wife of Edmund S. & Margaret S. wife of Anthony S "to eyther of them one sylver spone knapped with the maydens head." To Awdrye Blackborne my sister 5/- and "a stone of chest (sic)? To John Smyth "my foxfurred gowne that Thos. Crnatham did give me. To John Blackbourne my nevye? To Cicelye and Agnes his sisters "to everye of them xiid". To Elizabeth West and Agnes West to either of them 5/-. To everyone of my servants that shall dwell with me atht eitme of my decease 12d. To every one of my godchildren (sic) (sic) 4d. To wife Agnes "halfe of all my moveables & implements of household" not given nor bequeathed, the other half to remain in her custody for her widowhood, then to be equally divided between John S., Edmund S James S., Anthony S. Richard S. and Pleasance E. To Anthony S. "two of my best cushions with a baison ewer that I bought of the widow Wryghte, & 4 pecys of pewter. "To my servant Agnes Newton "the oute side of my russet gowne". To my son Edmund S. "fower pewter platters". The residue to be sold by my executors, wife Agnes, sons Edmund and Anthony and Jamy Smythe. To wife Agnes 4 marks; to son Edmund 40/-, to son James 40/-; to son Anthony 40/-; to son Richard 40/-, to daughter Pleasuance Easte 40/-; to Jamys Smyth 20/-, to be distributed at my seventh day 6/8. If my son John should die before my burial then the said 6 (not mentioned above) to remain to my son Edmund S.

Witnessed: Robert Wryghte, John Codye, William Browne, John Jolye, John Layte, William Elden with others by me James Style.

Proved at Norwich 24th October 1558.

The Bury Hall manor roll for the Court held Friday next after the feast of St. Faiths [This feast is held Oct. 6th every year] 586 Philip & Mary, records that James Style is dead having already surrendered his copyhold lands to the use of his wife Agnes for life. She is admitted to the

property.

P.S. There is no sign of John Style making a will, according to the unpublished index of wills of the Norfolk Archdeaconry Court, covering Great Ellingham.

(Transcribed by Mr T.L.M. Hawes)

1 Henry VIII's will...
St. Faith...
1547, p. 10.

2 Thomas Arnold "The Priory of Norwich..."
"Norfolk Archaeology" Vol. IV, 1871, p. 471, and
"Ward Miracles" p. 19. Also "The Priory of Norwich"
"Norfolk Archaeology" Vol. IV, 1871, p. 471.

3 Ward Miracles p. 19.

4 Ibid, citing A. Bouillon (ed) "Les Miracles de la Priory de St. Faith"
p. 47.

5 Ward Miracles p. 19.

6 Ibid.

7 William Dugdale "Description of Antiquities Vol III, (1671), "Priory of St.
Faith at Norwich", p. 435.

8 Ibid p. 435.

9 David Sherlock "Discoveries at Norwich St. Faith Priory" Norfolk
Archaeology Vol 34 Part III (1971), p. 202 and Ward, Miracles p.
19. Two charters of Henry I to Norwich St. Faith are printed in
"Norfolk Archaeology" (1971), pp. 18-21.

CHAPTER FOUR

NOTES

- 1 Henry More mentions three miles, as the the distance between Horsham St. Faith and Norwich City Walls. (Francis Edwards Elizabethan Jesuits p. 228); and four miles according to Samuel Lewis's Topographical Dictionary, Vol II (1849), cited by Edwards Jesuits, p. 381, n. 12.
- 2 Donovan Purcell "The Priory of Horsham St. Faith and its Wall Paintings" Norfolk Archaeology, Vol 35, (1973), p. 471, and Benedicta Ward Miracles and the Medieval Mind, (1982), p. 36. F.G. Holweck A Biographical Dictionary of the Saints, (1924), p. 380.
- 3 Ward Miracles p. 37.
- 4 Ibid, citing A. Bouillet (ed) Liber Miraculorum Sancte Fidis l. 13. p. 47.
- 5 Ward Miracles p. 38.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 William Dugdale Monasticon Anglicanum Vol III, (1821), "Priory of St. Faith at Horsham", p. 635.
- 8 Ibid p. 636.
- 9 David Sherlock "Discoveries at Horsham St. Faith Priory" Norfolk Archaeology Vol 36 Part III (1976), p. 203 and Ward, Miracles p. 39. Two charters of Henry I to Horsham St. Faith are printed in Birmingham Historical Society Journal, (1973), pp. 16-21.

- 10 Sherlock "Discoveries" N.A. p. 222, n.3.
- 11 Blomefield Topographical History of Norfolk Vol X, (1806) p. 440.
- 12 Dugdale Monasticon Anglicanum, III (1821) p. 635.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 Roy Midmer English Medieval Monastries 1066-1540, (1979), p. 170.
- 15 Sherlock Discoveries N.A. p. 203; Midmer "Monastries" p. 170.
- 16 Dugdale Monasticon Anglicanum, Vol III, p. 635.
- 17 Norfolk Record Society, 8656, 2104, Hobart.
- 18 Blomefield Topographical History, Vol X, p. 441.
- 19 Devlin Southwell p. 6.
- 20 Ward Miracles pp. 38, 39, 41, 42.
- 21 T.H. Swales "The Sequestration of Religious Property in Norfolk at the Dissolution Ph.D. Diss. Sheffield, (1965), p. 85.
- 22 Ibid p. 59.
- 23 Ibid p. 208.
- 24 Ibid p. 211.
- 25 Ibid p. 212.
- 26 Ibid p. 236, and Dugdale Monasticon Anglicanum III, p. 635.
- 27 Swales, Ibid p. 459.

- 28 Sherlock "Discoveries" N.A. p. 204.
- 29 Ibid p. 206.
- 30 Ibid p. 210.
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 Ibid pp. 216, 217.
- 34 Ibid p. 219.
- 35 Purcell "Wall Paintings" N.A. p. 470.
- 36 Ibid.
- 37 Ibid p. 472.
- 38 Ibid.
- 39 Ibid p. 473.
- 40 Ibid.
- 41 Pierre Janelle Robert Southwell the Writer, (1935), Appendix IV
"Southwell's Latin elegies. p. 300. Theodoric's account is found
in ACTA SANCTORUM Vol 22 (Paris and Roma, 1867), pp. 324-335.
- 42 Ibid p. 301.
- 43 Ibid.
- 44 These elegies as cited by Janelle are in Stonyhurst MSS-A.V. 4,

- Janelle Southwell Appendix IV pp. 299, 300, 301.
- 45 Janelle Southwell p. 301.
- 46 Ibid p. 302.
- 47 Ward Miracles pp. 39, 40.
- 48 Ibid p. 41.
- 49 Janelle Southwell p. 6, n. 10.
- 50 Edwards Elizabethan Jesuits p. 228.
- 51 Ibid pp. 228, 229.
- 52 Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell Saints and Society, (1982), p. 27
and F.G. Holweck A Biographical Dictionary of the Saints (1924) -
(Eustochium Calafato; Bernard of Messina).
- 53 Weinstein & Bell Saints & Society p. 27.
- 54 Foley, Records of the English Province, Vol I, Series I "The Life and
Martyrdom of Father Robert Southwell". p. 303.
- 55 Brian Vesey Fitzgerald The Gypsies of Britain/An Introduction to
Their History, (1944), p. 14.
- 56 Ibid, pp. 18, 19.
- 57 Ibid pp. 29, 30.
- 58 R.B. Merriman Life and Letters of Thomas Cromwell, Vol II (Oxford
1902), p. 106.
- 59 Popham, Sir John, D.N.B. (1909).

- 60 J. Gathorne Hardy The Rise and Fall of the British Nanny, (1972), p. 36.
- 61 Ibid, pp. 37, 40 and Ralph Houlbrooke The English Family 1450-1700, (1984), p. 132.
- 62 Houlbrooke English Family p. 132.
- 63 Ibid, pp. 133, 134.
- 64 Cited in Devlin Southwell pp. 21, 22.
- 65 T.H. Swales "Sequestration of Religious Property" Diss. Ph.D. p. 94.
- 66 "On the Walls and Gates of the City of Norwich" - Journal of the British Archaeological Association, (September 1858) pp. 214-217 (Norwich Central Library Reproduction).
- 67 Ibid p. 218, 219.
- 68 Swales Sequestration of Religious Property. pp. 42-44.
- 69 D.M. Palliser The Age of Elizabeth/England under the Late Tudors 1547-1603 p. 203. Table 7.1 "Estimates of Urban Population".
- 70 A.H. Smith County and Court Government and Politics in Norfolk 1558-1603, (Oxford 1974), p. 3.
- 71 Palliser, Age of Elizabeth Fig. 8: "Farming Regions in England, 1500-1640" p. 163.
- 72 B.H. Allen "The Administration and Social Structure of the Norwich Merchant Class 1485-1660" Diss. Ph.D. Harvard, cited by A.H. Smith County and Court, p. 15.
- 73 Smith County and Court pp. 148, 108.

- 74 A.H. Smith "The Elizabethan Gentry of Norfolk - Office-holding and f
action" Ph.D. Diss. (London, 1959), p. 112.
- 75 J. Payne-Collier "Ancient Biographical Poems on the Duke of Norfolk,
Viscount Hereford, the Earls of Essex and Queen Elizabeth" Camden
Society - The Camden Miscellany, (1855), "Introduction" p. 3.
- 76 Ibid, p. 12 - "Verses Set Forthe in the Faver of the Duke of Norfolk
His Causes".
- 77 R.A. Houlbrooke (ed.) The Letter Book of John Parkhurst Bishop of
Norwich, (Norfolk Record Society, 1974, 1975), p. 24.
- 78 Ibid p. 24, 25.
- 79 Ibid p. 72.
- 80 Ibid p. 44 n.113.
- 81 Augustus Jessop One Generation of a Norfolk House, (1913), pp. 138,
139 cited by Smith "Elizabeth Gentry" p. 165.
- 82 Smith "Elizabeth Gentry" p. 165.
- 83 Houlbrooke "Letter Book, Parkhurst", p. 81.
- 84 Smith "Elizabeth Gentry" pp. 166-169.
- 85 Ibid p. 168.
- 86 Ibid p. 169.
- 87 Houlbrooke Letter Book, Parkhurst p. 69.
- 88 Ibid p. 72.

- 89 C.H. Garret The Marian Exiles, 1553-1559, (Cambridge, 1938), p. 3.
- 90 Ibid p. 19.
- 91 Ibid p. 20.
- 92 "Zurich Letteres II, 152 - Heinrich Bullinger to Theodore Beza, March 15th 1567 - cited by Garret Exiles p. 20.
- 93 Houlbrooke Letter Book, Parkhurst p. 75.
- 94 Steven E. Ozment The Reformation in the Cities - The Appeal of Protestantism to Sixteenth Century Germany and Switzerland, (Yale, 1975), p. 12 citing Natalie Davis "strikes and salvation at Lyons" Archiv fur Reformationsgeschichte, 56 (1965) 48-64); 50, 52.
- 95 Ibid p. 33.
- 96 Ibid p. 48.
- 97 Ibid p. 132.
- 98 Houlbrooke Letter Book... Parkhurst, pp. 84, 87.
- 99 Stone Family, Sex, Marriage pp. 6, 7.
- 100 Garnet Schism pp. 35, 36, 39, 40.
- 101 J.S. Cockburn ed Calendar of Assize Records - Surrey Indictments (HMSO, 1980), p. 1.
- 102 Ibid p. 78.
- 103 Historical MSS Commission, Seventh Report, (1879), p. 620(b).

- 104 A.J. Kempe The Loseley MSS. (1836), p. 244.
- 105 Ibid pp. 244, 246.
- 106 R.C. Christie Letters... Thomas Copley p. xxvi.
- 107 Statutes of the Realm (Printed by Command of... King Goerge the Third)
Vol IV (1547-1624), (1819), pp. 531, 532.
- 108 History of Parliament, - The Commons 1509-1558, Members III, p. 357.
- 109 Christie Letters; Thomas Copley p. xxvi.
- 110 Adam Hamilton (ed) The Chronicle of the English Augustinian
Cannonesses of St. Monica in Louvain, Vol I, (1904), p. 111.
- 111 Granville Leveson-Gower "The Howards of Effingham" Surrey
Archaeological Collections Vol IX, (1888), p. 399 citing Froude
History of England Vol VII, p. 44.
- 112 Leveson Gower, "Effingham" Sy. A.C. Vol IX, p. 400.
- 113 S.T. Bindoff (ed) The Hist. of Pmt - The Commons 1509-58, Members III
Vol I (1982), p. 695.
- 114 J.E. Neale and P.W. Hasler The Hist. of Pmt - The Commons 1509-58,
Members III Vol I (1981), p. 651.
- 115 Christie Letters... Thomas Copley p. xxvi.
- 116 Ibid pp. 3, and xiv.
- 117 Ibid p. 7.
- 118 Historical MSS. Commission - Salisbury (Cecil) MSS Vol I, (1883) p.
467, item 1485.

- 119 Bindoff The Hist. of Pmt - The Commons 1509-58, Members III Vol I (1982), p. 194.
- 120 Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica, Vol VIII (1843) p. 255.
- 121 Wallace T. MacCaffrey "Place and Patronage Elizabethan Government and Society, S.T. Bindoff (ed), (1961), p. 97.
- 122 Elizabeth acted as Godmother to Thomas Copley's son, attending his christening on April 27th 1561. ("Queen Elizabeth at Helmingham" The Genealogist, Vol I, (1884), p. 85.
- 123 Christie Letters... Thomas Copley, p. 169.
- 124 Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica, Vol VIII, 1843 "Extracts from the Accompte of Donald Sharples, renter unto Mr. Thomas Copley", p. 256.
- 125 Ibid p. 258.
- 126 Christie Letters... Thomas Copley, pp. 35, 36.
- 127 Ibid p. 36.
- 128 Ibid p. 39, 40.
- 129 Ibid p. 39, n. 1.
- 130 Ibid p. 41.
- 131 Ibid.
- 132 Devlin Southwell pp. 10, 11.

CHAPTER FOUR - APPENDIX I

Extract of Entailment of Properties of Sir Roger Copley on his son Thomas and daughters (including Bridget Copley).

Copley, Sir Thomas

C/142/89/124

Writdiem clausit extremum and inquisition post mortem for Sir Roger Copley in Sussex,

3 Edward VI.

Master copy of index gives corrected entry C/142/210/85 (Latin badly galled and extensively damaged with losses: 2 membranes).

Writ - none.

Inquisition. Southwark, 26 May ...? Elizabeth, before Sir Thomas Browne, lands in Gatton, Southwark (St. Olav's and Battlebridge) - mentions trusts set up by Copley's father in May 39 Henry VIII in favour of his mother (Elizabeth), Copley himself and his sisters.

Advowson of the Parish of Gatton

Lands in Gatton (specified), Merstham, Cassalton, Wallington - mentions trusts set by Copley's father in 35 Henry VIII (trustees include Earl of Arendel, Lord Lumley, Sir Richard Sackville And John Carrell in favour of some parties as above. Lands in Ley, Betchworth - mentions trusts set up by Copley's father in 36 Henry VIII in favour of some parties as above.

Lands in Gatton, Chepsted, Cowlsden, Chauldren, Bletchingsley, Nuthylde, Charlewoodd, Horley and Reigate [Passage lost, but some of these] were in the tenure or possession of Lady Margaret Southwell widow mother of Francis and Robert to hold for her life and that of Frances and Robert.

Lands in Ley, Betchworth, Beddington, Wallington, manor of Colley... ? Manor of Ospringe [passage preceeding this is lost] Manor of Barsted leased from Sir Francis Carew, manor of Betchworth from Lord Abergavenny, manor of Reigate from Lord Howard of Effingham (n.b. Copley is described as the lessee at time of death).

died 25 September 26 Elizabeth.

heir - son William aged 19 years (number of months and days illegible) at the taking of the Inquisition. (Transcribed by Mr A.D.K. Hawkyard)

- 1 *Collect. Arch. Surrey*, Vol. 1, p. 200
- 2 Devlin, *Southwell*, p. 11. The late Catholic historian H.C. Reynolds writes that the late Sir Robert was brought up by his Catholic relations in West Sussex. (H.C. Reynolds 'Sir Robert Southwell and Sussex' - Brighton and Hove Standard Freeholder (February 1974), p. 17). Another writer writes that "For some reason, Robert was brought up by his mother's family at Dover" (i.e. Soby 'Robert's Life with Robert Southwell' *English Life* (March, 1972), p. 28. Cf. Tolson's 'The Life of Southwell', now on Park Street and from which Henry Davis's *Southwell* (1955) was written, and also, incidentally, accessible to Park Street, Devlin's *Southwell* tells the youngest son with his South Sea name was brought up in the faith of his ancestors".
- 3 Katherine G. Soby 'Life of Robert Thomas Soby' *English Life* Vol. III, No. 3 (1953), p. 250.
- 4 Soby 'Robert's Life...' *English Life* (March 1972)
- 5 *Victoria County History, Surrey*, Vol. 10, 1900, p. 146.
- 6 Manning and Bray *Surrey and Hill District of Surrey*, Vol. 11, (1899), p. 237.
- 7 Devlin, *Southwell*, p. 11.
- 8 Ivan D. Margary 'The South Coast Wrecking in Surrey' *Surrey Arch. Collect.* Vol. 54, (1961), p. 51.

CHAPTER FIVE

NOTES

- 1 Collect. Topog. et Genealog., VIII, p. 258.
- 2 Devlin, Southwell pp. 10, 11. The late Catholic historian E.E. Reynolds states that she had her youngest son brought up by her Catholic relations in West Sussex. (E.E. Reynolds "St. Robert Southwell and Sussex" - Brighton and Arundel Diocesan Newsletter (February 1971, p. 17). Another writer mentions that "for some reason, Robert was brought up by his mother's family at Roffey" (T.R. Sobey "Roffey's Link with Robert Southwell" Sussex Life (March, 1972), p. 28. In Pollen's "MS. Life of Southwell", once in Farm Street and from which Pierre Janelle Robert Southwell the Writer (1935), quoted, but is now, unfortunately, untraceable in Farm Street, mentions that Bridget Southwell took her youngest son with her South "to have him brought up in the faith of his ancestors".
- 3 Katherine C. Dorsey "Life of Father Thomas Copley" Woodstock Letters, Vol XIII, No. 3 (1884), p. 256.
- 4 Sobey "Roffey's Link..." Sussex Life, (March 1972.)
- 5 Victoria County History, Surrey, Vol III, (1902), p. 196.
- 6 Manning and Bray History and Antiquities of ... Surrey, Vol II, (1809), p. 227.
- 7 Devlin, Southwell, p. 11.
- 8 Ivan D. Margary "The North Downs Trackway in Surrey" Surrey Arch. Collect. Vol. 62, (1965), p. 81.

- 9 Ivan D. Margary. "Excavation of the London - Lewes Roman Road at Holtye" Sussex Arch. Collect. Vol LXXXI, (1940).
- 10 Ivan D. Margary. "Roman Roads from Pevensey to Firle and Glynde, and to the Downs by Wannock". Suss. Arch. Collect. Vol LXXX (1939) pp. 31 et al.
- 11 Ivan D. Margary. "Recent Discoveries By the Ordnance Survey of Roman Roads in Sussex." Suss. Arch. Collect. (1953), Map. p.2.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 H.W.R. Lillie "The North Downs Trackway in Surrey - A Reappraisal" - Surrey Archaeological Collections, Vol 61, (1964), p. 19.
- 14 Ibid p. 24.
- 15 Brian Paul Hindle Medieval Roads (Shire Archaeology Series Aylesbury, Bucks, 1982), p. 6.
- 16 William Camden Britannia, or a Chorographical Description of the Flourishing Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, Vol I (Richard Gough ed 1789), p. 167.
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 Manning and Bray Surrey, III, p. 227. Another etymological version of Gatton is the Anglo Saxon "An Gatetune" or "Gatetuna". It is referred to as "Gatone" in the Domesday Book and "Gattone" in the Pipe Rolls - meaning "Goat Farm". J.E.B. Gower, A. Mawer and F.M. Stenton The Place Names of Surrey, (Cambridge, 1934) - "Gatton".
- 19 Camden Brittania Vol I, "Sussex" p. 185.

- 20 Daniel Defoe A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain, (1928 ed.) p. 125 cited by Colin E. Brent "The Rural Economy of Eastern Sussex 1500-1700" East Sussex Record Office Local History Research Unit, No. 10, East Sussex, (1978), p. 2.
- 21 Ibid p. 3.
- 22 Colin E. Brent "The Maritime Economy of Eastern Sussex 1550-1700" East Sussex Record Office Local History Research Unit, No. 11, (East Sussex, 1980), pp. 1, 2.
- 23 C.E. Brent "Urban Employment and Population in Sussex Between 1550 AND 1660" Suss. Arch. Collect, Vol 113, (1975), p. 40.
- 24 Brent "Maritime Economy" p. 19, citing East Sussex Record Office/Rye Documents 47/50.
- 25 Brent "Maritime Economy" p. 3.
- 26 Julian Cornwall "Forestry and Timber Trade in Sussex", Sussex Notes and Queries, XIV 85-91, cited by Roger B. Manning Religion and Society in Elizabethan Sussex, (Leicester, 1969), p. 5.
- 27 Brent "Maritime Economy" p. 3.
- 28 Colin Brent "Rural Employment and Population in Sussex Between 1550 and 1640" Suss. Arch. Collect. vol 114, (1976), p. 27.
- 29 Ibid, citing Camden Brittania, Edmund Gibson (ed), (1695), p. 166.
- 30 Colin Brent, "Urban Employment and Population in Sussex Between 1550 and 1660, Suss. Arch. Collect. Vol 113 (1975) p. 35.
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 Ibid p. 43.

- 33 Brent "Maritime Economy" pp. 16, 17, citing East Sussex Record Office
- Rye Documents 1/4/158 - Document 10.
- 34 Ibid.
- 35 Roger Manning Religion and Society in Elizabeth Sussex, (Leicester
1969), p. xii.
- 36 Ibid p. xiv.
- 37 Sir Henry Ellis "Notices of richard Curteys, Bishop of Chichester,
1570 to 1582" Suss. Arch. Collect. Vol X, (1858) p. 53.
- 38 Ibid.
- 39 Ibid p. 54, 55 citing the "Preface to the Reader, in commendation of
the Author" in An Exposition of certayne Wordes of St. Paule to the
Romaynes, entitled by an old writer, Hugo, a treatise of the Workes
of thre Dayes. Also, another worke of the Truthe of Christ's
naturall Body, by Richard Coortese... 1577.
- 40 W.P.M. Kennedy Elizabethan Episcopal Administration, Vol I, (1924),
cxix.
- 41 Ellis "Richard Curtys" Suss. Arch. Collect., X, p. 55, n2.
- 42 Kennedy Episc. Admin (Vol I), cxx.
- 43 Ibid, Vol II (1575-1582), pp. 51, 52.
- 44 Ibid, Vol I, pp. xxvii, xxxviii.
- 45 Ibid p. xl.
- 46 Ibid p. xlii.

- 47 Ibid p. xliii.
- 48 Ibid p. xliv.
- 49 Ibid.
- 50 Ibid p. cxxvii.
- 51 J.S. Cockburn, ed. Calendar of Assize Records - Sussex Indictments - Elizabeth I (1975) pp. 56, 62, et al p. 102.
- 52 Manning Religion, Society, Sussex p. 131.
- 53 Ibid.
- 54 Ibid.
- 55 Ibid pp. 155, 156.
- 56 Ralph Houlbrooke Church Courts and the People During the English Reformation 1520-1570, (Oxford, 1979), pp. 256, 257.
- 57 Ibid p. 242.
- 58 Ibid p. 259.
- 59 See Devlin Southwell p. 11.
- 60 Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica, VIII, p. 258.
- 61 Philippa Revill and Francis W. Steer "George Gage I and George Gage II" Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, Vol XXXI (1958) "Abbreviated Pedigree" p. 142.
- 62 M.A. Lower History of Sussex Vol I, (1870), p. 180.

- 63 Ibid.
- 64 Ibid pp. 180, 181.
- 65 R. Garraway Rice "The Household Goods, etc. of Sir John Gage of West Firle Co. Sussex, K.G. 1556", Suss. Arch. Collect. Vol XLV, (1902) pp. 115, 116.
- 66 Ibid p. 116.
- 67 Margaret Waugh (ed) An Epistle of Comfort by Robert Southwell, (1966), p. 106.
- 68 Garraway Rice "Household Goods" p. 120.
- 69 Ibid p. 124.
- 70 Ibid pp. 120, 121.
- 71 Ibid pp. 120-125.
- 72 Catholic Record Society, Vol 22 (1921), "Miscellanea" XII, p. 80.
- 73 McDonald & Brown Poems...Southwell p. 38 l. 56-60.
- 74 Roger B. Manning "Richard Shelley of Warminghurst and the English Catholic Petition for Toleration of 1585" Recusant History Vol VI, (1961-62), p. 265.
- 75 Ibid p. 266.
- 76 Ibid.
- 77 Joyce Mousley "The Fortunes of some Gentry Families of Elizabethan Sussex" Economic History Review, Vol XI (1958-59), p. 470.

- 78 Manning Religion, Society, Sussex p. 136.
- 79 Ibid p. 158.
- 80 F.W.T. Attree "Lists of Sussex Gentry at Various Dates, With Descriptions of the Arms of a Few Families Not Previously Noticed" Suss. Arch. Collect. Vol XXXIX, (1894), pp. 106, 107.
- 81 William Durrant Cooper. "Queen Elizabeth's Visits to Sussex" - Suss. Arch. Collect. Vol V. (1852), p. 191.
- 82 Roger B. Manning "Catholics and Local Office Holding in Elizabethan Sussex" Bull. Inst. Hist. Res. Vol XXXV, p. 50.
- 83 Leo Hicks "MS Life of Southwell" - Farm Street (46/22/2) f. 2.
- 84 J.H. Pollen "MS Life of Southwell" cited by Janell Southwell p. 5, n. 9. Unfortunately, Pollen's MS Life of Southwell is now lost. I am indebted to Fr. Francis Edwards, Farm Street Archivist, in his attempts to trace the whereabouts of Pollen's MS".
- 85 Hicks MS Life, Southwell, f.2.
- 86 Christie Letters, Thomas Copley p. xvi, and n.3.
- 87 Devlin Southwell p. 14.
- 88 Patrick McGrath and Joy Rowe "The Marian Priests Under Elizabeth I" "Recusant History, Vol 17, No. 2, (October 1984), p. 105 citing Allen's Letters pp. 58-59.
- 89 Lawrence Stone "the Educational Revolution in England 1560-1640" Past and Present, Vol 28, (July 1964), p. 46.

- 90 Timothy J. McCann "Catholic Schoolmasters in Sussex, 1558-1603: Addenda and Corrigenda to Beale's Catholic Schoolmasters" Recusant History Vol 12, (1973-74), p. 235.
- 91 Ibid p. 236.
- 92 Manning "Richard Shelley of Warminghurst" Rec. Hist., VI, p. 267.
- 93 McGrath and Rowe "Marian Priests" Rec. Hist., 17, pp. 108, 112.
- 94 A.R. Morris "The Effects Upon Schooling in Sussex of the Legislation Dissolving the Religious Houses and Chantries" Sussex Archaeological Collections, Vol 119, (1981), p. 150.
- 95 Ibid p. 152.
- 96 McGrath and Rowe "Marian Priests" Rec. Hist., 17, p. 112. citing T.J. McCann "The Clergy and the Elizabethan Settlement in the Diocese of Chichester" Studies in Sussex Church History, (1981), p. 102.
- 97 Devlin Southwell p.13.
- 98 Ibid.
- 99 Alwyn Ruddock "The Trade of Southampton with the Mediterranean in the Middle Ages" Bull. Inst. Hist. Rec., Vol XX, (1943-45), pp. 43-45.
- 100 Wriothesley, Henry D.N.B. (1909).
- 101 William Murdin: A Collection of State Papers Relating to Affairs In the Reign of Queen Elizabeth From The Year 1571 to 1596 Transcribed From Original Papers, (1759), p. 38.
- 102 Ibid p. 40.
- 103 Ibid p. 223.

- 104 Wriothsesley, Henry D.N.B., 1909.
- 105 Foley Records, Vol III Series VIII, p. 572.
- 106 Richard Simpson "Biographical Sketch of Thomas Poundes" The Rambler, New Series (2nd Series) Vol VIII, (July 1857), p. 25.
- 107 Conyers Read "Walsingham and Burghley in Queen Elizabeth's Privy Council" English Historical Review, Vol XXVIII, (1913), p. 38.
- 108 Alison Plowden The House of Tudor, (1976), p. 194.
- 109 Ibid.
- 110 Ralph Dutton English Court Life from Henry VII to George II, (1963), pp. 76, 77.
- 111 Read "Walsingham and Burghley", English Historical Review, Vol XXVIII, (1913), p. 41, n. 25.
- 112 Houlbrooke "Letter Book, Parkhurst" pp. 146, 147.
- 113 Roger B. Manning "Anthony Browne, 1st Viscount Montague: The Influence In County Politics of An Elizabethan Catholic Nobleman" Suss. Arch. Collect., Vol 106, (1968), p. 103.
- 114 History of Parliament, Bindoff, ed. the Commons, III, p. 356.
- 115 Sir Sibbald David Scott: "A Booke of Orders and Rules of Anthony Viscount Montague in 1595", Suss. Arch. Collect., Vol VII, (1854), pp. 180, 181, citing "A copy of a Letter to Mendoza the Spanish Ambassador in Francs ... dated September, 1588, and found in the Chamber of a Seminary Priest in London, England.

- 116 A.C. Southern (ed) An Elizabethan Recusant House Comprising The Life of the Lady Magdalen Viscountess Montague (1538-1608), (1954), p. 43.
- 117 Manning "Anthony Browne" Suss. Arch. Collect. Vol. 106 (1968), p. 103.
- 118 Ibid.
- 119 Ibid p. 104.
- 120 J.S. Cockburn (ed) Calandar of Assize Records - Surrey Indictments (HMSO, 1980), pp. 4, 32, 54, 63, 72, 78 respectively.
- 121 J.S. Cockburn (ed) Calendar of Assize Records - Sussex Indictments, (HMSO, 1975), pp. 8, 22, 27, 56, 62. The dates of the Assizes and their location should be relied upon for added accuracy.
- 122 Southern Recusant House Ch. IV "Of the worthy virtues of the Viscount Montague, husband of the Lady Magdalen" p. 17.
- 123 Ibid, Ch. VII, "Of her noble chastity" p. 30.
- 124 Ibid, Ch. VI "Of the excellent humility of the Lady Magdalen, p. 25.
- 125 Ibid p. 26.
- 126 Manning Religion, Society, Sussex, p. 160.
- 127 Ibid p. 161.
- 128 Ibid p. 159.
- 129 Manning "Anthony Browne" Suss. Arch. Collect., 106, p. 108.
- 130 Ibid, p. 104, and Devlin Southwell, p. 108.

- 131 Timothy J. McCann "The Parliamentary Speech of Viscount Montague Against the Act of Supremacy, 1559" Suss. Arch. Collect. Vol 108, (1970), p. 52.
- 132 Ibid.
- 133 Ibid p. 55.
- 134 Ibid p. 56.
- 135 Ibid.
- 136 Lower Sussex, Vol I, p. 147.
- 137 Ibid p. 147, 148.
- 138 Sir Sibbald David Scott "A Booke of Orders and Rules" of Anthony Viscount Montague in 1595". Suss. Arch. Colelct Vol VII, p. 176. These details are from the "Household Rules" of the Second Viscount Montague, Anthony Maria Browne (b. Feb. 1572/3 - d. 23rd oct. 1629), and who succeeded to the title on October 19th 1592. But it is reasonable to assume that his predecessor in the 1570's - our Viscount Montague - enjoyed just as opulent a life-style.
- 139 Ibid pp. 177-179.
- 140 Ibid p. 182.
- 141 Lower Sussex Vol I, p. 148.
- 142 Devlin, Southwell, p. 15.
- 143 J.E. Paul "The Hampshire Recusants in the Reign of Elizabeth I with some Reference to the Problem of Church Papists", Ph.D. Diss. Southampton (1958), p. 161.

- 144 Ibid.
- 145 J. Kennedy "Dissolution of the Monasteries in Hampshire and the Isle of Wight" M.A. Diss. London (1953), p. 7.
- 146 Ibid pp. 7, 8.
- 147 J. Charles Cox Hampshire, (1916), Frontispiece.
- 148 Camden Brittania (Gough's edition), Vol I, (1789), p. 126.
- 149 Thomas Fuller The History of the Worthies of England, P. Austin Nuttal (ed), Vol II, (1840), pp. 1-3.
- 150 Paul "Hampshire Recusants" Ph.D. Diss. Appendix 14 p. 391.
- 151 J.H. Pollen English Catholics in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, (1920), p. 258.
- 152 J.E. Paul "Hampshire Recusants in the time of Elizabeth I, with special reference to Winchester" Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club, Vol XXI, Part II, (1959), p. 63.
- 153 Ibid.
- 154 Paul Hampshire Recusants, Ph.D. Diss. p. 136.
- 155 Ibid p. 192.
- 156 Michael Hodgetts "Elizabeth Priest-Holes: II - Ufton, Mapledurham, Compton Wynayates" Recusant History, Vol 12, (1973-74), p. 113.
- 157 Devlin Southwell p. 13.
- 158 Dodd's (Hugh Tootle) The Church History of England from the Year 1500 to the Year 1688, (Brussels ed.), Vol I, (1737), p. 251.

- 159 M.H. and R. Dodds The Pilgrimage of Grace 1536-1537 and the Exeter Conspiracy, Vol II (Cambridge 1915), pp. 302, 303, 311.
- 160 V.C.H. Hampshire, Vol III, p. 134.
- 161 J.G. Nichols (ed) "Inventories of the Wardrobes, Plates, Chapel Stuff etc... of Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond" Camden Society, (1855), XCVI.
- 162 V.C.H. Hants, III, p. 136.
- 163 Camden, Brittania (Gough's edition), Vol I, p. 140.
- 164 J. Charles Cox Hampshire, p. 217.
- 165 V.C.H. Hampshire, Vol II, pp. 86, 87. F.A. Gasquet "Hampshire Recusants - A Story of their Troubles in the Time of Elizabeth" (1895), reprinted in Gasquet's Old English Bibles and other Essays, 1897.
- 166 Ronald H. Fritze "The Role of Family and Religion in the Local Politics of Early Elizabethan England: the Case of Hampshire in the 1560's". The Historical Journal, Vol 25, (1982), p. 273.
- 167 Horne, Robert. D.N.B. 1909.
- 168 J.E. Paul "Hampshire Recusants in Time of Elizabeth", Hampshire Field Club, (1959), p. 68.
- 169 Fritze "Role of Family and Religion" Historical Journal, 25, p. 268.
- 170 Paul Hampshire Recusants Ph.D. Diss. pp. 157, 158.
- 171 Ibid.

- 172 George Schurhammer "Der Marathidichter Thomas Stephens, S.I" - Neue Dokumente" - Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu, Vol XXVI, (Rome 1957), p. 67.
- 173 Simpson "Thomas Poundes" The Rambler, (July 1857), p. 26.
- 174 Foley Records Vol III, Series VIII, p. 573.
- 175 Devlin Southwell p. 14, See also Foley Records Vol III, Series VIII, p. 574.
- 176 "Narrative of the Martyrdom of the Blessed Fr. Robert Southwell of the Society of Jesus which Fr. John Decker sent to our Rev. Fr. General in the month of August 1595" - Farm Street Transcripts 46/22/2-3, f. 44.
- 177 J.M. De Buck (ed) Spiritual Exercises and Devotions of Blessed Robert Southwell, (Louvain, 1931), pp. 82, 83.
- 178 W. Challoner Memoires of Missionary Priests, (1874), p. 154.
- 179 Ibid "Supplementary Appendix" p. 228.
- 180 John Geninges "A Briefe Relations By Way of Appendix, Concerning the Life and Death of M. Swithune Welles Gentleman, companion and fellow-Martyr to the foresayd M. Edmund Geninges Priest", from John Geninges The Life and Death of Mr. Edmund Geninges, Priest, (St. Omer, 1614), p. 104.
- 181 Ibid.
- 182 Challoner Missionary Priests, p. 228.
- 183 Acts of the Privy Council, Vol XIII, p. 403 cited by C.R.S. Vol V, (1908) (English Martyrs Vol I) p. 13.

- 184 Genninges Briefe Relation p. 105.
- 185 Ibid.
- 186 C.R.S. Vol V, (1908), Vol I - "Two Examinations of Swithin Wells p. 133.
- 187 John Bossy "The Counter-Reformation and the People of Catholic Europe" Past and Present, Vol 47, (May 1970), p. 52.
- 188 Roy Strong "The English Icon: Elizabethan and Jacobean Portraiture", (1969), p. 1 cited by D.M. Palliser The Age of Elizabeth, (1983), p. 352.
- 189 Gregory Martin "To my Lovinge and Best Beloved Sisters" pp. 21, 22 appended to Martin's A treatyse of Christian Peregrination (1583).
- 190 Thomas Hide Consolatorie Epistle f.E.2v., E.6.v., E.7.r., E.7.v., E.8.r.
- 191 C.R.S., Vol. 39, p. 58.
- 192 John Bossy "The Character of Elizabethan Catholicism" Past and Present, Vol 21, (1962), p. 48.
- 193 Ibid p. 49.
- 194 Pierre Janelle The Catholic Reformation, Milwaukee, (1963), p. 97 .
- 195 W.R. Trimble Catholic Laity, p. 69.
- 196 Meyer England, Catholic Church, p. 246.
- 197 V.C.H. Hampshire and Isle of Wight" Vol III p. 129.
- 198 Ibid.

- 199 Ibid p. 137.
- 200 Julian S. Corbett Drake and the Tudor Navy, Vol II, (1898), pp. 227, 228.
- 201 Camden Brittania (Gough's edition), Vol I, p. 123.
- 202 C.R.S., Vol. 30, p.
- 203 Paul Hampshire recusants Ph.D. Diss. p. 183.
- 204 Ibid p. 186.
- 205 Ibid p. 279.
- 206 Ibid.
- 207 Ibid p. 187.
- 208 Richard Simpson "Religious Associations in the Sixteenth Century" The Rambler, (May 1859), p. 23.
- 209 John Bossy "The Character of Elizabethan Catholicism" Past and Present, 21, (1962), p. 47.
- 210 Weinstein and Bell Saints and Society, p. 56.
- 211 Ibid p. 67.
- 212 Ibid p. 71.

CHAPTER SIX

NOTES

- 1 The Portrait is reproduced in Peter Pierson Philip II of Spain (1975), opp. p. 65 and Sir Charles Petrie Philip II of Spain, (1963) opp. p. 224.
- 2 Richard Vaughan Philip the Good, (1970), p. 161.
- 3 C.J. Cadoux Philip of Spain and the Netherlands, (1947), p. 66.
- 4 R.B. Merriman The Rise of the Spanish Empire, Vol III, "The Emperor", (New York, 1925), pp. 9, 12, 13.
- 5 Pierson Philip II p. 96.
- 6 Merriman Spanish Empire, III, pp. 14, 15.
- 7 Peter Geyl The Revolt of the Netherlands 1559-1609, (1970), ed) p. 39.
- 8 Sir Charles Petrie Philip II of Spain, (1963), p. 228.
- 9 Charles Wilson Queen Elizabeth and the Revolt of the Netherlands, (1970), pp. 19, 139, n.29.
- 10 Ludovico Guicciardini Description of the Low Countries, (1593) (Republished by "Theatrum Orbis Terrarum", Amsterdam, 1976), p. 4.
- 11 Ibid p. 78.
- 12 Wilson Elizabeth and the Revolt, p. 17.

- 13 Ibid p. 18.
- 14 John J. Murray Antwerp, (Newton Abbey, 1972), p. 43.
- 15 Ibid p. 52.
- 16 Geyl Revolt p. 44.
- 17 Thomas Fuller Worthies of England, Vol III, (1840), p. 239.
- 18 Julian Cornwall "English Country Towns in The Fifteen Twenties", Economic History Review, Vol XV, (1962-3), p. 69. I have not come across evidence that Sussex Towns had undergone widespread development in the period 1520-1576.
- 19 Fuller Worthies, Vol II p. 2, 3 on Hampshire, and Vol III, p. 199 on Surrey.
- 20 R.B. Manning Religion and Society in Elizabethan Sussex, (Leicester 1969), p. 13 citing J.E. Neale The Elizabethan House of Common, (1949), p. 268.
- 21 Muray Antwerp p. 29.
- 22 Wilson Elizabeth and the Revolt p. x.
- 23 Frederick Harrison William The Silent. (New York, 1970 ed). pp. 38, 63, 67.
- 24 Cadoux Philip of Spain p. 159.
- 25 Ibid p. 236 "Chronological table - 1576".
- 26 R.B. Merriman The Rise of the Spanish Empire. Vol IV, "Philip the Prudent", (1934), p. 317.

- 27 Geoffrey Parker The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road 1567-1654, (Cambridge, 1972), p. 127.
- 28 John Lynch Spain Under the Hapsburgs, Vol I, (Oxford 1965), "Empire and Absolutism, 1516-1598 pp. 142, 143, 272, 273.
- 29 William Prescott History of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabelle The Catholic, (1962), p. 91; Jan Read The Moors in Spain and Portugal, (1974), p. 238.
- 30 Parker Army of Flanders p. 137, 138, 180.
- 31 Wilson Elizabeth and the Revolt, p. 3.
- 32 Parker Army of Flanders, p. 158.
- 33 Ibid, p. 179.
- 34 Sir Charles Petrie Don John of Austria, (1967), p. 301.
- 35 Geyl Revolt, p. 19, and Guicciardini Descriptions, p. 78.
- 36 Guicciardini Descriptions p. 79.
- 37 Ibid p. 96.
- 38 Robert Saint_Cyr Duplessis "Urban Stability in the Netherlands Revolution: A Comparative Study of Lille and Douai" Ph.D. Diss. (Columbia (1974), pp. 15, 16, 17 and 521.
- 39 Ibid pp. 15, 16, 17, 126, 128.
- 40 Ibid p. 131.
- 41 Guicciardini Descriptions, p. 92.

- 42 Duplessis "Douai", p. 18.
- 43 Guicciardini Descriptions, p. 92.
- 44 Duplessis "Douai", pp. 790, 793.
- 45 Ibid p. 208.
- 46 Ibid pp. 70, 79, 80, 100.
- 47 Ibid p. 141.
- 48 E. Thoen "Warfare and the Countryside : Social and Economic Aspects of the Military Destruction of Flanders During the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern Period" Acta Historia Neerlandica (Published by the Institute of Historical Research), Vol XIII, (1980), p. 28.
- 49 Duplessis "Douai" p. 470.
- 50 Ibid p. 484.
- 51 Ibid p. 317.
- 52 Ibid pp. 495, 682.
- 53 Ibid p. 496.
- 54 Ibid p. 497.
- 55 W.B. Rye England as Seen by Foreigners in the Days of Elizabeth ..., (1865), p. 70.
- 56 P. Van Petegham "Flanders in 1576 : Revolutionary or Reactionary?" - Act. Hist. Neer., Vol XII, (1979), p. 70.
- 57 Murray Antwerp, p. 29.

- 58 Duplessis "Douai", p. 705.
- 59 Ibid p. 517.
- 60 Ibid p. 341.
- 61 Ibid p. 706 citing Maximillian De Longueval, Seigneur De Vaux, letter to Don John, November 14th 1577. Correspondence De Granville, VI, 541-582.
- 62 T.F. Knox The First and Second Diaries of the English College, Douay, (1878), "Historical Introduction", (p. 50). and Hide Consolatorie Epistle p. E.4.r.; Martin A treatyse of Christian Peregrination:"A Letter Sent by ... Martin to married priest" p. 8.
- 63 Raymond Van Uytven "Scenes da la vie Sociale dans les villes de Paysbas du XIV^e au XVI^e Siecles" Memoires De La Societe D'Agriculture, Sciences Et Arts De Douai, 1980-1982, Actes du Colloque/La Sociabilite' Urbaine en Europe du Nord-Ouest du XIV^e Siecle, (Douai, 1983), p. 22.
- 64 Monique Mestayer "Les Fetes et Ceremonies A Douai 1450-1550" Memoires... De Douai ... Actes du Colloque pp. 103-105.
- 65 Van Uytven "Scenes de la Vie Sociale..." pp. 12, 23.
- 66 Robert Muchembled "Des Jeunes Dans La Ville: Douai au XVI^e Siecle" Memoires... De Douai... Actes du Colloque, p. 89.
- 67 Ibid.
- 68 Claude Fouret "Amour Et Violence: Une Alchemie Du Pouvoir A Douai 1496-1530" Memoires... De Douai - Actes du Colloques p. 97.
- 69 Muchembled "Des Jeunes" p. 89.

- 70 Ibid p. 91.
- 71 Fouret "Amour et Violence", p. 97.
- 72 Muchembled "Des Jeunes" p. 91.
- 73 Ibid.
- 74 Knox "Douay Diaries" - Diarum Secundum" p. 105.
- 75 Ibid p. 106.
- 76 J.F.C. Swan "The Introduction of the Elizabethan Settlement into the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge" Ph.D. Diss. Cambridge, Appendix E, p. 461.
- 77 Martin Haile An Elizabethan Cardinal/William Allen (1914), p. 79.
- 78 Devlin Southwell, pp. 23, 24.
- 79 Knox Douay Diaries "Historical Introduction" p. xxxviii.
- 80 Ibid.
- 81 Ibid pp. xxxviii, xxxix.
- 82 Ibid p. xxxix.
- 83 Ibid.
- 84 Ibid p. xl.
- 85 Ibid pp. xl, xli.
- 86 Ibid p. xlii.

- 87 Haile Allen pp. 11, 12.
- 88 Knox Douay Diaries, P. xliii.
- 89 Ibid.
- 90 Ibid.
- 91 Devlin Southwell p. 25.
- 92 Ibid p. 26.
- 93 Knox Douay Diaries, p. xxxviii.
- 94 Ibid, p. xxxvi.
- 95 Devlin Southwell, pp. 24, 25.
- 96 Ibid p. 26.
- 97 R.C. Christie Letters of Thomas Copley, (1897), pp. 189, 190.
- 98 Bald Humble Supplication, pp. 5 & 6 and Haile Allen p. 1.
- 99 Thomas Heywood (ed) "Cardinal Allen's Defence of Sir William Stanley's Surrender of Deventer, January 25th 1586-7", Chetham Society, (1851), pp. 13, 14.
- 100 T.F. Knox William Allen/His Letters and Memorials 1532-94, (1882), "Historical Introduction" p. xviii.
- 101 Knox Allen... Letters, p. xxxiii, and Haile Allen,, p. 154.
- 102 Knox Douay Diaries, p. lxxviii.

- 103 C.R.S., Vol V, p. 319.
- 104 Knox Allen... Letters, p. xxiii.
- 105 Knox Douay Diaries, p. lxxix.
- 106 Ibid.
- 107 Humphrey Ely Certain Brief Notes, p. 212 cited by Knox Douay Diaries p. lxxix.
- 108 A.O. Meyer England and the Catholic Church, (1916 ed.), p. 248.
- 109 Knox Douay Diaries, p. lxxx.
- 110 Ibid p. lxxvii.
- 111 Swan "Introduction of the Elizabethan Settlement", Ph.D. Diss. Cambridge, pp. 138, 139.
- 112 C.R.S. Vol XXXIII, "Father Augustine Baker" p. 60.
- 113 Swan "Introduction of the Elizabethan Settlement", p. 139.
- 114 A.L. Rowse The England of Elizabeth, (1950), p. 461.
- 115 Knox Letters... Allen p. xx.
- 116 Philip Hughes Rome and the Counter-Reformation in England, (1942), p. 175.
- 117 Ibid.
- 118 Ibid p. 176.
- 119 Rowse England of Elizabeth, p. 461.

- 120 Swan "Elizabeth Settlement" Diss. Ph.D. p. 144.
- 121 Ibid p. 145.
- 122 Ibid p. 167.
- 123 Foley Records, Vol VI, p. vi.n.
- 124 Ibid p. vii.
- 125 Henry Cotton Rhemes and Doway An Attempt to Shew What Has Been Done By Roman Catholics for the Diffusion of the Holy Scripture in English, (Oxford, 1855), pp. 1, 2.
- 126 A.C. Southern Elizabethan Recusant Prose 1559-1582, (1950), p. 45.
- 127 Cotton Rhemes and Douay, pp. 10, 11 and Marvin O'Connell Thomas Stapleton and the Counter Reformation (1964) pp. 37, 39, 42, 43n. 36, 53, 211, 212.
- 128 Cotton Rhemes and Douay p. 11
- 129 Ibid p. 13.
- 130 Knox Douay Diaries, p. xxix.
- 131 Ibid p. lxxii.
- 132 Ibid pp. xxxvi-xxviii.
- 133 Ibid p. xlix.
- 134 Ibid p. li, n.2.

- 135 "Some Correspondence of Cardinal Allen From The Jesuit Archives"
C.R.S., Vol IX - Miscellanea VII, (1911), p. 45.
- 136 M.A. Tierney Dodd's Church History of England. Vol II, (1839), pp.
 161-162.
- 137 Haile Allen, p. 166.
- 138 Ibid p. 164, 165, 166.
- 139 Knox Douay Diaries, p. li.
- 140 McDonald and Brown Poems p. 76, line 11, 12.

CHAPTER SEVEN

NOTES

- 1 V.H.H. Green Renaissance & Reformation/A Survey of European History Between 1450 & 1660, (1982), p. 253.
- 2 Ibid "Time Chart", pp. 420, 422.
- 3 Ibid p. 260.
- 4 Catherine Charlotte, Lady Jackson The Last of the Valois and Accession of Henry of Navarre 1559-1589, Vol II (1888), p. 105. This useful Victorian history of the end of the Valois reign draws directly, extensively and clearly from various original French Sixteenth century sources, such as Pierre L'Estoile's "Journal" (the latest edition of which is by L.R. Lefevre (1958), and Pierre Mathieu Histoire de Derniers Troubles de Frances, (1597), as well as from other noted French Historians such as Henri Martin.
- 5 Jackson Last of the Valois, p. 108.
- 6 Ibid pp. 70, 71, 96.
- 7 Ibid p. 78.
- 8 Green Renaissance & Reformation, p. 261.
- 9 Jackson Last of the Valois, p. 71.
- 10 Ibid, p. 91 and H.O. Everett The Cardinal of Lorraine and the Council of Trent, (1930), cited by Green Renaissance & Reformation, pp. 249, 250, n.1.

- 11 Jackson Last of the Valois p. 93.
- 12 J.H.M. Salmon "The French Wars of Religion - How Important were Religious Factors" Problems in European Civilization Series, (Boston, 1967), p. x.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 Ibid p. viii.
- 15 Jean-Baptiste-Honoré Capefigue (1802-1872) "The Catholic League: Popular Revolution and Fanaticism", in Religious Factors, J.H.M. Salmon ed, p. 54.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Ibid p. 55.
- 18 J.H.M. Salmon The French Religious Wars in English Political Thought, (Oxford, 1959), pp. 7, 184.
- 19 Ibid p. 16.
- 20 John Bossy "Elizabeth Catholicism: The Link with France:", Ph.D. Diss. (Cambridge, 1960), p. 46.
- 21 Ibid p. 343.
- 22 Ibid.
- 23 Knox Douay Diaries p. 113.
- 24 Devlin Southwell, pp. 27, Edwards Elizabethan Jesuits p. 229.
- 25 Foley Records, III, Series VIII, pp. 705-709.

- 26 Edward, Elizabethan Jesuits, p. 229.
- 27 Devlin Southwell, p. 9.
- 28 Foley Records, III, Series VIII, pp. 725, 726.
- 29 Ibid.
- 30 Ibid p. 717.
- 31 Ibid p. 719 citing State Papers, Dom. Eliz. Vol ccix, n. 57 (1588).
- 32 Farm Street Transcripts - 46/13/1 (Ryan Transcripts of French Correspondence at P.R.O. 1582/84 - fol. 25.
- 33 Ibid f. 27.
- 34 Ibid f. 62.
- 35 Edwards Elizabethan Jesuits, p. 17.
- 36 Ibid.
- 37 Gustave Dupont-Ferrier Du College De Clermont au Lycee Louis-le-Grand (1563-1920), Vol III, (Memoires Justificatifs, Appendices, Index General), (1925), p. 22, no. 129 - Prefets Spirituals et Confesseurs: "Le. P. Thomas Darbyshire, Darbishenus, 1593, mense junio, cc Magister Novicior, Praefectus Spiritualis".
- 38 John Morris Troubles of Our Catholic Forefathers, (1872), p. 8, citing Roper's Life of More, ed. Singer, (1822), p. 76.
- 39 Foley Records III, Series VIII p. 708.
- 40 Ibid.

- 41 De Buck Spiritual Exercises, p. 93.
- 42 Ibid p. 93, 94.
- 43 Nicholas Harpsfield Life of More E.E.T.S. (Oxford, 1932), p. 210.
- 44 To deal in depth with Southwell's education in Douai and Rome as well as in Paris would incur the risk of being repetitive, tedious and irrelevant. This copious account of Clermont College is given as a replacement for what could have been said in greater detail in Chapters five and eight.
- 45 Devlin Southwell p. 27.
- 46 Leo Hicks MS Life of Southwell, Farm Street, ff. 4, 5. Hicks is basing this view on the Douai Diary entry (see Ch 6) mentioning that a Fr. Thomas Smyth accompanied the party of students which included Southwell to Paris.
- 47 Janelle, Southwell pp. 18, 19, 19n. 49, 50; C.R.S., IV 108-9; D.N.B. Vol. XIV, pp. 44-45; Dupont-Ferrier Clermont, Vol. I, pp. 270-271; Edwards Elizabethan Jesuits p. 17.
- 48 Austin Lynn Martin "Jesuits and the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day" Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu, Vol XLIII, (1974), pp. 103, 106.
- 49 Dupont-Ferrier Clermont, Vol I, pp. 68, 94, 98, 99, 100, 123, 124.
- 50 Ibid pp. 64, 65, 67, 68, 69, 73.
- 51 Dupont-Ferrier Clermont, pp. 103, 113, 114.
- 52 Ibid p. 39, 41, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 52, 53, 56, 69, 100, 101, 240, 245, 246.

- 53 James H. Nancy Pollard Brown The Poems of Robert Southwell, (Oxford, 1967), - "St. Peters Complaint" p. 76, lines 1-3.
- 54 Bald Humble Supplication p. 11.
- 55 Brown Two Letters "Of my Duty towards my Superiors", p. 34.
- 56 Dupont-Ferrier Clermont, Vol I, pp. 269, 271, 272.
- 57 Brown Two Letters "Of the Care of my Children, p. 51.
- 58 Dupont-Ferrier Clermont, Vol I pp. 132, 133, 136, 214, 218, 219, 220.
- 59 Ibid pp. 205, 206.
- 60 MacDonald & Brown, Poems p. 14, lines 11,12; P.26; lines 11,12; p.18,1. 35, 36; p. 58 l. 16, 17; p. 30 l. 65, 66; p. 89 l. 461,2. See George Herbert's poem "Paradise" (The Temple, 1633) as an example of taking away one letter to form rhyme words.
- 61 Knox Douay Diaries, (June, 1577) p. 124.
- 62 Edwards Elizabethan Jesuits, p. 229.
- 63 Pollen "Unpublished Documents Relating to English Martyrs (Vol I, 1584-1603)" C.R.S., Vol V, (1908), p. 298.
- 64 Ibid p. 299.
- 65 Ibid.
- 66 Devlin Southwell, p. 32.
- 67 Leo Hicks MS Life of Southwell (undated) Farm Street 46/22/25 folio 8, n.
- 68 Ibid.

- 69 Leo Hicks in the MS Life of Southwell, writes "when Bartoli wrote his "inghilterra" (Daniello Bartoli Dell' Istoria della Compagnia di Giesu l'Inghilterra, Roma 1667) the "complaint of Robert Southwell was preserved in the Archives of the English College, Rome. However, says Hicks, it is no longer extant. Henry More in Hist. Prov. Anglic p. 173 gives a Latin transcription which Foley reproduces in Records, Vol I, p. 305.
- 70 Details given in a letter of Alfred Poncelet to Leo Hicks, dated January 23rd 1932 in which Poncelet "pointed out that More was in error in sending Southwell to Tournai". Edwards Elizabethan Jesuits, p. 382, n. 16.
- 71 Leo Hicks, "Autograph Letter of John Deckers S.I. to Blessed Robert Southwell S.I." Archivium Historicum Societatis Iesu, (1932), p. 276, 277.
- 72 G.M. Godden St. Stanislaus Kostka, (Dublin 1955), pp. 4, 14.
- 73 Ibid pp. 1, 2, citing Bartoli Vita de S. Ignazio, and C.C. Martindale God's Army.
- 74 Shelley, Sir Richard D.N.B. (1909).
- 75 Strype Ecclesiastical Memorials Vol III, (1832, ed.) pp. 1, 8, 14.
- 76 D.N.B.
- 77 Albert J. Loomie The Spanish Elizabethans, (1963), pp. 22, 23.
- 78 Richard Simpson Edmund Compion, (1907), p. 329.
- 79 Farm Street Transcripts, Pollen Transcripts 46/13/1 f. 25, Lansdowne MSS, Vol 38, No. 41.

- 80 Ibid - transcript of "Lansdowne MSS, Vol 45, no. 5.
- 81 Christie Letters of Thomas Copley - Appendix - "Thomas Copley's Will, p. 182.
- 82 Lewis Einstein The Italian Renaissance in England, (1902), "The English Catholics in Rome", p. 383.
- 83 C.R.S., 39, p. 4.
- 84 Foley Records, Vol I, p. 305.
- 85 Leo Hicks "MS Life of Southwell" insertion between folios 11, 12.
- 86 John Bossy "Rome and the Elizabethan Catholics: A Question of Geography" The Historical Journal, Vol VII, No. 1 (1964), pp. 135, 136.
- 87 Ibid pp. 136, 137.
- 88 Devlin Southwell, p. 33.
- 89 Leo Hicks mentions that Southwell and Marshall were admitted to the Novitiate of St. Andrea on October 17 (L. Hicks) (ed) "Letters and Memorials of Fr. Robert Persons" C.R.S., Vol 39, (1942), p. 2, n. 5) which suggests that they left Douai several weeks earlier. Smith and Harwood arrived in Rome on October 29th and William Holt on November 7th.

CHAPTER EIGHT

NOTES

- 1 "Letters and Memorials of Father Robert Persons, S.J.", Vol I (to 1588), C.R.S. Vol 39, Leo Hicks ed, (1942), pp. 2, n. 5; Leo Hicks "Autograph Letter of John Deckers S.J.", Arch. Hist. Soc. Iesu, (1932), p. 278; Leo Hicks "MS Life of Southwell, Farm Street, f. II, citing Nathaniel Southwell Catalogus Primorum Patrum (1640).
- 2 Hicks "Letters and Memorials" C.R.S. Vol 39, p. 2.
- 3 C.S. Martindale The Vocation of Aloysius Gonzaga, (1927), p. 137.
- 4 Manuel Ruiz Jurado "Origenes Del Noviciado En La Compania De Jesus" (Institutum Historicum Soc. Iesu, Rome, 1980), p. 89.
- 5-9 Ibid pp. 89-114.
- 10 Leo Hicks MS Life of Southwell, Farm Street, f. 11.
- 11 W.G. Waters (ed. and Trans.) The Journal of Montaigne's Travels in Italy by way of Switzerland and Germany in 1580 and 1581, Vol II, (1903), pp. 158, 159.
- 12 Ibid p. 159, 160.
- 13 Ibid p. 93.
- 14 Ibid p. 163.
- 15 Ibid p. 164.
- 16 Ibid p. 133.

- 17 Ibid.
- 18 Emile Male L'Art Religieux De La Fin Du XVI^e Siecle, (Paris, 1951), pp. 116, 117.
- 19 Ibid p. 120.
- 20 C.R.S. Vol 39, p. 200, n. 1 and Leo Hicks, MS. Life of Southwell, f, 11.
- 21 C.R.S. Vol 39, xi.
- 22 Hicks MS Life of Southwell, f. 12.
- 23 John Paul De Cecco, Jr. "Father Robert Persons S.J.-Early Years 1546-1582" Ph.D. Diss. (Pennsylvania, 1953), pp. 34, 36-38.
- 24 Edward Gee The Jesuits Memorial For the Intended Reformation of England Under their First Popish Prince, MDCXC, (i).
- 25 Humphrey Ely Certaine Briefe Notes upon a Brief Apology set out under the name of Priests United to the Arch Priest (Paris 1603). This is reported by Ely under the heading "An Answer of M. Doctor Bagshaw to Certayne Poynts ..." p. 33.
- 26 M.H. Curtis Oxford and Cambridge in Transition 1558-1642 (Oxford, 1959), p. 83, citing Godfrey Davies The Early Stuarts 1603-1660, (Oxford, 1937), p. 351-2.
- 27 Andrew Clarke (ed). The Colleges of Oxford, Their History and Traditions, (1891), p. 39-40, cited in Curtis, Oxford and Cambridge, p. 84, n. 3.
- 28 Humphrey Ely Briefe Discourse "An Answer to Mr. Dr. Bagshaw" p. 34.

- 29 Cecco "Persons" Ph.D. Diss. p. 42.
- 30 Gee Jesuits Memorial, p. xii.
- 31 Ibid p. ix and C.R.S., Vol. 39, ix, x.
- 32 Cecco "Persons" pp. 47, 49, 51, 52, 53.
- 33 C.R.S., Vol. 39, pp. 216, 227, 244, 255.
- 34 Bald Humble Supplication pp. 6, 7.
- 35 C.R.S. Vol. 39, p. xv.
- 36 Ibid, p. xxxi.
- 37 Ibid pp. 184, 185, 201.
- 38 Cecco, "Persons" p. 54; C.R.S., 39, lxxiii, 320, 317, n.10.
- 39 An account of these "autograph notes" is given in Hicks's Ms Life of Southwell. He mentions them as being at the "Catholic Church in Newbury, Berks;" (either St. Joseph's or the Church of St. Francis de Sales). Recent investigations have failed to locate them in either church.
- 40 Leo Hicks, MS. Life of Southwell f. 13.
- 41 Ibid f. 14. Hicks's reference to the Biblical origin of this quotation is not legible in the MS.
- 42 Ibid.
- 43 Ignacio Iparraguirre "Para La Historia De La Oracion En El Colegio Romano Durante La Segunda Mitad Del Siglo XVI" Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu, Vol XV, (1946), pp. 78, 79.

- 44 Ibid.
- 45 Ibid p. 79-81.
- 46 Ibid.
- 47 Este escrito ofrece interés particular por la afinidad que presenta con las notas personales del Bto Roberto Southwell...etc." Ibid pp. 100, 102. Agazzari's MS is now in the Fondo Gesuitico - Sect. XX, MS 80.
- 48 Ibid.
- 49 Arch. Univ. Greg. 749, 1763; Nat. Lib. Rome and Fondo Gesuitico 1295 - Ipparraquine pp. 100-104.
- 50 Arch. Univ. Greg. 749.
- 51 Janelle Southwell pp. 110, 144, 145, 173.
- 52 Ibid pp. 174-175.
- 53 Ibid p. 284 citing De Backer - Sommer vogel Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jesus tome VI, Col. 294-298.
- 54 Leo Hicks, MS Life of Southwell, f. 15.
- 55 De Buck Spiritual Exercises and Devotions, (1930) "Renewal of Resolution", p. 40.
- 56 Ibid "Reflections on St. Luke's Day after taking my vows".
- 57 Hicks, MS Life of Southwell, f. 16. What Hicks means by "resided" is probably, "attended".

- 58 Mario Fois "Il Collegio Romano ai tempi degli studi del P. Matteo Ricci" - Centro Studi Ricciani - (Rome, 1984), p. 207.
- 59 Ibid pp. 207-209.
- 60 Philip Caraman University of the Nations - The Story of the Gregorian University of Rome from 1551 to Vatican II (1981) pp. 22, 23.
- 61 Monumenta Paedagogica Societatis Iesu, / Penitus Retractata Multisque Textibus Acta/ ed. Ladislaus Lukacs, Vol II (1557-1572), - (Rome, Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1974) pp. 181-183. The "Ratio Studiorum Societatis Iesu (1565-1572)" published in the above volume runs to almost nine hundred pages (pp 181-1034).
- 62 Ibid pp. 185, 186.
- 63 Allan P. Farrell The Jesuit Code of Liberal Education (Milwaukee, 1938) p. 49; Robert Schwickerath Jesuit Education: Its History & Principles (St. Louis, 1904). pp. 122, 123, 131.
- 64 Devlin Southwell p. 47.
- 65 Farrell Jesuit Code p. 227.
- 66 Ibid pp. 228, 229.
- 67 Ibid p. 235.
- 68 Fois "Collegio Romano" p. 212.
- 69 Ibid.
- 70 Ibid p. 213.
- 71 Ibid p. 217.

- 72 Ibid.
- 73 Ibid p. 220.
- 74 John Deckers "Narrative of the Martyrdom of the Bl. Fr. Robert Southwell" Farm Street, f.45.
- 75 Monumenta Pedagogica, II p. 254, 256, 258.
- 76 Ibid pp. 184, 185.
- 77 Hicks MS Life of Southwell f. 18.
- 78 Devlin Southwell p. 47.
- 79 C.R.S., Vol. 39, p. 244, n.
- 80 Farrell Jesuit Code p. 76-79. This list of duties is based on Jerome Nadal's "Ordo Studiorum" completed, very probably, while Nadal was Prefect of Studies in the Roman College in 1557 and 1559, and is thus a useful guide to Southwell's own duties as Prefect of Studies.
- 81 Monumenta Pedagogica II p. 266.
- 82 Ibid p. 269.
- 83 Ibid pp. 269, 270.
- 84 Ibid p. 201.
- 85 Ibid p. 213 No. 89.
- 86 Ibid p. 213, No. 92.
- 87 Ibid p. 222.

- 88 Ibid pp. 231, 232.
- 89 Ibid pp. 195, No. 2 and 17; p. 198 No. 24; p. 199 no. 2.
- 90 A Lytton Sells The Italian Influence on English Poetry (1955) p. 311.
- 91 Janelle Southwell p. 206.
- 92 Sells Italian Influence pp. 316, 317.
- 93 Janelle Southwell pp. 119, 121, 123.
- 94 Ibid p. 127.
- 95 Ibid pp. 117, 118.
- 96 Ibid p. 141.
- 97 C.R.S. Vol. 39, pp. 95 n. 3, 114.
- 98 Ibid p. 114.
- 99 Ibid pp. 114 and 105 notes 29, 30.
- 100 Ibid pp. 117; 117n.6,7; 118; 114; 104 n. 25; 105 n.27.
- 101 James Brodrick Robert Bellarmine (1961) p. 28.
- 102 Ibid p. 29, 30.
- 103 Herman Van Laak "Martyres Angli et S. Bellarmine" Gregorianum Vol. XI
(1930) p. 337.
- 104 Brodrick Bellarmino p. 56.

- 105 Cited by Van Laak "Martyres" pp. 337, 338.
- 106 J.H. Pollen "Unpublished Documents" C.R.S., Vol. V (1908) P. 300n.
- 107 Van Laak "Martyres" p. 354.
- 108 Ibid p. 368.
- 109 Ibid p. 368.
- 110 Brodrick Bellarmino p. 56.
- 111 Male L'Art Religieux p. 129.
- 112 Ibid p. 132.
- 113 C.R.S. IV (Miscellanea) (1907) p. 113.
- 114 Ibid.
- 115 Ven. Bede Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation, ed. J.A. Giles (1840) pp. 39, 40.
- 116 Ibid p. 68.
- 117 Ibid p. 122.
- 118 Ibid p. 141.
- 119 Ibid pp. 15, 17.
- 120 Vol I, Part I (Scalar Press, ed. 1976) p. 3.
- 121 Ibid pp. 5, 8.
- 122 Ibid pp. 101, 102.

- 123 Ibid pp. 303, 305.
- 124 Buckland Seaven Sparkes pp. 30, 41, 43.
- 125 Ibid pp. 44, 45.
- 126 p. 8. (Appended to Martin's A treatyse of Christian Peregrination).
- 127 Bald Humble Supplication p. 29.
- 128 Michael E. Williams The Venerable English College Rome/A History 1579-1979, (1979) Appendix III, p. 8.
- 129 Ibid pp. 8, 9, Durante's "The Martyr's Picture" is reproduced on the back dust jacket of Williams's English College, Rome.
- 130 Male L'Art Religieux, pp. 110, 111.
- 131 Ibid p. 111.
- 132 Ibid.
- 133 Foley Records, I, pp. 314-317; 335, 336; De Buck Spiritual Exercises p. 109.
- 134 Waugh Epistle of Comfort p. 239.
- 135 Hide Consolatorie Epistle (1580) [Scholar Press, 1972] f. F3, r; F3, v.
- 136 Ibid (See f. F4r, v; F5r, v; G1, r.v; G5r,v for further details.
- 137 P.J. Holmes Elizabethan Casuistry C.R.S. (1981) p. 72 case5.
- 138 Ibid pp. 72, 73.

- 139 Ibid p. 73.
- 140 Patrick McGrath "Elizabethan Catholicism: A Reconsideration". Journal of Ecclesiastical History Vol 35 (July, 1984) p. 425.
- 141 Christopher Haigh "From monopoly to minority: Catholicism in Early Modern England". Trans. of Royal Hist. Soc. (Sept, 1980) p. 135.
- 142 McGrath "Eliz. Cath. " p. 427 n.80.
- 143 Foley Records, I, p. 313.
- 144 Williams English College, p. 6; C.R.S., Vol 39, pp. 10, 11.
- 145 J.M. Cleary, "Dr. Morys Clynnog's Invasion Projects of 1575-1576" Recusant History, Vol 8, (1965-66), p. 300.
- 146 Ibid p. 304, 305.
- 147 Williams English College p. 5.
- 148 Ibid p. 6, and De Buck Spiritual Exercises pp. 18-20.
- 149 Owen Lewis The Running Register: Recording a True Relation of the State of the English, Colledges, Seminaries and Cloysters in all Forraine Parts, (London 1626), pp. 21, 22.
- 150 Ibid p. 21.
- 151 Williams English College, p. 13.
- 152 Ibid p. 14. The Causes for the troubles of 1585 are raised in full by Williams English College, pp. 13-16.
- 153 De Buck Spiritual Exercises, "The Desire of Being Through Amusing", p. 98.

- 154 Ibid "Rules of Intercourse with others" pp. 83, 84.
- 155 Thomas Hughes Loyola and the Educational System of the Jesuits (1892), p. 101.
- 156 J.C.H. Aveline The Jesuits, (1981), p. 80.
- 157 Anthony Munday The Englishe Romaine Life, (1582 ed.) G.B. Harrison (ed), (Boddley Head Quartos) 1925, p. 19. Evidence for Anthony Munday actually being at the College - in challenge to recent doubts about this, could be seen from Cardinal Morone's papers discovered by Godfrey Anstruther in the Vatican Library where one "Antonius Auleius" is listed as a scholar of the English College. (Anthony Kenny "Anthony Munday in Rome" Rec. Hist., Vol VI p. 158, 159, 160).
- 158 Munday Romaine Life, pp. 1-30.
- 159 Hughes Loyola and... the Jesuits, pp. 103, 104 citing Possevino Bibliotheca Selecta, Lib, I, ch. 40.
- 160 Munday Romaine Life pp. 30-34.
- 161 Ibid p. 38.
- 162 It is not clear what Munday means by "back to school". - To the Roman College? For only an hour? - that does not seem likely.
- 163 The glass of wine and bread-manchet - taken twice daily may be intended to convey a symbolic association with Christ's Last Supper.
- 164 Munday Romaine Life p. 39.
- 165 Ibid p. 40.

- 166 Williams English College, p. 12.
- 167 Munday Romayne Life, p. 35.
- 168 Humphrey Ely Certaine Briefe Notes upon a Briefe Apology "The Epistle of the Author in his friend M.D.W." - p. 80. Ely says that he was a pensioner in D. Allen's Companie in that College "foure months and more".
- 169 Verstegan Briefe Discourse (Farm Street) f. 14.
- 170 Ely Certain Briefe Notes pp. 81, 82.
- 171 De Buck Spiritual Exercises, p. 84. "Rules for Intercourse with others?".
- 172 Ibid p. 91. "Important considerations upon self-resignation".
- 173 Ibid p. 106. "Teachings which St. Catherine of Siena at her death left to her followers".
- 174 Ibid p. 85.
- 175 Henry More, Hist. Prov. Anglic. p. 182 cited by Janelle, Robert Southwell, p. 34, n. 3.
- 176 Deckers "Narratives of the Martyrdom of Bl. F. Robert Southwell..." (Farm Street Transcripts 46/22/2-3 f. 47.
- 177 Hicks Ms Life of Southwell, (Farm Street), f. 20.
- 178 Hicks (ed). "Letters and Memorials of Robert Persons" C.R.S. Vol 39 (1942), lxxiii. Henry Garnet, born 1555, son of Brian Garnet, Master of the Free Grammar School, Nottingham. Attending Winchester schoo, he went to Rome, entering the novitiate of St.

Andrea n September 11th 1575. He studied at the Roman College and was English Penitentiary at St. Peter's and Professor of Hebrew and Mathematics at the Roman College. Travelling to England with Southwell he eluded arrest till finally captured in 1605 at Hinlip Castle, Worcester. Arraigned on March 28th he was executed on May 3rd 1606 for High Treason aged 51 (Gillow Biographical Dictionary, Vol II (1885), p. 390.

179 Hicks Letters ... Persons" C.R.S., Vol 39, p. 245. Simon Hunt entered the Novitiate of St. Andrea on April 25th 1578 and was reported to have been the Schoolmaster of Stratford who taught Shakespeare "Small (little?) Latin and less Greek". (Devlin, Southwell, p. 40.

180 Philip Caraman Henry Garnet 1556-1606 and the Gunpowder Plot (1964) p. 20.

181 Garnet's family was well known. The first Garnet in England, Ralph de Gernet, was a Norman Knight who came with the Conqueror or shortly afterwards. In Henry I reign a Vivian de Gernet was Royal Forester. The Garnet family flourished in subsequent reigns on the Westmorland and Lancashire areas. They showed avid interest in educating their children who rode for miles over the fells to school every day. After the Reformation, the Garnets remained Catholic and were often fined for recusancy. (Carolyn G. Heilbrun The Garnet Family (1961), pp. 19, 20.

182 Hicks "Letters ... Persons" C.R.S., Vol 39, p. 356.

183 Ibid p. 357.

184 Ibid.

1185 Ibid p. 363.

CHAPTER EIGHT - APPENDIX I

SOUTHWELL AND THE "SPIRITUAL EXERCISES" OF IGNATIUS LOYOLA

There are certain aspects of Southwell as a poet which make important contributions, biographically, to an assessment of his historical role. The linch-pin linking Southwell's role as a poet to that of a Jesuit activist are the Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius Loyola. Basically, Southwell's poetry was largely formed by the Ignation Spiritual Exercises.^{sn1} The first effect the Spiritual Exercises had on Southwell was to ingrain in his mind the mental posture of contemplation, since Loyola's exercises are held to be one of the highest examples of the Art of Contemplation. The Exercises' effect on Southwell augmented the Platonic concept of Divine Love, which is also omnipresent in the 'Exercises', "... the penitential concern, however basic, must not be overemphasized. It is Love that is the dominant theme": In St. Peters Complaynte this is expounded as

Love mistris is of many mindes
Yet few know whome they serve²

Ignatius, in the 'Exercises' teaches that "Love should be expressed in doing rather than protesting".³ Love, to Ignatius, is giving. "Love consists of a reciprocal interchange, the lover handing over and sharing with the beloved his possessions, gifts and capacities, and vice versa. If one was learning, one gives it to others who lack it, so it is with positions of honour and material possessions."⁴ Southwell's contributions as a poet stem from this fund of Divine Love which he accumulated through close involvement with the "Spiritual Exercises". Divine Love is drawn out of the retreatant during a thirty-day course under the skilled supervision of a Retreat director thoroughly acquainted with the 'Exercises'.⁵ The operation of God's spirit in the Soul of the retreatant is monitored by the director whose main function is "to closely observe the spiritual experience - the movement of the various spirits, as it is called - and to help the retreatant to avoid illusions and to find God's

will in his life".⁶ Southwell's poetry gained in stature through the interior knowledge of self which a retreat leads to. For it is not the quantity and extent of knowledge that should matter "but realizing and relishing things interiorly that contents and satisfies the soul".⁷ The 'Exercises were an effective spiritual filter which helped man "free himself from all disordered loves and repugnances (to) achieve a spiritual balance" and is meant for those "seeking the way of a more generous love, the way of their personal vocation".⁸

Though the Spiritual Exercises taken in retreat lead to deeper self-knowledge and an infusion of Divine Love they also develop the imagination, through use of vivid imagery.⁹ Loyola endeavours "to work on the five senses or upon the mind's power of repeating their impressions".¹⁰ The 'Exercises' were not written to be read, however carefully, but to be translated into reality and lived. "All the powers of the soul, heart, intelligence and sensibility must come into play".¹¹ In the Sixteenth century, Ignatius's "Exercises" were a revolutionary form of devotion which did not command immediate acceptance by all. The older orders, especially the Dominicans, loudly condemned the Exercises "as a spiritual crash course, with memory, reason and will as its Trinity, bringing an element of 'hustle' into religion," and the Benedictines complained of the 'Exercises inducing "a coercive parade-ground attitude to prayer".¹² This "Military drill" nature of the 'Exercises" is cited by a Twentieth-century Jesuit student who relates how during the three-day Christmas retreat they "were bashed with Spiritual Exercises from morning till night".¹³ The main outcome of Southwell's training in Ignatian Spiritual Exercises was the intense and urgent familiarity and intimacy with the Holy and the Divine "an intimacy quite unusual in religious poetry of the Sixteenth century".¹⁴

The religious luminosity of Southwell's poetry echoes the Ignatian dictum pervading the 'Exercises' that man in himself is nothing. He shines only as he reflects God's light.¹⁵ Southwell's ardent yearning for moral perfection also reflects the Ignatian thought that "no man could have an excess of the Theological virtues of faith, hope and charity".¹⁶ "Saint Peter's complaint" contains traces of the Sacrament of Penance and develops in close accord with the Ignatian Meditation upon sins, the second exercise in the first week of the Spiritual Exercises.¹⁷

The Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius Loyola constituted vigorous training for Southwell's poetic imagination. Their being an exercise for the imagination is shown most vividly in the fifth exercise "A Meditation on Hell". Its first Preliminary - "The Picture" - is a description of the length, breadth and depth of Hell. The "Second" is a deeply felt account of the sufferings of the damned. The retreatant taking the 'Exercises' is directed to imagine "...those enormous fires and the souls with bodies of fire" (1st heading); "to hear in imagination the shrieks and groans and the blasphemous shouts against Christ ... and all the saints (2nd heading); To imagine the smell, the fumes of sulphur and the stench of filth and corruption (3rd reading); to imagine the taste, of the bitterness of tears (4th heading); to imagine the heat of the flames that play on and burn the soul (5th heading).¹⁸ Thus, the 'Exercises' not only flexed Southwell's imagination, but prepared him for the real "hell" of torture and incarceration in appalling, filthy conditions in London prisons.

The 'Exercises' provided training in all forms of religious imagery. In "The Second Contemplation on the Nativity", imagination is directed towards "Our Lady, with Child, setting out from Nazareth, going to Bethlehem to pay Caesar's tax" (1st Prelim.) "Represent to yourself" the retreatant is directed "the Picture". Imagine the Road to Bethlehem. Is it level, or through valleys, or over hillsides?" (2nd Prelim.). "Look at Our Lady, St. Joseph, the servant girl, and after he is born - Jesus. (3rd Prelim., 1st heading).¹⁹ I must "see myself as an impoverished attendant, not fit to be there but watching and studying ... looking after all their wants as if I were actually present, in a spirit of complete and respectful subservience" (2nd heading). The retreatant trains his imagination to "see, observe and study what they are saying ... on what they are doing ... the journey they have to make, the hardships they have to put up with".²⁰

Such Biblical scenes as "The presentation in the Temple and the Flight into Exile into Egypt" are to be imagined (2nd day); "The Obedience of the Child Jesus to his parents and the finding in the Temple" (3rd day);²¹ The retreatant imagines a great plain, comprising the entire Jerusalem district where the Commander-in-Chief of Christ's Army is deploying his forces (4th day, 1st Prelim.). In another plain near Babylon Lucifer is

at the head of the enemy. "Imagine the enemy leader, in that great plain of Babylon, sitting on a sort of throne of smoking flame (3rd Prelim. 1st heading) - a horrible and terrifying sight". The retreatant trains his imagination to "watch him (Lucifer) calling together countless devils, to despatch them into different cities till the whole world is covered, forgetting no province, locality, class or single individual (3rd Prelim. 2nd heading). The fourth day "I see myself standing before God and all his saints ... to discern what is his ... greater pleasure (2nd Prelim.)".²² Due to the intense training of the poetical imagination provided by Ignatius's 'Exercises', Southwell's writings though small in amount are described as being "more widely read than any of his contemporaries - Shakespeare, Spenser, Lyly and Philip Sidney not excepted".²³ The reason for this popularity are attributed to his "qualities of rythm, alliteration and antithesis reflect(ing), the taste of the day, alluring so many worldly and licentious writers of his time".²⁴ Southwell's merits as a poet are exemplified in the view that "verse and vertue sute together".²⁵ Nature and grace "are set at opposite ends, but the opposition is balanced into a fruitful tension ... grace not violating nature but persuading it out of discord and into a sweet and alluring harmony with God".²⁶ Southwell brought natural cravings for the sensuous in poetry closer to Divine imagery, infusing it with the intense luminosity of his religious imagery; an imagery trained and brought into focus by the Ignatian Exercises: This is shown in "The burning Babe" (Stanzas 5, 6; MacDonald & Brown pp. 15, 16).

My faultless breast the furnace is,
 The fuell wounding thornes:
 Love is the fire, and the sighs the smoake,
 the ashes, shame and scornes;

The fewell Justice layeth on,
 And Mercie blowes the coales,
 The metall in this furnace wrought,
 Are mens defiled soules:

- Just the sort of imagery Elizabethan poets would be inspired by. Southwell the Poet, per se, was at one with the overall Elizabethan

poetical scene. "He was willing to adopt domestic literary techniques to his own work, as he explains in the Preface to "St. Peter's Complaint".

Still finest wits one stilling (distilling) Venus Rose,
In Paynim toyes the sweetest vaines are spent:
To Christian workes, few have their talents lent".²⁷

Southwell's writings are full of those rhetorical devices which were quite popular with the Elizabethan readership, viz "alliteration, metaphor, fanciful imagery, personification, hyperbole, paradox, antithesis, metrical variation, pastoral echoes, lyrical pitch and conceits".²⁸ "St. Peter's Complaint" abounds with conceits: Christ's eyes are, variously, "springs of light ... blasing comets ... living mirrours ... sunnes ... little worlds ... Turtle twins all battl'd in virgins milke".²⁹ In sum, Southwell, having being trained by the Ignatian Spiritual Exercises and by using fully acceptable contemporary Rhetorical and Image making devices, his poetry acquired a sharp incisive focus and displayed deep conviction.

CHAPTER EIGHT

APPENDIX I - NOTES

- 1 See John Roberts "The Influence of the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius on the Nativity poems of Robert Southwell" Journal of English & Germanic Philology, Vol LIX, (1960), pp. 450, 451 and Helen C. White "The Contemplative Element in Robert Southwell" The Catholic Historical Review, Vol XLVIII, (April 1962), no. 1 p. 2.
- 2 Helen White "Contemplative Element". Cath. Hist. Rev. XLVIII, p. 8 citing the 1595 edition of Saint Peters Complaynt, with Other Poems (London: I.R. for G.C.,) sig. Hlv. I have not found these two lines in Macdonald and Brown's edition of "Saint Peters Complaynt".
- 3 Thomas Corbishley (trans) Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius, (Herts, 1963), pp. 78, 79 "Contemplation for Achieving Love".
- 4 Ibid p. 79
- 5 W.A. Van Roo "Law of the Spirit and Written Law in the Spirituality of St. Ignatius" Gregorianum, XXXVII, (1956), p. 420.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 Ibid p. 422.
- 8 Ibid p. 430.
- 9 Roberts "Influence" p. 452.
- 10 David Mitchell The Jesuits - A History, (1980), p. 10.

- 11 H. Daniel-Rops The Catholic Reformation (translated from the French by John Warrington.) (1962), p. 33.
- 12 Mitchell Jesuits p. 37.
- 13 Macdonald Hastings Jesuit Child (1971), p. 56.
- 14 Roberts 'Influence' p. 454.
- 15 Michael Foss The Founding of the Jesuits (1969), p. 98.
- 16 Ibid p. 111.
- 17 Louis L. Martz The Poetry of Meditation, (1954), xxiv, citing Nancy Pollard Brown's Paper delivered to the Modern Language Association of America, 1959 - NRG.
- 18 Corbishley Exercises pp. 35, 36.
- 19 Ibid p. 47.
- 20 Ibid pp. 47, 48.
- 21 Ibid p. 51.
- 22 Ibid pp. 52, 53, 55.
- 23 Herbert Thurston "Catholic Writers and Elizabethan Readers - II Fr. Southwell the Euphuist - The Month, (February 1895), p 232.
- 24 Ibid "Fr Southwell the Popular Poet", The Month, (March 1895) p. 393.
- 25 David Crane "Catholicism and Rhetoric in Southwell, Crawshaw, Dryden and Pope" Recusant History, Vol 15, (1979-81), p. 240.
- 26 Ibid p. 241.

27 John X. Evans "The Art of Rhetoric and the Art of Dying in Tudor Recusant Prose" Recusant History, Vol 10, (1969-70) p. 261.

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid.

CHAPTER EIGHT - APPENDIX II

A SELECTED LIST OF MSS AND OTHER EARLY PRINTED WORKS COMPILED
FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE VENERABLE ENGLISH COLLEGE, ROME

[Comments are those found in the Inventory. See my note on No. 24]

<u>V.E.C. Archives Reference</u>	<u>Title</u>
1. 1379 18.5 x 12 -	<u>"Heures A Lusiage De Rome Tout Au Long Sans Rien Requerit</u> (printed in Paris 1516, Vellum, hand-illuminated).
2. 1385 20 x 15 -	<u>Indulgentiae Sunt</u> (Henry VIII book against Luther; with the Pope's reply.) First printed edition, Rome 1521.
3. 1388 28 x 21 -	<u>De Scismate Anglicana</u> By Nicholas Sanders (c 1565 MS).
4. 1389 19 x 14 -	<u>Passio xviiij Carthusianorum in regne Angliae</u> (c. 1550, MS).
5. 1392 21 x 16 -	<u>The True and Wonderfull Story of the Lamentable Fall of Anthony Tyrrell, Preest, From the Catholike Faith Written By His own Hand.</u> (c. 1590, Vellum MS, bound).
6. 1393 21 x 14 -	(Another copy of the above in Robert Person's handwriting. The MS is marked "Rob. Person" on the outside.
7. 1399 30 x 21 -	<u>Historia Anglicana Ecclesiastica</u> by Nicholas Harpsfield (MS, c. 1600, in two handwritings).
8. 1405 27 x 20 -	<u>Poems of John Lydgate</u> (Mid 15th c. MS, rebound).

9. 1406 22.5 x 17 - Assertio VII Sacramentorum
Adversus M. Lutherum, Henry VIII
(printed at Rome, 1543; also,
Henry VIII's reply to Luther's
reply.
10. 1408 20 x 15 - Vita Sfortiae Clariss. Ducis.
(1539, and four other early 16th
c. pamphlets bound for Reginald
Pole).
11. 1450 15 x 22 - Portraits of English Martyrs of
the Sixteenth and Seventeenth
Centuries (printed 1895).
12. 1463 28 x 19.5 - Statutes of Henry VIII and Edward
VI (issued 1543-50 - collected
and annotated by Robert Persons -
rebound.)
13. 1468 29.5 x 20.5 - Rituum Ecclesiasticorum Sive
Sacrarum Cerimoniarum SS Romanae,
Ecclesiae Libri III (printed in
Venice 1516. Reginald Pole's
copy).
14. 1477-1484 30 x 25 - "Scritture Monte Porzio" (8
Bundles of parchment and papers
relating to college property
1579-1798).
15. 1534 18.5 x 12.5 - "Forty English and Welsh Martyrs
Canonized october 25th 1970".
16. 1587 22 x 14 - "A checklist of Welsh students in
the seminaries" - Part I 1568-
1603. By J.M. Cleary, 1958
(Seems to be missing since
November 1983).
17. 1672 15.5 x 19 - Christopher Grene's Collectanea V
(a collection of printed and
manuscript tracts etc... about
English Martyrs. bound, late 17th
c.).

c.).

18. 1.5.1 Allan (Alan) Cardinal: "Inventory of Contents of His Private Chapel" 1597.
19. 1.5.3 Allan... Cardinal: "Rules of Douai College"
20. 6.7.2 Cochlaeus, Johannes: "Letters to Henry VIII from Dresden, 26th August 1529.
21. 6.7.2 Cochlaeus, Johannes: "Letters to Thomas More from Dresden. 29th June 1531.
22. 13.1.3?? "Letter from Persons to Claude Aquaviva from 'Rotomagus', 12th November 1584" (Holograph, outside. Re. 'Martirii Rodolphi Sherwin').
23. 13.3.1 The Case of Going to Hereticall Churches in England (MS by Persons. 1606. It was printed in 1607 in a booklet entitled Quaestiones Duace).
24. 30.10 Southwell, Robert. "Legacy to the College" (c. 1635 transcript). This item is inadequately and misleadingly, catalogued in the Archives of the English College, Rome as simply "Robert Southwell". It does not pertain to our Southwell, but to a later, Seventeenth century personage. A photograph of this legacy is shown after this appendix (see plate 18a,b), followed by a transcription.
25. 30.22a "List of Numbers of Persons Living in the College 1579-1666."
26. 32.1 Robert Parsons Warn - Ward (1599) (Incomplete Latin version by Thomas Stephenson S.J., 1602, Part I).
27. 32.2 Ditto, Part II.
28. 32.3 Robert Persons Warn-Word (1602) (fragments of different parts, mostly holograph; parts in Italian and Latin. MS. restored 1953).
29. 32.4 Robert Persons: Conversions of England (Part I (1603). fragments).

30. 32.5 Robert Persons: A Treatise Tending to Mitigation (1607) (fragments).
31. 32.6 Robert Persons: A Sober Reckoning with Morton (1609) fragments.
32. 27.7 Robert Persons: A Discussion of Mr. Barlowe's Answer. (1612) fragments.
(All these fragments of MSS of Person's controversial works have been collated with the printed editions: notes enclosed).
33. 34.4.3 Clement VII Bull Pastoralis Officii (1597).
(Ruling that English students should not take doctorates while still too young. Printed).
34. 36.4.4 Catalogus Martyrum Anglorum Sub Henrico 8 et Elizabetha (1603) by Persons. (Incomplete).
35. 36.4.5 "The Notes of Robert Persons upon Stowe's chronicle on Henry VIII and Edward VI".
36. 36.7.1 "Names of Priests sent from Rome and Rheims to England Temp. Gregory XIII".
37. 36.7.4 "Italian Testimony to Christina, Mother of Robert Persons" (Olim Martyrs, V)
38. 36.8 Martyrs, Christopher Grene MSS Part I (Olim Martyrs VI).
39. 36.9 Martyrs, Christopher Grene MSS Part II (50 Martyrs) (Olim Martyrs VII).
40. 36.10 Martyrs, Christopher Grene MSS - Part III (59 Martyrs) (Olim Martyrs VIII).
41. 36.11 Martyrs, Christopher Grene MSS - Part IV (62 Martyrs) (Olim Martyrs IX).
42. 36.12.1 "Testimony etc" of Richard Leigh, (in Latin) (Olim Martyrs X).
43. 36.13 Christopher Grene MSS - Part V (7 Martyrs) (Olim Martyrs XI).
44. 41.3.1 Peter Cotton S.J. - incomplete MS copy of book printed in Paris, 1610, written to the Queen Mother of France about Jesuit Policies.

Scrittura attinenti al Legato da esso fatto al Collegio
e che dovea si recuperare dall'eredità di sua moglie

Sothuel

Carlo Bonifacio

Pax Spi

In mio potere è un processo pieno per il Collegio Inglese, già bi
prima cominciato per il ^m d'Amberos Southwell dono gli
heredi di d. Ger^{ma} de Scharos sua dim moglie per la ricu-
perat^{ne} di 20 mille, de doua Adeguine, in luglio 1622,
et l'and^o d'Amberos, a suo testam^{to} in marzo 1623 lasciato
quest'azione, e rag^{ne} al Collegio Inglese, in agosto 1624 il colle-
gio proseguì detto giudizio, et a sua istanza fu comitato, e citato
ad defendi, per la spedit^{ne} in ottobre 1625, e qui resta questa
causa per il Collegio fu portata per me in d. setto, d'ero pure
Proc^o delle lit^e di questa Proc^a, ma non mi ricordo, per se non fu sp-
dita da ott^o 1625, fin' a d. bre 1627, si esercitai l'ist^a
procura, se poi lassai, e fui fatto Confessor de' notari nel colle-
gio d'ap^o, e vno 12 meli, che tornai al ned^{no} curato. Vedno
li notari, et inform^{mi} causate da processi di tred^{ti} di d. Ger^{ma}
se mi uo' ricordato esserli fabricati, e credo, se manifestat^o al
d. malam^{to} d'effetti, e col^{te} leg^{te} ne darò relat^{ne} a M^o Eg^o
d' il Legato di d'Amberos, il cui processo darò al P. Beaman^o.
Per conto della tratta, io non ho altro, se una giura, de nel 1607 il P. Ser-
uino bon nem. fece al d. P. Felippo, et una lra del Conte di Brevenco
all'ora Vicere del Regno scritta al d. P. Amberos Portonio de 20 g^{to} 1607
offerendoli d. tratta, ne si potuto trovar' altre scritture in Camera
Regia d' tal' effetto, et mi in San' detto, si è vedio farli dilig^o 1607

P. Juan Tucherber 9

Plate 21 (a) An early Seventeenth century will of a "Robert Southwell"
Not our Robert Southwell; possibly a great grand-nephew of Sir Richard Southwell.
This document is inadequately, and thus misleadingly catalogued in
the Archives of the English College, Rome. (Courtesy of the English College
Rome) See below for a transcription.

in Collegio, se ne ne fossero, e perche di q^{te} bratte ad se ne fanno
atti, ne processi, ma stando il P. Vicere, ex gratia, le concede
et fanno il loro effetto, e ad li accade allora, onde volendo il
Collegio operare sua gra, e recisio aiutarli a sua lu^a, e
netto di lro favoreuti da parte d'ora e spagnu lo
i del, Ambasciatore di Spagna, ed ora qui, recisio
a parte d'ora, de negozi in Palazzo, come fanno il P. Gio.
Bongelo Jorda, i P. Bonarida, i P. Gio. della Palma, i P. Flam.
magrati

Vn certo sepo ad ista del P. Tom. de ad mi paricare il co-
gnome, de su un Pri Inglese, de notte in q^{ta} casa, cred
15, o 16 anni l'oro, io perini cento eselutiviz
o madati eselutiviz q^{ta} alumni Inglese, e q^{te} perier
furon date a d. e ad si de se ne farete. Pure
io q^{ta} ma penso purgare li preliais delle
litture di q^{ta} Prox. e le vedro tutte, e tronan-
doli alla q^{ta} conto di bratte, i d' altri Inglese, ne
serro conto, e lo dirò al P. Felipe, e ad cio a d'istauriz,
et or. mi di V^{ra} mi ratur. Napoli 17 di Aug. 1695
L'ora d'ora de? vade l'ora ric^{to} adesso, de 20
unieto, e ad si serro sepo di far' dilig^a nelle
litture di il parte del legato. di d'ubera —

di V^{ra}

And^o Jorda
Bongelo d'ubera

Sotuel / Per / Molto Reverendo in Cristo Padre / Pax
Christi / In mio potere è un processo piccolo per il
Collegio Inglese, quale fu / prima cominciato per il
quondam domino Ruberto Southuel contro gl' / heredi
di domina Germana de Glianos sua olim moglie per la
ricu- / peratione di ducati mille, che dovea conse-
guirne, in luglio 1622, / et havendo domino Ruberto,
con suo testamento in marzo 1623 lasciato / quest'at-
tione, e ragione al Collegio Inglese, in Agosto 1624
il Colle- / gio proseguì detto giuditio, et a' sua
istanza fu compilato, e citato / ad dicendum, per la
speditione in ottobre 1625, e qui resta. Questa /
causa per il Collegio fu portata per me in detto tempo,
ch'ero pure / Procuratore delle liti di questa Pro-
vincia, ma non mi ricordo, perchè non fu spe- / dita
da ottobre 1625, sin'a settembre 1627, ch'io esercitai
l'istessa / procura, che poi lasciai, e fui fatto
Confessor de' scolari nel Colle- / gio Napoletano,
e sono 17 mesi, che tornai al medesimo carico. Vedrò /
li notamenti, et informationi cavate da' processi
di Creditori di detta domina Germana / che mi vò
ricordando haverli faticati, e credo, che inanis
erat actio / per mancamento d'effetti; e col seguen-
te ne darò relatione a Vostra Reverenza e questo /
per il legato di domino Ruberto il cui processo darò
al Padre Beamondo. / Per conto della tratta, io non
ho' altro, che una procura, che nel 1607 il Padre
Per- / sonio bona memoria fece al detto Padre Felip-
po, et una lettera del conte di Benevento / allhora
Vicerè del Regno scritta al detto Padre Ruberto Per-
sonio de 20 novembre 1607 / offerendosi per detta
tratta, né ho potuto trovar' altre scritture in

Camera / Regia per tal'effetto, et ivi m'han detto, ch'è necessario farsi diligenza costì // in Collegio, se ve ne fussero, perchè di queste tratte non se ne fanno / atti, nè processi, ma solamente il Signor Vicerè, ex gratia, le concede / et hanno il loro effetto, e non ci accade altro; onde volendo il / Collegio sperare detta gratia, è necessario aiutarsi con Sua Eccellenza, per- / messo di lettere favorevoli da qualche Signor Cardinale spagnolo, / o del Signor Ambasciatore di Spagna, e darne qui pensiero / a qualche Padre, che negotia in Palazzo, come saria il Padre Giovanni / Angelo Pada, o Padre Bonavida, o Padre Giovanni de la Palma o Padre Flaminio / Magnati.

Un certo tempo ad istanza del Padre Domenico che non mi sovviene il co- / gnome, che fu un Padre Inglese, che stette in questa casa, credo / 15, o 16 anni sono, io spedivi certi esecutorii / o mandati esecutivi per alcuni Inglesi, e queste speditioni / furon date a' detti Reverendi, e non so che se ne facesse. Pure / io questa settimana penso purgare l'Archivio delle / scritture di questa Provincia, e le vedrò tutte, e trovan- / doci alcuna per conto di tratte, o d'altri Inglesi, ne / terrò conto, e lo dirò al Padre Felippo, e con ciò a' santi sacrifici, / et ordini di Vostra Reverenza mi raccomando Napoli 14 di luglio 1635 / la lettera di Vostra Reverenza de 7 stante c'ho ricevuto adesso, che sto / scrivendo, e non ho tenuto tosto di far diligenza nelle / scritture per il particolare del legato di domino Ruberto. / Di Vostra Reverenza. / Indegno servo in Cristo / Angelo Oliveto./

CHAPTER NINE

NOTES

- 1 The date of Southwell's departure from Rome is derived by Henry More (Hist. Prov. Anglic., (1660) p. 182) from Christopher Grene's Stonyhurst MS Collectanea (P. ii, 506) in which he quotes from Southwell's letter to Agazzari of May 26th 1586. Grene adds in a postscript "Discessit [P. Southwell] Roma 8 Maii, ut constant ex Epistola P. garneti" (Collectanea, P, 552, c) non 24 Martii, ut Bartoli (p. 374) errantem Morum secutus". Grene here is correcting an entry in Daniello Bartoli Dell Istoria della compagnia di Gesu d'Inghilterra (Rome, 1667), which suggests that Southwell left on March 24th. Grene is basing his date of Southwell and Garnet's departure on a letter by Garnet, in which Garnet states "partendo da Roma il giorno di S. Michele in Maggio..." See C.R.S. Vol. V, (1908), p. 306.
- 2 This account of Southwell's departure from Rome is based on C.R.S. Vol. V, (1908) pp.306-310, and Philip Caraman's Henry Garnet, pp. 22-23. Southwell letters of this period published in the C.R.S. V, are: a letter of May 26th 1586 to Agazzari in Italian, and a letter of July 25th/August 4th 1586 to Aquaviva in Latin'. Persons in seeing them off had probably requested them - among other things - to look after his aged mother, Christine, who was "harassed by many persecutions of the heretics", (C.R.S. II, Miscellanea (1906) - "Memoires of Robert Persons p. 18 and Caraman Garnet p. 22.
- 3 Philip Caraman Henry Garnet p. 22.
- 4 C.R.S., Vol V, (1908), p. 306-307; Caraman Garnet, p. 22, 23.
- 5 MacDonald & Brown Poems, pp. 41-42, lines 25-28, 29,32, 45-48.

6 Jonas Meredith, alias Farmer, was b. Bristol 1547, appointed Fellow, St. John's, Oxford, on December 1 1569. Expelled for religion, he was admitted to the English College, Douai in 1574, and was ordained priest in July 1576. He left for the English Mission on September 22nd 1576, and imprisoned in 1577. He returned to Douai on Sept. 15th 1577. Sent to Rome where he took the oath at the English College on April 23rd 1579. Sent back to England where he evaded the pursuivants for five years till caught in April 1585 with the Earl of Arundel in his escape attempt. Banished - suspiciously - yet again, he returned to Rome where he was entertained for nine days at the English College from April 1st 1586. Venturing yet again into England, he met Southwell and Garnet on the way. On August 13th 1586 he was caught and sent to the Clink, and transferred to the Gatehouse in 1587, and then to Wisbeach where he remained till after Elizabeth's death. Banished yet again after James I's accession in 1603, he headed, as usual, for Rome. No record of his death is available (Joseph Gillow A Literary and Biographical Dictionary of the English Catholics Vol. IV (March 1895), p. 566). These suspicious and recurrent banishments from England cast shadows of doubt over Meredith. Devlin writes that Meredith was supplied "with the English Government safe-conduct by Thomas Morgan which Walsingham had originally intended for William Gifford". Devlin suggests that "it seems likely that he was the channel by which Morgan heard of the mission which the two Jesuits were most anxious to conceal" (Devlin Southwell p. 97).

7 Calendar of Scottish Papers, VIII 1585-86 Vol. 18 No. 55 p. 499.

8 Southwell to Agazzari, May 26th 1586, C.R.S. V, p. 307.

9 Caraman, Garnet p. 23.

10 Southwell to Agazzari, May 26th, C.R.S. V, 307.

11 Leo Hicks MS Life of Southwell, Farm Street 46/22/2-3, f. 20.

- 12 John Deckers "Narratio Martyri - Narrative of the Martyrdom of the Bl. Fr. Robert Southwell of the Society of Jesus which Fr. John Decker sent out to Rev. Fr. General in the Month of August 1595 Farm Street 46/22/2-3; and Leo Hicks MS Life of Southwell f21, n.
- 13 Archives Jesuitiques Flandro-Belges, n. 1529, cited by Leo Hicks MS Life of Southwell f 21-NRG.
- 14 Ibid. It was late in the day for caution. Meredith had informed Thomas Morgan in Paris who, on July 3rd 1586, informed Gilbert Gifford, "There are two Jesuits sent into England. Both very young men. Father Southwell and Father Garnet". (Devlin Southwell p. 98 citing state papers, 53, XVIII n. 31, J.H. Pollen in The Month Vol cxix, p. 302-303 also mentions this).
- 15 Caraman Garnet p. 23. I am indebted to Fr. Caraman's book for these details.
- 16 Devlin Southwell p. 98, NRG. This might have been given by one of Walsingham's spies in Douai who had recognized Southwell but not Garnet. The network mentioned previously, that of Meredith - Morgan - Paget - Gifford does not suggest itself, since in reports mentioned by this group both Southwell and Garnet are each referred to by name.
- 17 Hicks MS Life of Southwell f.23 This letter is cited by Henry More. Hist. Prov. Anglican. pp. 182-183. Hicks believes that More, though citing the letter in full made slight variations "to improve, as he thought, Southwell's Latin". More dates this letter July 25th, thereby adding ten days to the date given by Deckers to whom it was written, to make it agree with the Gregorian calendar. Leo Hicks observes that More had in so doing, made a mistake: "The date given by Deckers was already according to New style which Southwell himself would naturally adopt himself when writing from ports in Flanders or Northern France where it was already in use":

Hicks, also citing a letter of Garnet of July 6th 1601, shows that they arrived in England on July 7th/17th. Pollen, relying on More, says Hicks, also adopted the erroneous date given in the C.R.S., V, 307, 400" (Leo Hicks "MS Life of Southwell" f. 23).

- 18 S.P. Scottish, VIII, 1585-86, Vol. 19 no. 551, p. 597.
- 19 Ibid p. 598.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 Ibid p. 600.
- 22 Ibid pp. 600, 601.
- 23 The letters giving them instructions to embark from Boulogne were evidently a decoy to mislead spies who might have intercepted Rome's letters. It is possible, though we don't know for sure, if the genuine embarkation orders were delivered by word of mouth, personally, or by special courier. The time of sailing is in some dispute. It is not clear whether it was 2 a.m. or p.m. on July 6th or 7th. Devlin says "They weighed anchor at two next morning, and all the night the wind was hard against them. (Devlin "Southwell" p. 101). Fr. Philip Caraman says "They set sail from Calais at 2 o'clock in the afternoon of July 17th (Caraman, 'Garnet' p. 24).
- 24 Garnet's letter of July 30th 1586. This is preserved in the Jesuit Archives - Fondo Jesuitico, 651 f. 211).
- 25 Fr. Philip Caraman has given readable extracts from Garnet's letter of July 30th in which descriptions of the sea voyage and the landing are given. As I cannot improve upon this rendering of Garnet's letter, I am citing it as given in Fr. Caraman's Garnet, p. 25.
- 26-27 Ibid pp. 25, 26.

- 28 Ibid p. 26n. Pierre Janelle Robert Southwell the Writer writes that on his arrival in England, Southwell dressed like a young fashionable gentleman (p. 38). Jesuits, to ward off hostile curiosity in England, were known to don fashionable attire, and were often dressed "... in gold-laced suites, cloke(s) lined thorow with velved, gold rings on (their) fingers, watch(es) in (their) pockets which (they) will value above 20 pounds, a very broad laced band, a stilleto by (their) side, a man at (their heeles" (John Gee Foote out of the Snare (1624) p. 50 cited by R.C. Bald Humble Supplication p. 8, n.2 Southwell in the Humble Supplication wrote "... our apparell, being ... more agreeable often times to the common fashion than to the grave attire that best suteth our Calling" (Ibid). Robert Persons on his mission with Campion to England in 1580, when landing in Dover on June 16th 1580 was disguised as an army captain "in a uniform of buff trimmed with gold braid, and a hat with a feather in it" (E.E. Reynolds Campion and Persons - The Jesuit Mission of 1580-1581, (1980), p. 68.
- 29 Garnet's letter of July 30th, Caraman Garnet, p. 28.
- 30 Ibid. A tilt-boat "was a large rowing boat with a tilt or awning, (and) seems to have been peculiar to the Gravesend-London stretch of the Thames" (Reynolds Campion and Persons p. 68). Southwell and Garnet were following the route taken by Campion and Persons. Persons, reaching Gravesend on the evening of June 16th 1580, also boarded a tilt boat for London (Ibid).
- 31 Caraman Garnet p. 28 and Devlin Southwell pp. 106, 107. It was natural for incoming priests to head for prisons for rest and refreshment. Inn keepers were warned by proclamation against receiving strangers. Persons on his arrival in 1580, headed straight for the Marshalsea. "Prisons" explains E. E. Reynolds "were not run by the state but leased to gaolers who were out to make money on their investment. Prisoners with money were treated like paying guests". This explains why Catholics of means could

lead a semi-normal life in prison, have mass said to them by a priest and which outsider for a fee, could attend (Campion and Parsons p. 69).

- 32 Devlin, Southwell pp. 106, 107.
- 33 Philip Caraman (trans.). William Weston: The Autobiography of An Elizabethan (1955), pp. xxvi, 1, 7n.1.
- 34 Ibid p. 69.
- 35 Devlin Southwell p. 111, Caraman Garnet p. 30.
- 36 Caraman Garnet p. 30.
- 37 After leaving Leicester's household Richard Bold, formerly of Bold near Prescott, Lancashire, moved to a house two miles upstream from Marlowe on the Buckinghamshire/Berkshire boarder. Tiring of court life, he experienced a reconversion to Catholicism. Settling at Hurleyford, he held open house for passing priests and Catholics (Caraman Weston pp. 70, 76, n. 4, 5).
- 38 Caraman Weston pp. 69, 71.
- 39 Southwell to Aquaviva July 25th 1586, C.R.S., Vol. V, p. 308.
- 40 Caraman Weston pp. 76, 77, n. 9.
- 41 Caraman Weston p. 77, n. 11, 12; Caraman Garnet p. 34.
- 42 Caraman Garnet p.33, Devlin Southwell p. 115.
- 43 C.R.S., Vol. V, p. 308.
- 44 Caraman Weston p. 72.

- 45 Devlin, Southwell p. 116 and Caraman Garnet p. 36.
- 46 Devlin Southwell p. 116. This Lord Vaux was William Vaux, third Baron Vaux (1542?-1595) son of Thomas, second Baron Vaux (1510-1556). Both his wives (Elizabeth d. of John Beaumont of Grace Dieu, Leic. and Mary d. of John Tresham of Rushton Northants - sister of Sir Thomas Tresham) and his sons were devoted to Catholicism. In Summer, 1580 he offered Campion assylum at his houses at Hackney and Harrowden. There he devised means for secretly observing all Catholics rites which were emulated in many Catholic households (D.N.B., Vaux, second Baron, 1909).
- 47 C.R.S. V, p. 308.
- 48 Ibid. It is possible that Southwell's father, Richard Southwell who had connections at court had made it known to his son that certain members of the Council knew of his presence. At the beginning of July (1586), Walsingham persuaded Anthony Babington to work for him and on Wednesday July 13th he instructed both Babington and Robert Poley to find out Southwell and Garnet's whereabouts. Babington already moved in Recusant circles and his acquaintances included Robert Gate who was lodging at Southampton House and whose brother John was engaged to Margaret Copley, Southwell's cousin (Devlin Southwell pp. 111, 112).
- 49 C.R.S. V, p. 309.
- 50 Devlin Southwell p. 117, citing Calendar of Scottish papers, Vol. VIII, p. 542. Devlin suggests that Southwell dedicated his Mary Magdalen's Funeral Tears to Dorothy Arundel - "To the worshipful and vertuous gentlewoman D.A." Devlin also writes that it was at Dorothy Arundel's persuasion that Southwell had returned from Hurleyford to preach the sermon in the Marshalsea which she afterwards asked him to compile into a book. Devlin Southwell p. 118.

- 51 G. Anstruther Vaux of Harrowden, (1953), p. 159.
- 52 Ibid pp. 119, 147, 149.
- 53 Ibid pp. 158, 162.
- 54 D.P. Walker Unclean Spirits/Possession and Exorcism in France and England in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries, (1981), pp. 5, 6, 8, 43.
- 55 Harsnett A Declaration p. 2.
- 56 Ibid p. 181.
- 57 Ibid p. 202.
- 58 Ibid pp. 203, 204.
- 59 Ibid p. 194.
- 60 "The confessions of Ma: Anthonie Tyrrell Clerke Written with His Own Hand and Avouched Upon His Oath", appended to Harsnett's Declaration pp. 267, 268.
- 61 Vivianne Hewitt "Vatican Seeking Exorcists", The Sunday Press November 10th, (1985), p. 4.
- 62 D.P. Walker Unclean Spirits, p. 5.
- 63 Ibid.
- 64 I have been given this firm verbal assurance by Fr. Philip Caraman who was, however, unable to provide at the time, a reference for it; his notes being unavailable.
- 65 C.R.S., V, p. 309, "Southwell to Agazzari", July 25th 1586; P.J. Holmes "Elizabethan Casuistry", C.R.S. (1984) pp. 16, 89, 90.

- 66 C.R.S.V. p. 309.
- 67 Henri F. Ellenberger, interviewed in Psychology Today (March 1973) cited by Martin Ebon Exorcism Past and Present, (1975), pp. 13-14.
- 68 Gregory Zilboorg, M.D. "The Restles Surrender to Demonology", in A History of Medical Psychology (Date not given) cited in Ebon Exorcism p. 16.
- 69 J.H. Crehan "Exorcism in the New Testament" in Exorcism (a pamphlet published by the Bishop of Exeter's Commission on Exorcism, 1972), cited by Ebon Exorcism p. 20.
- 70 Fontana Paperback Bible - Revised Standard Edition, (1952).
- 71 Devlin Southwell p. 119.
- 72 Anstruther Vaux of Harrowden p. 108 and "Vaux Genealogy", pp. 489-491.
- 73 Hamilton Chronicle... Canonesses Vol I, pp. 90, 91.
- 74 Eleanor had married Edward Brookesby of Shoby (Leics) who died in 1581 leaving his wife with two children, William and Mary. Eleanor's aunt, Maud, Vaux's sister, married Anthony Burrows of Burrow-on-the-Hill (Leic.) who also died leaving a large family. Eleanor adopted one of the children, Frances, then aged five. Ibid, and Hamilton Chronicle Vol II, 165, 166.
- 75 Caraman Garnet p. 41 - NRG; Devlin Southwell p. 121-NRG.
- 76 Garnet to Aquaviva, March 17th 1593, Stonyhurst MSS, Anglia f. 73.
- 77 Richard Dibdale was born in Worcestershire, and educated and ordained at the English College, Rheims. He came on the English mission in 1584, and performed exorcisms at the Peckham House in Denham,

Bucks; and five hundred people were said to have been converted due to his exorcisms. Caught, he was charged with treason and hanged bowelled and quartered at Tyburn on October 8th 1586 (Gillow Biogrphical Dictionary Vol II (1885) p. 56). His most striking case of exorcism was that of Friswood Williams, sister to Sara Williams, also a maid in the Peckham household. Friswood was washing clothes in the kitchen (date unknown). She slipped while lifting the tub and "having a shrewd fall did hurt her hip" (Harsnett Egregious Popish Impostures p. 209). Confined to bed, Dibdale told her it was "a wicked spirit" that gave her the fall "because she washed Dibdale's shirt" which the spirit took in evil part, "as Dibdale was a Catholic priest whom the deuill could not endure that any kindness should be showed". (Ibid). Dibdale told her repeatedly that she was possessed and persuaded her to undergo exorcism. She was put in a chair and bound with towels. They gave her a pint of sack with "Sallet-oyle" - a holy potion - which she described as "such as might have made a horse sicke". She was urged to drink it, and told that "the devill hated nothing more than holy drinke". (Ibid p. 212). Brimstone was also burned in a chafing dish and her nose held over it. Holy relics were tied to her hip, "for the pain was procured by the wicked spirit and could not be eased but by these relics". (pp. 214, 215).

78 C.R.S. Vol V, p. 317.

79 Ibid.

80 Ibid p. 318.

81 Devlin p. 123, - N.R.G.

82 Anstruther Vaux of Harrowden p. 169.

83 Adam Hamilton "The Chronicle of the English Augustinian Canonesses... At St. Monica in Louvain, ~~1906~~, Vol II (1906) p. 165. Frances Burrows had a remarkably vivacious and expressive courage. As a

child at Harrowden when Eleanor Brooksby came to adopt one of Maud Vaux's children, Frances, then aged five was at a window. Seeing her, Eleanor cried out "I will have Frances! I will have Frances! For to this child God will give a blessing which none of the rest shall have". This proved true, says her biographer. Frances became a nun, "and none of the rest so much as Catholic". (Ibid).

- 84 Hamilton Chronicle II, p. 166. It is not difficult to see why Frances was chosen to delay or distract persuivants during a raid. A most impressionable child and a courageous one, she had the ability to absorb and emulate dramatic posturing and dialogue. Lord Vaux often had troupes of players performing at his house, especially during Christmas. In Sara Williams examination, she reported that "during Christmas time, there was gaming and mumming at the L. Vaux his house" and she saw "the mummers dressed in their vizards" [Harsnett, Declaration p. 202, 203.
- 85 Southwell to Agazzari, Dec. 21st 1586 - C.R.S., Vol V. p. 313.
- 86 Anstruther Vaux of Harrowden p. 169.
- 87 Ibid and Foley Records I, p. 330. These two letters, were printed by Strype (Annals, II, ii, 418). Anstruther refers to a volume of MSS in the Harmsworth Collection which included poems by both Southwell and Henry Vaux. He surmises that "They were part of the loot found during this raid". (Ibid p. 171).
- 88 Michael Hodgett "Elizabethan Priest-holes - I: Dating and Chronology" Recusant History, Vol 11, (1971-1972), p. 280.
- 89 Ibid pp. 281, 282 citing Evelyn Waugh Edmund Campion 3rd ed. (1961) p. 124-5.
- 90 Hodgetts Priest-holes p. 288.

- 91 Ibid. This bundle of papers and books is now Brit. Mus. Add. MSS 39828-38.
- 92 Ibid pp. 290, 291.
- 93 Devlin Southwell p. 125 - NRG, citing Strype Annals, III appendix 12.
- 94 Hamilton Chronicles, Vol II p. 166.
- 95 Anstruther Vaux of Harrowden p. 171.
- 96 Devlin, Southwell p. 348 writes that he had lost his note of reference for this report and could not trace it. It is possible that Wells was carrying a consignment of religious books requested by Southwell as gifts for his hosts in the Southern Counties as well as for the Vaux family at Hackney.
- 97 C.R.S. Vol V, p. 313.
- 98 Gillow. Biographical Dictionary, Vol I (1885) p. 65.
- 99 See F.W. Steer The Life of St. Philip Howard/First edited by Henry Granville Fourteenth Duke of Norfolk in 1857 (1971), pp. 8, 12. It is interesting that both Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel and Southwell were canonized by the same Papal decree, that of October 1970 by which the Forty Martyrs of England and Wales were made saints in the Basilica of St. Peter, Rome. See David Forrester "The Forty Martyrs and their Critics". The Venerabile, Vol XXV, No. 3 (no date printed) pp. 174, 179, 180.
- 100 The Lives of Philip Howard the Earl of Arundel and of Anne Dacres his Wife, by the Duke of Norfolk (Henry Granville Fourteenth Duke of, (1857) p. 27. Steer's edition (see previous note) does not contain the biography of Anne Dacres.
- 101 F.W. Steer Philip Howard, p. 12.

- 102 Lives, Philip Howard and Anne Dacres pp. 56, 114.
- 103 Patrick W. Montagu-Smith The History and Treasures of Arundel Castle (Pitkin "Pride of Britain" books) p. 23.
- 104 Lives, Philip Howard and Anne Dacres p. 183.
- 105 Ibid pp. 191, 194, 269, 271.
- 106 G.S. Davies. Charterhouse in London - Monastery, Mansion, Hospital School (1921) p. 123. Lord North, the previous owner died on Dec 31st 1564. Negotiations were in progress for the sale of the property in 1564 for £2508 to Thomas Howard, Fourth Duke of Norfolk who came into the property the following day. (David Knowles and W.F. Grimes Charterhouse (1954) p. 38). Although Philip Howard used Arundel House in the Strand as his London town house, and Charterhouse was let - from 1573 - to the Portuguese Ambassador who was to have Mass celebrated there, Ann Dacres, earlier on, did retain lodgings in the Charterhouse. (Davies Charterhouse pp. 144, 147).
- 107 Lives, Philip Howard and Anne Dacres p. 180.
- 108 The Lives of Philip Howard and Anne Dacres cited above is based on the octavo MS of 97 pp on the Life of Anne Dacres written in 1635, by her unknown biographer five years after her death. Southwell's association with Anne Dacres is based on Chapter Seven of this small volume entitled "of Father Southwell coming to live with her". This Chapter was printed by C.A. Newdigate as "A New Chapter in the Life of B. Robert Southwell S.J." (The Month, No. 801, March 1931) pp. 246-254. Transcripts from the originals of this Chapter Seven, and of the original octavo MS of the "Lives" were made by Canon Tierney who was Chaplain at Arundel Castle (1824-1862) and are now in the Southwark Diocesan Archives. A typescript copy of Newdigate's article in The Month and two of his letters are in the

Arundel Archives, catalogued by F.W. Steers (ed) in Arundel Castle Archives, Vol II, Misc. Doc. 1689, p. 92.

- 109 C.A. Newdigate "A New Chapter in the Life of B. Robert Southwell S.J.". The Month, 801, (March 1931), p. 249.
- 110 Ibid, pp. 249, 250.
- 111 Margaret Waugh "An Epistle of Comfort" by Robert Southwell, (1966), p. ix.
- 112 Ibid p. 5.
- 113 Ibid pp. 68, 125, 126, 138.
- 114 Nancy Pollard Brown (ed) Two Letters and Short Rules of a Good Life By Robert Southwell, S.J., (Charlottesville, 1973), p. xxvi.
- 115 Newdigate New Chapter, p. 250.
- 116 Brown Two Letters and Short Rules, - "Short Rules of a Good Life" - The Eleventh Chapter "Considerations to Settle the Mind in the Course of Virtue", p. 61.
- 117 Ibid pp. 24, xi, xii, xxxv, xxvi, xxvii, 29, 30, 36, 38, 39, 42, 43, 174n. 28, 44, 45, 47, 49.
- 118 Newdigate New Chapter pp. 250, 251.
- 119 Ibid pp. 248, 251. After she died she left this relic to Fr. Richard Blount, then Provincial of England. This relic is now lost. Another relic of Southwell, "a metacarpal bone" of one of his hands was preserved among the relics collected by Fr. John Morris at the Jesuit Novitiate, Roehampton. (Newdigate New Chapter p. 248.
- 120 Ibid, pp. 248, 252.

- 121 McDonald & Brown Poems p. 86, lines 343, 344.
- 122 Ibid p. 97, lines 697-699.
- 123 Ibid p. 98 lines 739-744.
- 124 Archivum Historicum Romanum, S.J., Fondo Gesuitico 651, cited by Devlin Southwell, p. 141. Southwell here is referring to Anne Dacres as well as to Eleanor and Anne Vaux whose brother Henry was imprisoned after the raid.
- 125 Ibid p. 142 citing Josph Ames History of Printing, Vol III (1790) pp. 1466, 1467.
- 126 Ibid citing Ames History of Printing, Vol II, (1786) pp. 1031, 1033.
- 127 Caraman Garnet, pp. 42, 43.
- 128 Ibid. p. 43.
- 129 C.R.S. Vol V, p. 320.
- 130 C.R.S. Vol. 39, p. 288.
- 131 Ibid p. 299.
- 132 Ibid pp. 302, 303.
- 133 Ibid p. 307.
- 134 Ibid p. 308.
- 135 Ibid p. 320.
- 136 Caraman Weston pp. 139, 140; Caraman Garnet, pp. 65, 66.

- 137 Caraman Garnet p. 68, 69.
- 138 Devlin Southwell p. 152. NRG.
- 139 J.H. Pollen "The Politics of the English Catholics During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth" - No. IV - The Political Crisis. 1583 to 1588, The Month no. 454, (April 1902) p. 408, 409 - NRG.
- 140 Ibid pp. 409, 410.
- 141 J.H. Pollen "The Politics of the English Catholics During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth" No. V. - Plots and Sham Plots. The Month, No. 456, (June 1902) p. 604 citing Vatican Archives - Letteree Di Cardinali. No. 93 f. 217.
- 142 Ibid p. 606 citing Richard Simpson's Edmund Campion p. 302.
- 143 Ibid p. 609, n.3, citing T.F. Knox Letters... Allen p. 434.
- 144 Albert J. Loomie "The Armadas and the Catholics of England" The Catholic Historical Review, Vol LIX, (Oct. 1973), No. 3, p. 389, citing L. Van Der Essen "Alexandre Farnese" (Brussels, 1937), V, 174-176.
- 145 Loomie "The Armadas and...Catholics of England" p. 390 - citing the Wellcome MSS Vol VI, (Maritime Museum, Greenwich) "Discorso Sobra La Jornada de Inglaterra".
- 146 Richard Leigh, Priest, enrolled at the English College, Rheims on October 16th 1581 and arrived at the English College Rome on November 6th 1582. Ordained priest February 1586. Sent on English Mission June 16th 1586. He was betrayed by Anthony Tyrrell to Justice Young. He was asked by Topcliffe at his execution whether the Queen were Supreme Head of the Church. Upon his answering

"No", the cart was drawn away. (Gillow Biographical Dictionary, Vol IV - (March 1895), p. 194.

147 Southwell to Aquaviva, August 31st, 1588, C.R.S., Vol V p. 325.

148 W. Maltby The Black Legend in England, (1971), pp. 82, 83.

149 The Coppie of the Anti-Spaniard made at Paris by a Frenchman, a Catholique, Wherein is directly proved how the Spanish King is the onely cause of all the troubles in France cited by Maltby Black Legend p. 85.

150 Maltby Black Legend pp. 135, 136.

151 See Devlin - Southwell Appendix B p. 330 - Inner Temple Library Petyt MS Series 538, Vol 43 ff. - and p. 166.

152 Southwell to Aquaviva. August 31st 1588, C.R.S., V p. 326.

153 Ibid p. 326-327. Devlin Southwell (p. 178) gives the number of executions following the Armada as thirty-three.

154 Garnet to Aquaviva, November 24th 1588 - Archivum Romanum S.J. Fondo Gesuitico 651 f. 16 cited by Caraman Garnet p. 81.

155 Philip Caraman John Gerard, (1951), p. 17. Gerard is referring to Samuel Oldcorne. John Gerard was born in Bryn Co. Lancaster on October 4th 1564. Attended English College, Douai from August 29th 1577, and the English College, Rheims on March 27th 1578. He joined the Jesuits in Rome on August 15th 1588. Landing in Norfolk during the Armada crisis, he went to London to see his superior, Garnet. In 1589 he went to live with Henry Drury of Losell, Suffolk. Two years later he went to Braddocks, Essex, seat of William Wiseman, from where he made missionary sorties into the Northern counties. Leaving Braddocks, he stayed at Acton, Middlesex, for a fortnight, at a house belonging to the Countess of

Arundel. He was betrayed by a servant and thrown to the Comter prison, then in to the Clink, and on April 12th 1597, in to the Tower, and in October 1597 he escaped to Flanders and then to Italy. He died in Rome on July 27th 1637 aged 73. (Gillow: Biographical Dictionary, Vol II, p. 423.

- 156 Caraman Gerard - Appendix D - Braddocks pp. 267, 268.
- 157 See Lives, Philip Howard and Anne Dacres pp. 308, 312.
- 158 J.H. Pollen "The Politics of the English Catholics During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth", No. VI "After the Armada" The Month, No. 458, (August 1902), p. 176.
- 159 Ibid p. 177 And n. 28. Persons letter of Introduction to Philip II is dated November 6th 1588, and his interview with Philip II is described in "Fr. Sacchini Historia S.J., Pars secunda 1620 p. 455 and Henry More's Historia Provincia Anglicanae (1660), p. 156.
- 160 Devlin Southwell p. 192 - NRG.
- 161 J.H. Pollen and W. MacMahon "The Ven. Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel 1557 - 1595" C.R.S. Vol XXI (English Martyrs II) (1919), pp. 318, 319.
- 162 Lives, Philip Howard and Anne Dacres p. 158, See also F.W. Steer "Life of St. Philip Howard".
- 163 C.R.S. Vol XXI (1919) "English Martyrs - 2". The Venerable Philip Howard, p. 320. Ibid. This letter, in translation, was first printed by Henry More in "Hist. Prov. Anglic. p. 186 a re-translation is given by Foley Records I, 335, 336.
- 164 Lives, Philip Howard and Anne Dacres pp. 22, 24, 312, C.R.S., Vol XXI, pp. 313, 351; Leo Hicks "MS Life of Southwell" f. 33.

- 165 C.R.S., Vol V, 329, 330, Foley, Records Vol I, 324.
- 166 Cited by Caraman John Gerard pp. 218, 219, (notes to page 15), and page 15 on Gerard's influence on Southwell as far as falconry was concerned.
- 167 Margaret Waugh The Epistle of Comfort by Robert Southwell, (1966), p. xiv. Maplet's Work, Ms Waugh points out, draws on the medieval Encyclopaedia of Bartholomaeus Anglicus De Proprietatibus Rerum (printed 1535 and 1583) and which was likely to have been at Arundel House library or in those of the larger mansions that Southwell visited during his first twelve months in England. Ms Waugh indicates that Southwell in Chapter Ten of Epistle of Comfort echoes both Anglicus (Lib 18, cap 29) and Maplet's descriptions of the beaver.
- 168 Michael Hodgett's "Elizabeth Priest-Holes-II... Baddesley Clinton... Recusant History, 12, (1973-74), p. 176.
- 169 Caraman Garnet p. 129; and Hodgett "Priest-Holes... Baddesley Clinton", Recusant History, 12, pp. 176, 178.
- 170 The Latin original of this letter is printed in C.R.S. V, 330-32. The English translation is given in Christobel Hood Robert Southwell, p. 27.
- 171 Challoner Memoirs of Missionary Priests, pp. 180, 181. The second letter of Southwell of March 8th, appears in translation in The Rambler (1857), p. 104: "Father Southwell and his Capture" from which it was reprinted by Foley Records Vol I p. 325. Christopher Bales, b. in Cunsley, Durham, was admitted to the English College, Rome on October 1st 1583 aged 19. Due to ill health he was sent to the College in Rheims. Was sent on the English Mission on November 2nd 1588. Caught and racked, he was hanged, disembowelled and quartered on March 4th, the same day as Nicholas Horner was

- executed at Smithfield and Alexander Blake in Grey's Inn Lane.
(Gillow Biographical Dictionary, Vol I (1885), p. 119.
- 172 Challoner Memoirs, Missionary Priests, p. 180.
- 173 Joan Wake The Brudenelles of Deane (1953), p. 71, and "Pedigree".
- 174 Ibid. pp. 55, 58, 59, 61, 62, 67, 71.
- 175 Norfolk City Records 17(b) "St. George's Guild 1452-1602". Courtesy of Norfolk Record Office. See also Dennis Rhodes "A Party at Norwich in 1562". Norfolk Archaeology Vol. 37, (1978), p. 116. See also Chapter Two above.
- 176 Christopher Devlin "Richard Topcliffe" The Month, Vol 5, No. 3. (March 1951), p. 154.
- 177 Ibid pp. 152, 154, 155.
- 178 Garnet to Aquaviva - July 16th 1592 - Archivium Romanum Societatis Jesu - Fondo Gesuitico, 651.
- 179 Alison Plowden Danger to Elizabeth (1973), pp. 225, 226.
- 180 Devlin "Topcliffe" The Month, p. 156.
- 181 John Snowdon to Burleigh - May 21st 1591 - "Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth 1591-1594", (ed. Mary Ann Everett. 1867), pp. 38, 39.
- 182 Ibid p. 39.
- 183 Ibid p. 40.
- 184 Ibid (May 22nd 1591), pp. 40, 41; (May 23rd), p. 43.

- 185 Ibid (July 7th 1591), p. 71.
- 186 Garnet to Aquaviva, March 17th 1594 - Farm Street Transcripts
Stonyhurst MSS, Anglia, I, f. 73.
- 187 Ibid and Caraman Garnet, p. 131.
- 188 Caraman John Gerard p. 42.
- 189 Michael Hodgett's "Elizabeth Priest Holes III"... Baddesley
Clinton..." Recusant History Vol 12, (1973-74), p. 178.
- 190 Ibid p. 179.
- 191 R.C. Bald Humble Supplication p. 41. Hodgett's Elizabeth Priest-
Holes, p. 179 also cites this.
- 192 Caraman Gerard pp. 42, 43.
- 193 R.C. Bald Humble Supplication - Appendix I, p. 59 "The Proclamation
of 1591 - (From a copy in the Folger Shakespeare Library).
- 194 Ibid pp. 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 12, 15, 16, 29
respectively.
- 195 Christopher Devlin "The Patriotism of Robert Southwell" - The Month,
Vol 10, No. 6 (December 1953), p. 348; Devlin, Southwell p. 252.
- 196 An edition of this work is Stonyhurst MS B. VI. 1. C.A. Newdigate
writing from Farm Street to Fr. Kelly, Librarian at Stonyhurst on
July 24th 1925 says "meanwhile, an interesting discovery in
connection with Southwell's "A Hundred Meditations" ... I find that
Southwell was not the author - only translator ... that the author
is Diego de Estella" B.VI 1 is a MS of 408 folios 4^{to} (Quarto).
Date of transcription uncertain. In a later dedication is

inscribed "to Margaret's daughter ... Robert Southwell ... wrote them ... for your mother's devotion". (See Bibliography)

- 197 B.M. Lansdowne MS 72 f. 113 - Burghley Papers, cited by Christobel Hood, Southwell, p. 48. The reference here is to Horsham, Sussex, not Horsham St. Faith Norfolk.
- 198 Thomas Pormort was born in Lincolnshire in 1559 and arrived at the English College, Rheims on January 15 1581, and left on March 20th for Rome. He was ordained in 1587 and served in the household of Bishop Owen Lewis. Caught in London on July 25 1590, but escaped, and, captured again, was sent to the Tower in August 1592. At his trial he accused Topcliffe of indecent familiarity with the Queen. He was executed on February 10th 1592 after being urged by Topcliffe to withdraw his accusations against him. (Gillow, Biographical Dictory Vol V, p. 344.
- 199 C.R.S., Vol V p. 187.
- 200 Christopher Grene Miscellane de Martyribus et Persecutione in Anglia ... 1690" Stonyhurst MS folio hand-written by Grene, 207 folios - f. 105.
- 201 Ibid f. 106.
- 202 Pollen, C.R.S., Vol V, p. 209.
- 203 Ibid p. 210 citing "A copy of certain notes written by Mr. Pormort Priest and Martir, of certaine speeches used by Top [clif] unto him whyle he was prisoner in the house and custody of the said Topclif. The which notes were since delivered to Wade one of the clercks of the counsel, and by him shewed to the co [ounsel] in November last 1592.
- 204 Rev. W. Done-Bushell "The Bellamies of Uxenden - A Lecture delivered before the Harrow Church Reading Union" February 19th 1914

- reproduced in Harrow Octocentenary Tracts, XIV, (Cambridge, 1914), p. 2.
- 205 Ibid pp. 2, 5, 20 and Francis Edwards The Elizabethan Jesuits (1981) p. 241.
- 206 Barnes Indictment of Topcliffe is in Stonyhurst (MS Anglia A. ii, 41) It was published by Tierney Dodd Church History Vol III, as Appendix 27.
- 207 Richard Simpson "Father Southwell And His Capture" The Rambler, Vol III, New Series, (1857), p. 108.
- 208 Richard Bellamy's Answer to Topcliffe's Exceptions" (Harl. MS 6998 f. 22, cited by Simpson "Father Southwell", The Rambler, (1857), p. 109.
- 209 Ibid.
- 210 B.M. Lansdowne MS. Vol 73, No. 47, Pollen's Farm Street Transcripts (46/13/1), 26.
- 211 Edwards Elizabeth Jesuits p. 242.
- 212 Garnett's letter of July 26th to Verstegan. Stonyhurst Transcripts at Farm Street, (Coll B. 49, 305).
- 213 Ibid. Another version of this scene is provided by Verstegan. "...the Gentilwoman of the house... answered that she knew no such place. Then, quoth he (Topcliffe), I do. And so went directly unto the place (Southwell's hide) - (Verstegan to Persons, Antwerp, August 3rd 1592. C.R.S. Vol, 52, pp. 57, 58.
- 214 Garnet to Verstegan July 26th (Stonyhurst Coll. B. 49-305).

- 215 B.M. Lansdowne MS 12, Burghley Papers f. 113, cited by Christobel Hood Southwell, p. 47.
- 216 Bob Smalhout "What Killed Christ on the Cross" The Sunday Times, April 7th 1985. Bob Smalhout is Professor of Anaesthesiology at University Hospital, Utrecht.
- 217 Garnet's letter of July 26th. "Sir Henry Kiligrew, Richard Young and the two clerks of the Council, Robert Beale and William Waad were among those appointed by the Privy Council in January 1592 to examine and charge imprisoned recusants". (Dasent. Acts of the Privy Council, XXII, p. 213; cited in C.R.S. (Vol 52, p. 70 n. 9).
- 218 Garnet to Verstegan, July 26th.
- 219 Verstegan to Persons, August 3rd, C.R.S. Vol 52, p. 58.
- 220 Ibid and Garnet's letter of July 26th. Topcliffe's method of interrogation were not consistently brutal. Often he resorted to a suave charm to break his prisoners resistance. (Examination of Popish Recusants in Queen Elizabeth's Time, Stonyhurst MS A. VIII 49). In this folio MS Topcliffe examines Thomas Wright, an ex-jesuit, and William Alabaster.
- 221 Garnet An Apology p. 112 and Verstegan's "A brefe discourse of the contemnation and execution of Mr. Robart Southwell". Farm Street Transcripts 46/22/2 f.6.
- 222 Edward Peters Torture, (1985), p. 14.
- 223 Ibid pp. 49, 54, 80.
- 224 David Jardine On the use of Torture in Criminal Law in England, (1837), p. 14.

- 225 Ibid pp. 22, 23, 30.
- 226 Peters Torture, p. 35.
- 227 Jardine Torture, pp. 90, 91, 92.
- 228 Ibid pp. 92-101.
- 229 The date of Southwell's transfer to the Gatehouse is known from the accounts of the Lieutenants of the Tower. The one concerning Southwell reads: "charges of Pickering, keeper of the Gatehouse for prisoners, September 1592: Robert Southwell, a seminary priest, sent in by your lordships oweth for his diet and lodging from the last of June to 30th July '92 being four weeks and two days; and removed to the tower by your honours." (Simpeon The Rambler, Vol VII - New Series "Father Southwell and his Capture" p. 118 - citing "Rolls House Records - Chancery Lane").
- 230 Richard Southwell's petition to the Queen on behalf of his son was first mentioed by Diego Yopez Historia particular De La Persecucion De Inglaterra (Madrid 1599). It was subsequently quoted by Southwell's biographers - viz Simpson in the Rambler, Vol VII, p. 118, Janelle Southwell p. 68, n. 35.
- 231 Simpson Rambler, VII, p. 118; Devlin Southwell p. 289.
- 232 Edwards Elizabeth Jesuits p. 243.
- 233 Dasent (ed) Acts of the Privy Council, Vol XXIII, (1592), p. 71.
- 234 Verstegan to Roger Baynes, C.R.S. Vol 52, p. 72.
- 235 Patrick McGrath Papists and Puritans under Elizabeth I (1967) p. 262, 263 citing "Edward Rishton's account" as printed in Dodd's Church History ed. M.A. Tierney, Vol III (1840) p. 148 n.

- 236 B.M. Lansdowne MSS. Vol 65, No. 4 - Farm Street Transcripts J.H. Pollen 46/13/1 f. 95, 96.
- 237 Dasent A.P.C. Vol. XXIII, (1592), p. 160.
- 238 C.R.S. Vol 52, p. 79.
- 239 Ibid p. 80.
- 240 Devlin Southwell pp. 297 and 358 n. 9, citing a Farm Street transcript of a letter from Persons to Aquaviva dated May 10th 1594 in which this ransom was discussed. I have not seen this transcript. In any case, since it is dated 1594, it may mean that discussion about a possible "deal" with Elizabeth about Weston and other imprisoned Jesuits may have gone on for almost a year before Southwell's execution.
- 241 Ann Dacres' biographer in "A New Chapter in the Life... of Southwell" The Month, 801, (1931), p. 251 and Edwards "Elizabethan Jesuits" p. 243.
- 242 Newdigate "New Chapter" The Month, (1931), p. 251.
- 243 Thomas Bell is mentioned in Garnet's letter of March 1593 (Arch. Hist. Soc, Jesu. Fondu Gesuitico 651). According to Verstegan, this Thomas Bell, alias Burton, turned apostate and informer in August 1592 (A.P.C., xxiii, pp. 164, 166). Bell, in November 1593, published an anti-Catholic tract Thomas Bell's Motives concerning Romish Faith and Religion (C.R.S., Vol 52, p. 81 n. 8.
- 244 Brown Two Letters and Short Rules pp. xii, xiii.
- 245 Ibid p. 77. "Southwell/His Letter to Sir Robert Cecil, Now Earl of Salisbury, and Lord Treasurer of England".
- 246 Ibid pp. 78, xiii.

- 247 This view is expressed by John Deckers in his MS "Narratio Martyri" - Farm Street transcripts - 46/22/2 f (i) See below for a fuller description of this.
- 248 Ibid f. 2, 3.
- 249 J.H. Pollen "The Politics of the English Catholics During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth" - VI "After the Armada". The Month, 458, (August 1902), p. 178.
- 250 Persons A Conference p. 5.
- 251 Ibid pp. 212, 219, 130, 132, 142, 162.
- 252 Pollen. "Politics of English Catholics" Month No. 458, p. 179.
- 253 Calendar State Papers Domestic 1591-1594 (ed Mary Ann Everett, 1867) April 14th 1594, p. 484.
- 254 Ibid - (July 1594), p. 533.
- 255 Ibid pp. 533, 534.
- 256 C.R.S., Vol 52, pp. 219, 220n.
- 257 Devlin Southwell p. 303 citing a letter of Garnet to Aquaviva of Feb. 22nd 1595.
- 258 Garnet's letter of Feb. 22nd to Aquaviva, cited by Devlin Southwell p. 303, and John Decker's "Narratio Martyri", f. 3.
- 259 Garnet-to-Aquaviva Feb. 22nd; Devlin Southwell p. 303.

260 Devlin Southwell p. 358, n.iv.

261 Philip Hughes Rome and the Counter-Reformation in England, p. 244.

CHAPTER NINE - APPENDIX I

SOUTHWELL AND ST. BERNARD

Southwell, in the Tower, asked to be given the Bible and the works of St. Bernard of Clairvaux. The reason for his choice of St. Bernard's work in particular could be explained by numerous similarities between the two men through which Southwell found affinity with St. Bernard. First, there was family background. The maternal care and affection given to the child Bernard by his mother Elizabeth de Montbar, a devout woman initially destined to be a nun, closely resembles that given to Southwell as a child by his mother.¹ Bernard's father, a knight, was frequently absent, entrusting his children's care to their mother who regarded her maternal duties as a charge entrusted to her by Providence. This resembles Southwell's closeness to his mother rather than to his father. Like Southwell, Bernard learned to read and write Latin with ease and elegance, was interested in poetry and literature in general.² Southwell learnt from Bernard to scoff at life. "Life is short, the world passes away and you will pass away before it. Why not cease to love what will soon cease to exist?" asked St. Bernard, and which Southwell repeated in his *Spiritual Exercises*.³

The order Bernard chose to belong to, that of Citeaux was the most rigorous available and aimed at self-annihilation, mortification of nature, detachment of soul from the flesh's bondage and its restoration to a "holy freedom" and, significantly "its original relation to its first principle and the invisible world"⁴ The order of Citeaux taught that this mortal life is but a course of sufferings necessary for the destruction of our perverted nature and Bernard submitted to its painful and rigorous exercises. Southwell would have noted Bernard's quest for virtue. "His virtue daily developed itself so vigorously as to astonish the aged Saint who governed the new School... (Bernard) could no longer suffer any imperfections and the lightest fault was agony to the young novice".⁵ This singular quest for spiritual and moral perfection was not only similar but almost identical to that which prompted Southwell to pursue his *"Spiritual Exercises and Devotions"*. Southwell, languishing in the Tower, would also have found parallels similar to his own

Short Rules for Good Life written for Anne Countess of Arundel in Bernard's epistles to Ermengarde, Countess of Brittany "who needed a saint to guide her to the highest levels of sanctity". She was known for her labours of piety and large-scale alms giving to the poor; charities which closely resemble those of Anne Dacres.⁶

That Southwell should choose St. Bernard's works in preference to all others is partly due to St. Bernard's prominence in Exempla literature. Exempla literature or religious tales have been continuously narrated, in incunabula and collections in Medieval and Renaissance manuscripts since the middle ages, and "witness to the permanent value which Christianity throughout the ages, has recognized in the lessons and examples, facts and texts, received from the early Church and its monasticism, and from the Medieval Saints". These religious tales, M. Jean Leclercz explains "are not only numerous, but extremely varied, providing anecdotes on every possible - and impossible - life situation".⁷

St. Bernard of Clairvaux is the second most widely represented saint in the Exempla literature, after St. Mary. He is cited in seventy cases compared to St. Augustine (sixteen times); St. Nicholas (eighteen times); St. Martin and St. Gregory (nineteen times each); St. Peter (twenty-five times); St. Anthony, St. Macarius, and St. Francis (twenty-six times each).^{sn8} As to why St. Bernard is so widely quoted in Exempla literature is believed to have been due to his treatise On Conversion, which was most useful to preachers and other moralists. Bernard considers two forms of conversion:- one from sin to Christian behaviour, and the other from Christian to monastic life.⁹ In 1140 St. Bernard, speaking in Paris, began his talk with one of his favourite passages, Ezekiel 18:23, "Have I any pleasure in the death of the wicked says the Lord, and not rather that he convert and live?" This, says Peter Verhalen, "sums up for Bernard the whole of God's message to man... God is merciful, man is mortally wicked and only finds life through conversion."¹⁰ We do not know what particular aspect of St. Bernard's writings Southwell preferred, but it is highly probable that Bernard's treatise On Conversion was one of Southwell's favourites. Southwell's mission to England was one of conversion and in the case of lapsed Catholics - re conversion. Southwell, like St. Bernard had to "Convert so that (he) may live". To convert was his life as well as his work. Bernard's On Conversion was a well written very readable

tract. "Both as an oral sermon and as a literary work, the composition is a masterpiece, intricately structured": In this treatise, Bernard shows his ability "to put into words the thoughts and feelings of one turning to God ... in a style fitted to the occasion".¹¹ This work is also an introduction to Bernard's works as a whole, his whole spiritual theology. Southwell in the Tower, cut off from spiritual contact yet realising that his duty to himself, to his superiors, and to God was to convert. He was in need of material that deals in any way with the subject of conversion. To Southwell as it was to Bernard, man's recourse to God is a life-long conversion which is only possible "if conversion is a process or way of living rather than any single event."¹²

Throughout the references to St. Bernard in Exempla writings there is a uniform emphasis on Bernard's effectiveness in converting sinners through preaching.¹³ It was precisely this effectiveness that Southwell required, especially during his captivity. To convert his jailors, his adversaries, would be a victory for him as a missionary. The most frequently quoted aspects of St. Bernard was his ability to win over converts from lay to monastic life. He converted his brothers, all of whom were knights preoccupied with "battles, tournaments and glory"; and his father who, visiting Clairvaux, Bernard induced him to become a monk "by comparing him to a damp log that will not burn".¹⁴ It is possible that Southwell was emulating Bernard in this respect as shown in his 'Epistle to his... Father' in which he ardently strived to reconvert his "prodigal" parent.

Bernard was also useful to Southwell in captivity through his expertise in methods of contemplation, and in his treatise On Consideration Bernard gives descriptions of the nature of God.¹⁵ Bernard's works were probably a reminder to Southwell of his own attempts to attain spiritual and moral perfection. Bernard provided directives for every aspect of spiritual development which echo Southwell's Spiritual Exercises, expounding on "seven degrees of obedience, seven steps in the way of confession, five levels of perfection, three movements of grace and free will and four degrees of loving."¹⁶ After a lifetime of close human contact, sometimes familiar and affectionate, sometimes ordered in its detail but always characterized by closeness to others. Southwell, isolated in the Tower, like all prisoners, was liable to lose

touch with his identity, his *raison d'etre*. In the Song of Songs, (36:4-5) Bernard writes:-

"Before everything else a man should know himself, because not only usefulness but right order demand this. Right order, since what we are is our first concern; and usefulness, because this knowledge gives humility rather than self-importance, it provides a basis on which to build. For unless there is a durable foundation of humility, the spiritual edifice has no hope of standing. And there is nothing more effective, more adapted to the acquiring of humility than to find the truth about oneself... he will find that he lives in a region where likeness to God has been forfeited ... seeing the burden of sin that he carries ... let him be changed and weep, changed to mourning and sighing, changed to acceptance of the Lord"¹⁷

Bernard defines humility as "A thorough self examination which makes man contemptible in his own sight", and a necessary prerequisite for God's grace.¹⁸ Bernard provides the means for ensuring against loss of identity, a loss Southwell was likely to suffer in captivity. "The fullness of myself as God knows me is rooted in the realistic knowledge of my actual being", and the first step towards God is humility.¹⁹ In short, Bernard taught Southwell how to endure captivity through recourse to God through humility and resignation. Awaiting execution, Southwell would have seen in Bernard's works reassuring references to life after death. In On Loving God (XI:33) Bernard emphasizes the point that man retains what is essential to his humanity even while transcending it through death. "Eat before death, drink after death... once our bodies come back to Life, we shall be filled with everlasting life, abounding in a wonderful fullness."²⁰

Most reassuring for Southwell in his captivity was that Bernard - as depicted in Exempla writings - "appears less a mystic than as a model and teacher for ordinary people".²¹ He appears purely as a man of virtue rather than of miracles. he explains in his writings that virtues are more important than miracles.²² All themes shown in his Examples are

drawn from the Bible. As M. Leclercq sums up "Thus, that which the late medieval preachers and their audiences have retained of the teaching of Bernard is a healthy sense of Christian asceticism, ... applicable and accessible to all".²³

¹ ...
² ...
³ ...
⁴ ...
⁵ ...
⁶ ...
⁷ ...
⁸ ...
⁹ ...
¹⁰ ...
¹¹ ...
¹² ...
¹³ ...

CHAPTER NINE - APPENDIX I

NOTES

- 1 E.E. Manning (trans.) Life of St. Bernard by L'Abbe Rattisbonne (New York, 1884), p. 18.
- 2 Ibid pp. 19, 23.
- 3 Ibid p. 42.
- 4 Ibid p. 52.
- 5 Ibid pp. 55, 56.
- 6 Ibid p. 129.
- 7 Jean Leclercq "The Image of St. Bernard in the Late Medieval Exempla Literature" Thought/A Review of Culture and Idea/Fordham University Quarterly (New York, September 1979), p. 291.
- 8 Ibid p. 292, citing Frederic C. Tubach Index Exemplorum/A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales, (Helsinki Academia Scientiarum Fennica, (1969).
- 9 Leclercq "Image of St. Bernard" Thought p. 293.
- 10 Peter Verhalen "Convert so that you may live": St. Bernard's Theology of Conversion" Communio: International Catholic Review, Vol 10, no. 4, (1983), p. 400.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Ibid p. 401.
- 13 Leclercq "Images of St. Bernard" Thought p. 293.

- 14 Ibid p. 294 citing Tubach Index Exemplorum (pp. 609, 612).
- 15 Ibid p. 298 citing S. Bernardi Opera, Vol III, (Rome 1963), pp. 477-483.
- 16 Roger J. Vanden Busch "Bernard of Clairvaux: Love and the Movement of the Soul" Contemplative Reviews Vol 13, No. 1, (September 1980), p. 1.
- 17 Ibid p. 3.
- 18 Ibid p. 4, citing Bernard's Steps of Humility I:2.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 Ibid p. 7.
- 21 Leclercq "Images of St Bernard" Thought p. 301.
- 22 Ibid p. 302 citing Tubach Index p. 2362.
- 23 Ibid.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A - ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

I - Works by Robert Southwell (1561-1595):

R.C. Bald (ed) An Humble Supplication to Her Majestic in Answer to the Late Proclamation ... By Robert Southwell (Cambridge 1953).

James H. McDonald and Nancy Pollard Brown The Poems of Robert Southwell, S.J. (Oxford, 1967).

Nancy Pollard Brown (ed) Two Letters and 'Short Rules of Good Life' By Robert Southwell (Charlottesville, 1973).

M. De Buck (ed) Spiritual Exercises and Devotions of Blessed Robert Southwell S.J. (Louvain, 1930).

Margaret Waugh (ed) An Epistle of Comfort by Robert Southwell (1966)

II - Farm Street Documents

There are at Farm Street a number of important transcripts of original documents pertaining to Southwell. Those used in this thesis are:-

1. "Narrative of the Martyrdom of the Bl. Fr. Robert Southwell of the Society, which Fr. John Decker sent to our Rev. Fr. General in the month of August 1595". [Farm Street 46/22/2-3, 51ff].
2. "A brefe discourse of the condemnation and execution of Mr. Robart Southwell Prite of the Soc^{tie} of Jesus". [Farm Street 46/22/2, 14 type-written folios; a transcription of Verstegan's "Relation of Southwell's trial and execution" from the Stonyhurst Archives, Anglia MS, A.III.i(ii.1)].

3. "Account of the Condemnation & death of Father Southwell S.J.-1595". signed "Thomas Leak". [Farm Stret 46/22/2; an unpaginated, hand-transcript of 21 folios, transcribed from the Stonyhurst Archives (Anglia MS, Vol II. no. 1).]
4. "Relation Thomas Leage de Condimmatione et morte P. Sothwelli qui Thom. Leage ... aderat." [F.S. 46/22/2, an unpaginated Latin version of Leake's account].
5. Leo Hick's transcripts of Garnet's letters from the Stonyhurst Archives. These include: Garnet's letter dated London 26 July 1592 [Coll. B.49.305]; and Verstegan's advice from Antwerp 3 August 1592 (Coll.B.53.309) [F.S. 46/22/4, Leo Hick's Transcripts].
6. Leo Hick's unpublished MS Life of Robert Southwell S.J. (2nd draft) [F.S.46/22/2. A paginated hand-written MS of 41 folios]. J.H. Pollen also compiled a MS Life of Southwell which was available in Farm Street in 1930's. It is referred to by Janelle Southwell, p.5, n.9. This MS is now, unfortunately, lost.

III - Other Unpublished Documents

1. British Muscum Additional MS 27960 - "The Correspondence of Edward Clere and Richard Southwell on the Shire elections of April 1572.
2. Prerogative Court, Canterbury 19 Stevenson (Prob. 11/47, ff14-52) Sir Richard Southwell's will.
3. Prerogative Court, Canterbury, 56 (Prob. 11/96 ff 137-8). Richard Southwell's (of Horsham St. Faith) will.
4. Norfolk Record Society: Documents 8656 (21.C.4); 8462 (21.B.3); 17290 (32.F.7); 11186 (26.A.1); 12507 (27.D.6); 11187 (26.A.1).

5. Norfolk Record Office Walsingham Documents (Merton) V/16; Norfolk Consistory Court: Will register entitled "Moyse Als Spicer".

IV - Published Documentation

1. Catholic Record Society, Vols. 5, 12, 39, 52.
2. Records of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's inn Vol I (1897)
"Admissions from A.D. 1420 to A.D. 1799".
3. Records of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn Vol II (1897)
"The Black Book".
4. Dictionary of National Biography (1909).
5. Catholic Encyclopaedia (1967).
6. Norwich City Records - 176 "Records of St. George's Guild 1452-1602".
7. Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII Vol III (1519-1523); Vol V (1531-32); Vol. VI (1533); Vol VII (1534); Vol VIII (1535); Vol X (1536); Vol XI (1536); Vol. XII (1537); Vol XIII (1538) Vol XIV (1539); Vol XV (1540); Vol XVI (1540-41); Vol XVII (1542); Vol XVIII (1543); Vol XIX (1544); Vol XX (1545); Vol XXI (1546).
8. State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth (1581-90); (1591-94).
9. Acts of the Privy Council (1540-42); (1542-1547); (1547-1550); (1550-52); (1552-54); (1554-1556); (1556-1558); (1558-60); (1575-1577); (1587-88); (1588).
10. Calendar of the Patent Rolls Henry II (1258-1266).

11. Calendar of Assize Records, Essex, Sussex, and Surrey Indictments.
12. Historical MSS Commission. Cecil MSS, Vol I, II, IV, VI, VIII, X.
13. Statutes of the Realm (Vol IV (1547-1585) [1819 ed.]).
14. Collectanea Topographica et Geneologica, Vol II (1843).
15. Calendar of Inner Temple Records (1896).

V - Works Printed in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

1. Philippo Alegambe Mortes Illustres et Gestaeorum de Societate Iesu (Rome 1657).
2. William Allen A True, Sincere and Modest Defence of English Catholiques (1584) [Solar Press, 1971].
3. Thomas Bluet "Important Considerations which ought to move all true and sound Catholicks 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) printed in A Collection of Several Treatises Concerning the Reasons and Occasions of the Penal Laws (printed for Richard Royston 1675).
4. Ralph Buckland Seaven Sparkes of the Enkindled Soule, with Foure Lamentations 91604-5). [Solar Press ed. 1972].
5. Lord Burleigh "The Execution of Justice in England not for Religion, but for Treason: 17 Dec. 1583" printed in A Collection of Several Treatises (see above, no. 3.).

6. J.B. Cavalleriis Ecclesiae Anglicanae Trophaea (Rome 1584).
7. John Cameron An Examination of Those Plausable Appearances (Oxford, 1626)
8. Thomas Dormen A Proufe of Certeyne Articles in Religion (Antwerp, 1564)
9. Thomas Dormen A Disproofe of M. Nowelles Reprovfe (Antwerp, 1565).
10. Henry Garnet An Apology against the Defence of Schisme (1593)
[Scalar Press ed. 1973].
11. Thomas Hide A Consolatorie Epistle to the Afflicted Catholikes
(1580) [Scalar Press 1972].
12. Christopher St. German Here After foloweth a lyttell treatise
called the newe addicions (1531) [STC - 21564].
13. John Geninges The Life and Death of Mr. Edmund Geninges, Priest
(St. Omer, 1614).
14. Edward Gee The Jesuit Memorial for the Intended Reformation of
England (1690).
15. Herman V - Archbishop of Cologne A Simple and Religious
Consultacion (1547) [STC-13213].
16. Samuel Harsnett A Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostu (1604).
17. Owen Lewis The Running Register: Recording a True Relation of
the State of the English Coleges (1626).
18. Gregory Martin A treatyse of Christian peregrination (1583)
[Scolar Press 1973].

19. Gregory Martin "A Letter Sente By M. Licentiate Martin to a married priest his frende" (1580) [Appended to A treatyse].
20. Gregory Martin "To My Lovinge and Bestbeloved Sisters" [undated Appended to A treatyse].
21. Gregory Martin "The Copy of a Letter written to M. Doctour Whyte Warden of the New Colledge in Oxforde" (1575) [Appended to A treatyse].
22. Robert Persons A Briefe Discourse Containing Certaine Reasons why Catholikes refuse to goe to churche (1580) [Douai, 1601].
23. Robert Persons A Briefe Apologie or Defence of the Catholike Ecclesiastical Hierarchie (1601).
24. Robert Persons A Treatyse of Three Conversions 1603, Vol I. [Scholar Press 1976].
25. Thomas S[^] tapleton Life of St. Thomas More [1984 paperback ed.].
26. Anonymous? Persons? Leycester's Commonwealth (1641 ed.).

B - SECONDARY SOURCES

The place of publication of secondary sources is London unless otherwise stated. If published by Oxford or Cambridge University Presses, then the place of publication is given either as Oxford or Cambridge. This applies to other University presses, viz Leicester etc. The titles of publications have been standardized. Words in titles start with capital lettering except for definite and indefinite articles (the a), and prepositions (to, from, at) etc... When necessary, a stroke has been inserted in the title, viz. Robert Southwell/Priest and Poet. In certain

cases, the title when excessively long, or when well known by a shorter one, this latter form is used. Titles are arranged alphabetically.

Books

Godfrey Anstruther Vaux of Harrowden (1953)

C.M. Anthony Saint Pius V (1911)

Donald Attwater A Dictionary of the Popes from Peter to Pius XII (1939)

J.C.H. Aveling The Jesuits (1981)

Richard W. Bagshawe Roman Roads (Shire Archaeology Series, Aylesbury, Bucks, 1979).

William Berry Sussex County Genealogies (1830).

S.T. Bindoff, J. Hurstfield, C.H. Williams, ed. Elizabethan Government and Society/Essays Presented to Sir John Neale (1961).

S.T. Bindoff (ed) History of Parliament/The House of Commons 1509-58 (1982).

H.E.D. Blakiston University of Oxford College Histories/Trinity College (1898).

Francis Blomefield An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk Vols. III, X, (1806).

Peter Brown The Cult of the Saints (Chicago, 1981).

C.J. Cadoux Philip of Spain and the Netherlands (1947).

Carroll Camden Elizabethan Woman/A Panorama of English Womanhood 1540-^a1640 (1952).

William Camden Britannia, or a Chorographical Description of the Flourishing Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland, Vol I (1789).

Philip Caraman John Gerard (1951).

Philip Caraman (trans.) William Weston/The Autobiography of An Elizabethan (1955).

Philip Caraman Henry Garnet (1964).

W. Challoner Memoires of Missionary Priests (1874).

Pierre Chaplais English Royal Documents/King John-Henry VI 1199-1461 (Oxford 1971).

R.C. Christie (ed.) Letters of Thomas Copley (Roxburghe Club 1887).

Patrick Collinson The Religion of Protestants/The Church in English Society 1559-1652 (Oxford, 1982).

John Comber Sussex Genealogies (1931).

Anthony Copley A Fig. For Fortune (Spenser Society, Manchester 1883).

Julian S. Corbett Drake and the Tudor Navy, Vol II (1898).

Thomas Corbishley (ed) Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius (Herts, (1963)).

Henry Cotton Rhemes and Douay: An Attempt to Show What has Been Done by Roman Catholics for the Diffusion of the Holy Scripture in English

Charles Cox Hampshire (1916).

- J. Curtis History of Education in Great Britain (1948).
- M.H. Curtis Oxford and Cambridge in Transition 1558-1642 (1959).
- G.H. Dashwood Visitation of Norfolk in 1563 by William Harvey Vol I
(1878).
- G.S. Davies Charterhouse in London/Monastery, Mansion, Hospital, School
(1921).
- Christopher Devlin Life of Robert Southwell/Poet and Martyr (1956).
- A.G. Dickens Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York 1509-1558
(1959).
- A.G. Dickens Reformation and Society in Sixteenth Century Europe (1966).
- A.G. Dickens Counter Reformation (1968).
- M.H. and R. Dodds The Pilgrimage of Grace 1536-1537 and the Exeter
Conspiracy, Vol II (1915).
- Louis Duchesne Early History of the Christian Church from its Foundation
to the End of the Third Century (1914).
- William Dugdale Monasticon Anglicanum, Vol II (1819).
- Ralph Dutton English Court Life from Henry VII to George II (1963).
- Martin Ebon Exorcism Past and Present (1975).
- Francis Edwards Elizabethan Jesuits (a translation of) Historia Missionis
Anglicanae Societatis Jesu (1660) of Henry More (1981).
- Lewis Einstein The Italian Renaissance in England (1902).

Henry Ellis, ed. Original Letters Illustrative of English History (Second Series), Vol II (1827).

Allan P. Farrell The Jesuit Code of Liberal Education (Milwaukee, 1938).

Gustave Dupont-Ferrier Du College De Clermont Au Lycee Louis-Le Grand (1563-1920) Vol I, II (Paris, 1925).

H.A.L. Fisher History of England from the Accession of Henry VII to the Death of Henry VIII (1485-1547) (1906).

Henry Foley Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus (1877-79) Vols I, II, III.

Michael Foss The Founding of the Jesuits (1969).

J.A. Froude History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth, Vol III, (1864).

Thomas Fuller History of the Worthies of England (P. Austin Nuttall, ed. Vol III (1840).

F.A. Gasquet Eve of the reformation (1900).

C.H. Garret The Marian Exiles/1553-1559 (1938).

Peter Geyl Revolt of the Netherlands 1559-1609 (1970 ed.).

J.A. Giles, ed. Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation (1840)

Joseph Gillow Literary and Biographical History or Biographical Dictionary of English Catholics Vol I, II (1885), Vol III (1887) Vol IV (1897).

G.M. Godden St. Stanislaus Kostka (Dublin 1955).

- Agnes Strickland Lives of the Queens of England from the Norman Conquest
Vol III (1884).
- John Strype Ecclesiastical Memorials Vol III (1822).
- I.A. Taylor Robert Southwell S.J./Priest and Poet (Edinburgh, 1906).
- M.A. Tierney Dodd's Church History of England Vol II (1839).
- W.R. Trimble Catholic Laity in Elizabethan England 1588-1603 (1964).
- Richard Vaughan Philip the Good (1970).
- Brian Vesey-Fitzgerald Gypsies of Britain/An Introduction to their
History (1944).
- Victoria County History: (Surrey, Vol III) Hampshire, Vols II, III.
- Joan Wake The Brudenelles of Deane (1953).
- D.P. Walker Unclean Spirits/Possession and Exorcism in France and England
in the Late Sixteenth and early Seventeenth Centuries (1981).
- R.E. Wallis (trans.) Writings of Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, Vol I
(Edinburgh, 1868).
- Benedicta Ward Miracles and the Medieval Mind (1982).
- Retha Warnicke Woman of the English Renaissance and reformation (1983).
- Thomas Warton Life of Sir Thomas Pope (1772) ed.
- W.G. Waters (ed. and trans.) Journal of Montaigne's Travels in Italy by
Way of Switzerland and Germany in 1580 and 1581 (1903).

- Richard Grafton Chronicle: or History of England ... From the Year 1189 to 1558, Vol II, (1809).
- Henry Granville (Fourteenth Duke of Norfolk) (ed.) The Lives of Philip Howard Earl of Arundel and of Anne Dacres his Wife (1857).
- V.H.H. Green Renaissance & Reformation: A Survey of European History Between 1450 and 1660 (1982).
- Ludovico Guicciardini Description of the Low Countries (Amsterdam, 1973).
- Christopher Haigh, (ed.) The Reign of Elizabeth (1984).
- Martin Haile An Elizabethan Cardinal/William Allen (1914).
- Adam Hamilton (Chronicle of the English Augustinian canonesses... of St. Monica in Louvain, Vol I (1904) II (1906).
- J. Gathorne Hardy The Rise and Fall of the British Nanny (1972).
- Frederick Harrison William the Silent (New York, ed. 1970).
- G.B. Harrison (ed.) (Anthony Munday's) English Romaine Life (1925).
- Nicholas Harpsfield Life and Death of Sr Thomas Moore, Knight Sometime Lord High Chancellor of England (Early English Text Society, Oxford 1932).
- McDonald Hastings Jesuit Child (1971).
- Carolyn G. Heilbrun The Garnet Family (1961).
- Brian Paul Hindle Medieval Roads (Shire Archaeology Series Aylesbury, Bucks, 1982).

- D.E. Hoak, The King's Council in the Reign of Edward VI (Cambridge 1976).
- Peter Holmes Resistance and Compromise/The Political Thought of the Elizabethan Catholics (1982).
- Christopher Hollis A History of the Jesuits (1968).
- F.G. Holweck A Biographical Dictionary of Saints (1924).
- Christobel Hood The Book of Robert Southwell (Oxford, 1926).
- R.S. Houlbrooke (ed) The Letter Book of John Parkhurst/Bishop of Norwich (Norfolk Record Society, 1974, 1975).
- R.A. Houlbrooke Church Courts and the People During the English Reformation 1520-1570 (Oxford, 1979).
- Baron Hubner Life and Times of Sixtus V (trans. Hubert E.H. Jenningham) Vol I (1872).
- Philip Hughes Rome and the Counter Reformation in England (1942).
- Philip Hughes Reformation in England (Fifth edition three volumes in one 1963).
- Thomas Hughes Loyola and the Educational System of the Jesuits (1892).
- Catherine Charlotte, Lady Jackson Last of the Valois and Accession of Henry of Navarre 1559-1589 Vol II (1888).
- Pierre Janelle Robert Southwell/The Writer (1935).
- Pierre Janelle Catholic Reformation (Milwaukee, 1963).
- David Jardine On the Use of Torture in Criminal Law in England (1837).

- Eric John (ed.) Popes - A Concise Biographical History (1964).
- Manuel Ruiz Jurado Origenes Del Noviciado En La Compania De Jesus
(Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, Rome, 1980).
- Henry Kamen European Society 1500-1700 (1984).
- A.J. Kempe Loseley MSS (1836).
- W.P.M. Kennedy Elizabethan Episcopal Administration (1924).
- Robert Kingdom The Execution of Justice in England By William Cecil and A
True Sincere and Modest Defence of English Catholics By William Allen
(New York, 1965).
- T.F. Knox (ed) First and Second Diaries of the English College, Douay
(1878).
- T.F. Knox (ed) William Allen/His Letters and Memorials 1532-94 (1882).
- John Lamb Master's History of the College of Corpus Christi and Blessed
Virgin Mary in the University of Cambridge (1831).
- Charles Leland English Gipsies and Their Language (1873).
- M.D.R. Leys Catholics in England 1559-1829/A Social History (1961).
- D.M. Loads Two Tudor Conspiracies (Cambridge, 1965).
- John Lodge Peerage of Ireland (1789).
- Albert J. Loomie The Spanish Elizabethans (1963).
- M.A. Lower History of Sussex Vol I (1870).
- John Lynch Spain under the Hapsburgs (Vol I (1516-1598) (1965).

Wallace T. MacCaffrey Queen Elizabeth and the Making of Policy 1572-1588
(Princeton, 1981).

W. Maltby The Black Legend in England (1971).

E.E. Manning (trans.) Life of St. Bernard by L'Abbe Rattisbonne (New
York, 1884).

Roger Manning Religion and Society in Elizabethan Sussex (Leicester 1969).

C.C. Martindale Vocation of Aloysius Gonzaga (1927).

R.B. Merriman Life and Letters of Thomas Cromwell, Vol II (Oxford, 1902).

R.B. Merriman Rise of the Spanish Empire, Vols III, IV (New York, 1925).

A.O. Meyer England and the Catholic Church Under Queen Elizabeth (1916).

Roy Midmer English Medieval Monasteries 1066-1540 (1979).

David Mitchell The Jesuits/A History (1980).

John Morris The Troubles of Our Catholic Forefathers (1872).

Artaud de Montor Lives and Times of the Popes (Re-translated from de
Montor's Les Vies Des Papes by the Catholic Publication Society Vol V
(New York, 1911).

John J. Murray Antwerp (Newton Abbey, 1972).

J.E. Neale The Elizabethan House of Commons (1949).

J.E. Neale (and P.W. Hasler) (ed.) History of Parliament: The House of
Commons 1588-1603 (1981).

- O. Ogle (ed.) Copy Book of Sir Amyas Paulet's Letters Written During his Embassy in France (A.D. 1577) (Roxburghe Club, 1866).
- Steven E. Ozment Reformation in the Cities/The Appeal of Protestantism to Sixteenth Century Germany and Switzerland (Yale, 1975).
- D.M. Palliser The Age of Elizabeth/England Under the Late Tudors 1547-1603 (1983).
- Geoffrey Parker The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road 1567-1659 (Cambridge, 1972).
- A.W. Parry Education in the Middle Ages (1920)
- Ludwig von Pastor History of the Popes, Vol XVI (1920; Vol XVIII (1929); Vol XIX (1930); Vol XXI (1932).
- Edward Peters Torture (1985).
- Sir Charles Petrie Philip II of Spain (1963).
- Sir Charles Petrie Don John of Austria (1967).
- Peter Pierson Philip II of Spain (1975).
- Alison Plowden Danger to Elizabeth (1973).
- Alison Plowden House of Tudor (1976).
- A.F. Pollard Political History of England, Vol VI (1547-1603), (1910).
- J.H. Pollen English Catholics in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth (1920).
- Eileen Power Medieval English Nunneries (1922).

William Prescott History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella the Catholic (1962).

Arnold Pritchard Catholic Loyalism in Elizabethan England (1979).

O Ranum (ed.) National Consciousness/History and Political Culture in Early Modern Europe (1975).

Jan Read The Moors in Spain and Portugal (1974).

Walter C. Richardson History of the Court of Augmentations 1536-1554 (Baton Rouge 1961).

Charles Robert (ed.) Calendarium Genealogicum Henry III et Edward I, Vol I (1861).

H. Daniel-Rops The Catholic Rreformation (trans. from French by John Warrington) (1962).

A.L. Rowse The England of Elizabeth (1951).

Walter Rye England as seen by Foreigners in the days of Elizabeth... (1965).

Walter Rye History of Norfolk (1887).

J.H.M. Salmon The French Religious Wars in English Political Thought (Oxford, 1959).

J.H.M. Salmon The French Wars of Religion/How Important were Religious Factors ("Problems in European Civilization Series". Boston, 1967).

S. Schoenbaum William Shakespeare/A Compact Documentary Life (1977).

- William Shakespeare Complete Works (Illustrated Stratford Shakespeare No Editor given. Chancellor Press edition, 1982).
- A. Lytton Sells The Italian Influence in English Poetry from Chaucer to Southwell (1955).
- Joan Simon Education and Society in Tudor England (1966).
- Richard Simpson Edmund Campion (1907).
- A.H. Smith County and Court: Government and Politics in Norfolk 1558-1603 (Oxford, 1974).
- Charlotte Fell Smith John Dee (1527-1608) (1909).
- Patrick Montague Smith History and Treasures of Arundel Castle (Pitkin, "Pride of Britain" Books). [1958-1964].
- A.C. Southern Elizabeth Recusant Prose (1950).
- A.C. Southern An Elizabethan Recusant House Comprising the Life of the Lady Magdalen Viscountess Montague (1538-1608) (1954).
- Henry Spelman History and Fate of Sacrilege (1846) ed.
- Robert Steele, (ed.) Tudor and Stuart Proclamations 1485-1714 (Oxford, 1910).
- F.W. Steer Life of St. Philip Howard/First Edited by Henry Granville Fourteenth Duke of Norfolk in 1857 (1971).
- Lawrence Stone Crisis of the Aristocracy (Oxford, 1965).
- Lawrence Stone Causes of the English Revolution (1972).
- Lawrence Stone Family, Sex, Marriage in England 1500-1800 (1977).

- Foster Watson, ed. Vives and the Renaissance Education of Women (1912).
- Max Weber Sociology of Religion (trans. Ephraim Fischhoff, 1965).
- Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell Saints and Society (Chicago, 1982).
- R.B. Wernham Before the Armada/The Growth of English Foreign Policy 1485-1588 (1971).
- Robert Wilken The Christians as the Romans saw Them (1984).
- Charles Wilson Queen Elizabeth and the Revolt of the Netherlands (1970).
- Derek Wilson A Tudor Tapestry/Men Women and Society in Tudor England (1972).
- Stephen Wilson (ed) Saints and Their Cults/Studies in Religious Sociology Folklore and History (Cambridge, 1983).
- Lothrop Withington, ed. Elizabethan England: From "A Description of England "By" William Harrison (in "Holinshed's Chronicles"), (1890).
- W.H. Woodward Studies in Education During the Age of the Renaissance 1400-1600 (1906).
- Frances A. Yates Occult Philosophy in The Elizabethan Age (1983).

II - Articles, Pamphlets, Newsletters and Booklets

- Xavier Le Bachelet "Le Bienheureux Robert Bellarmin et Les Ordres Religieux, II" Gregorianum, V, (1924).
- Alfred Bernier "Le Zele du Cardinal Bellarmin Pour La Beaute du Culte" Gregorianum XVIII, (1937).

- W. Done-Bushell "Bellamies of Uxenden" Harrow Octocentenary Tracts, XIV, (Cambridge, 1914).
- Joseph Altholz "Material for Recusant History in 'The Rambler'" Recusant History, VI, (1961-2).
- F.W.T. Attrree "Lists of Sussex Gentry at Various Dates" Sussex. Arch. Collects, xxxix. (1894).
- John Bossy "English Catholics and the French Marriage 1577-81" Recusant History, V, (1959-60).
- John Bossy "The Character of Elizabethan Catholicism" Past and Present 21, (1962).
- John Bossy "Rome and the Elizabethan Catholics: A Question of Geography" Historical Journal, VII, (1964).
- John Bossy "The Counter-Reformation and the People of Catholic Europe", Past and Present, 47, (May 1970).
- Colin E. Brent "Urban Employment and Population in Sussex Between 1550 and 1660" Suss. Arch. Collects. 113, (1975).
- Colin E. Brent "Rural Employment and Population in Sussex Between 1550 and 1640" Suss. Arch. Collects., 114, (1976).
- Colin E. Brent "Rural Economy of Eastern Sussex 1500-1700" (East Sussex Record Office Local History Research Unit, No. 10, 1978).
- Colin E. Brent "Maritime Economy of Eastern Sussex 1550-1700" (East Sussex Record Office Local History Research Unit No. 11, 1980).
- Roger Vanden Busch "Bernard of Clairvaux: Love and the Movement of the Soul" Contemplative Review 13, (September, 1980).

J. Payne Collier "Ancient Biographical Poems on the Duke of Norfolk, Viscount Hereford, the Earls of Essex and Queen Elizabeth" Camden Society 1855).

William Durant Cooper "Queen Elizabeth's Visits to Sussex" Suss. Arch. Collects., V, (1852).

Julian Cornwall "English Country Towns in the Fifteen Twenties" Economic History Review, XV, (1962-3).

Julian Cornwall "English Population in the Early Sixteenth Century" Econ. Hist Rev. XXIII (1970).

Christopher Devlin "Richard Topcliffe" The Month, V, (1951).

Christopher Devlin "Patriotism of Robert Southwell" The Month (December 1953).

Katherine Dorsey "Life of Father Thomas Copley" The Woodstock Letters, XIII (1884).

Henry Ellis "Notices of Richard Curteys, Bishop of Chichester, 1570 to 1582" Suss. Arch. Collect., X, (1858).

G.R. Elton "Political Creed of Thomas Cromwell" Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, VI, (1956).

Mario Fois S.j. "Il Collegio Romano ai tempi degli studi del P. Matteo Ricci" - Estratto da Atti Del Primo Convegno Internazionale Di Studi "Ricci". Ed. Centro Studi Ricciani (Rome, 1984).

Ronald H. Fritze "Role of Family and Religion in the Local Politics of Early Elizabethan England: The Case of Hampshire in the 1560's" Historical Journal 25, (1982).

Claude Fouret "Amour Et Violence: Une Alchemie Du Pouvoir A Douai 1496-1530" Memoires De La Societe D'Agriculture, Sciences Et Art De Douai Actes du Colloque/La Sociabilite Urbaine en Europe du Nord-Quest du XIV^e au XVIII^e Siecle (Douai, 1983).

Granville Leveson-Gower "Howards of Effingham" Surrey Arch. Collects IX, (1888).

Christopher Haigh "The Fall of a Church or the Rise of a Sect? Post Reformation Catholicism in England" Historical Journal, Vol 21 (1978) pp. 181-86.

Christopher Haigh "The Continuity of Catholicism in the English Reformation" Past and Present, 93, (Nov. 1981).

Christopher Haigh "Revisionism, the Reformation and the History of English Catholicism" Journal of Ecclesiastical History (July, 1985) p. 402.

Vivianne Hewitt "Vatican Seeking Exorcists" Sunday Press, (November 10th 1985).

Leo Hicks "Autograph Letter of John Deckers S.I. to Blessed Robert Southwell S.I." Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu (1932).

Michael Hodgetts "Elizabethan Priest-Holes/I: Dating and Chronology" Rec. Hist., 11, (1971-72).

Michael Hodgetts "Elizabethan Priest-Holes:/II-Ufton, Mapledurham, Compton Wynayates" Rec. Hist. 12, (1973-74).

Ignacio Iparraguire "Para La Historia De La Oracion En El Colegio Romano Durante La Segunda Mitad Del Siglo XVI" Arch. Hist. Soc. Iesu Vol XV, (1946).

T.G. Law (ed.) "A Catechisme or Christian Doctrine By Laurence Vaux, B.D." Chetham Society (1885).

Jean Leclercq "Images of St. Bernard in the Late Medieval Exemple Literature" Thought/A Review of Culture and Idea/Fordham University Quarterly (New York, September, 1979).

Bernard Lewis "British Contributions to Arabic Studies" (Longman Pamphlet, 1941).

W.W.R. Lillie "North Downs Trackway in Surrey - A Reappraisal" Surrey Arch. Collects, 61, (1964).

Albert Loomie "Armadas and the Catholics of England" Catholic Historical Review, LIX, (Oct. 1973).

Ladislans Lukacs "Ratio Studiorum Societatis Iesu" (1565-1572) Monumenta Pedagogica Societatis Iesu Vol II, (Rome, 1974).

"_____ " "London to Portslade Roman Road" Surrey Arch. Collects, 59, (1962) - Notes and Queries.

Roger B. Manning "Richard Shelley of Warminghurst and the English Catholic Petition for Toleration of 1585" Rec. Hist., VI, (1961-62).

Roger B. Manning "Catholics and Local Office Holding in Elizabeth Sussex" Bull. Inst. Hist. Res., XXXV (1962).

Roger B. Manning "Anthony Browne, 1st Viscount Montague: The Influence in County Politics of an Elizabethan Catholic Nobleman" Suss. Arch. Collect., 116, (1968).

Ivan D. Margary "Roman Roads from Pevensey to Firle and Glynde, and to the Downs by Wanock" Suss. Arch. Collect. LXXX, (1939).

Ivan D. Margary "Roman Communications Between Kent and East Sussex Ironworks" Suss. Arch. Collect., LXXXVI, (1947).

- Ivan D. Margary "Recent Discoveries by the Ordnance Survey of Roman roads in Sussex" Suss. Arch. Collect. XCL (1953).
- Austin Lynn Martin "Jesuits and the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day" Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu XLIII, (1974).
- Timothy McCann "Catholic Schoolmasters in Sussex 1558-1603" Rec. Hist. 12, (1973-74).
- Patrick McGrath "Elizabethan Catholicism: A Reconsideration" Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 35, (July 1984) pp. 416, 421.
- Patrick McGrath and Joy Rowe "Marian Priests Under Elizabeth I" Rec. Hist., 17 (October 1984).
- Monique Mestayer "Les Fetes et Ceremonies A Douai 1450-1550" Memoires... De Douai... Actes du Colloque (Douai 1983).
- A.R. Morris "Effects upon Schooling in Sussex of the Legislation Dissolving the Religious Houses and Chantries" Suss. Arch. Collect., 119, (1981).
- Robert Muchembled "Des Jeunes Dans La Vile: Douai Au XVI^e Siecle" Memoires... De Douai... Actes du Colloque (Douai 1983).
- Michael Neve "Delay" London Review of Books, (October 17th, 1985).
- C.A. Newdigate "New Chapter in the Life of Robert Southwell S.J." Month (March, 1931).
- J.G. Nichols (ed.) "Diary of Henry Machyn" Camden Society (1847).
- J.G. Nichols (ed.) "Chronicle of Queen Jane and of two years of Queen Mary and Especially of the Rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyatt" Camden Society (1849).

J.G. Nichols (ed.) "Narratives of the Days of the Reformation" Camden Society (1860).

J.E. Paul "Hampshire Recusants in the Time of Elizabeth I with Special Reference to Winchester" Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club, XXI (1959).

Nicholas Pocock, ed. "Troubles Concerned with the Prayer Book of 1549" Camden Society (1884).

J.H. Pollen "Politics of English Catholics during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth" Month, (March, June, July, August, 1902).

J.H. Pollen "Sources for the History of Roman Catholics in England, Ireland and Scotland" (1921).

Donovan Purcell "Priory of Horsham St. Faith and its Wall Paintings" Norfolk Archaeology, 35, (1973).

Peter A. Quinn "Ignatius Loyola and Gian Pietro Carafa: Catholic Reformers at Odds" Catholic Historical Review, LXVII, (July, 1981).

Conyers Read "Walsingham and Burghley in Queen Elizabeth's Privy Council" Eng. Hist. Rev. XXVII (1913).

E.E. Reynolds "St. Robert Southwell Sussex" Brighton and Arundel Diocesan Newsletter (February, 1971).

Dennis Rhodes "A Party at Norwich in 1562" Norf. Arch., 37, (1978).

R. Garraway-Rice "Household Goods... of Sir John Gage of West Firle" Suss. Arch. Collect, XLV (1902).

Walter Rudd "Priory of Horsham St. Faith" Norf. Arch., XXII, (1926).

- Alwyn Ruddock "Trade of Southampton with the Mediterranean in the Middle Ages". Bull. Inst. Hist. Res., XX, (1943-45).
- Walter Rye (ed.) "Visitation of Norfolk made and taken by William Harvey anno 1563, 1589, and 1613, Harleian Society XXXII, (1891).
- Sir Sibbald David Scott "A Booke of Orders and Rules of Anthony Viscount Montague in 1595" Suss. Arch. Collect., VII (1854).
- Georg Schurhammer "Der Marathidicter Thomas Stephens, S.I. Neue Dokumente" Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu, XXVI, (1957).
- Richard Simpson "Father Southwell and his Capture", The Rambler Vol VII, February 1857).
- Richard Simpson "Biographical Sketch of Thomas Poundes" The Rambler Vol VIII (July, 1857).
- Richard Simpson "Religious Associations in the Sixteenth Century" The Rambler, third Series, Vol I, (May, 1859).
- Bob Smalhout "What Killed Christ on the Cross?" Sunday Times, April 7th 1985).
- T.R. Sobey "Roffey's link with Robert Southwell" Sussex Life, (March, 1972).
- Philippa Revel and Francis Steer. "George Gage I and George Gage II" Bull. Inst. Hist. Res., XXXI, (1958).
- F.W. Steer "Woodrysing Church, Norfolk and Notes on the Southwell and other Families connected with the Parish" (1959).
- Lawrence Stone "Educational Revolution in England 1560-1640" Past and Present, 28, (July, 1964).

- T.H. Swales "Opposition to the Suppression of the Norfolk Monasteries" Norf. Arch., 33, (1964).
- T.H. Swales "Redistribution of the Monastic Lands in Norfolk at the Dissolution" Norf. Arch., 34, PGI, (1966).
- E. Thoen "Warfare and the Countryside: Social and Economic Aspects of the Military Destruction of Flanders During the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period" Acta Historica Neerlandica, XIII. (1980).
- T.B. Trappes-Lomax "Roman Catholicism in Norfolk 1559-1780" Norf. Arch., 32 (1958).
- Herman Van Laak "Martyres Angli et S. Bellarmine S. Bellarminus" Gregorianum, XI, (1930).
- P. van Petegham "Flanders in 1576: Revolutionary or Reactionary" Acta Historica Neerlandica XV (1979).
- Raymond Van Uytven "Scenes de la vie Sociale dans les villes de pays-bas du XIV^e au XVI^e Siecles" Memoires...Actes Du Colloques (Douai, 1983).
- Peter Verhalen "Convert so that you may live: St. Bernard's Theology of Conversion" Communio: International Catholic Review, 10, (1983).
- John Watney "Some Account of Leigh Place, Surrey and of its Owners" Surrey Arch. Collect. Vol XI (1893).
- "_____ "On the walls and Gates of the City of Norwich" Journal of the British Archaeological Association (September 1858, Norwich Central Library Reproduction).
- Memoires De La Societe D'Agriculture, Sciences Et Arts De Douai - Actes du Colloque/La Sociabilite Urbaine en Europe du Nord-Oest du XIV^e au XVIII^e Siecle (Douai, 1983).

III - Unpublished Dissertations

John Bossy: "Elizabethan Catholicism: The Link with France" (Ph.D. Diss. Cambridge, 1960).

John Paul De Cecco Jr. "Father Robert Persons S. Early years 1546-1582" (Ph.D. Diss., Pennsylvania 1953).

Robert Saint-Cyr Duplessis: "Urban Stability in the Netherlands Revolution: A Comparative Study of Lille and Douai" (Ph.D. Diss., Columbia, 1974).

Joseph Kennedy "Dissolution of the Monasteries in Hampshire and the Isle of Wight" (M.A. Diss., London, 1953).

H. Leonard "Knights and Knighthood in Tudor England" (Ph.D. Diss., London, 1970).

J.E. Paul "Hampshire Recusants in the Reign of Elizabeth I with some Reference to the Problem of Church Papists" (Ph.D. Diss. Southampton, 1958).

R.H. Pogson "Cardinal Pole/Papal Legate in England in Mary Tudor's Reign" (Ph.D. Diss. Cambridge, 1972).

A.H. Smith "The Elizabethan Gentry of Norfolk Office-Holding and Faction" (Ph.D. Diss. London 1959).

J.F.C. Swan "The Introduction of the Elizabethan Settlement into the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge" (Ph.D. Diss. Cambridge, 1955/51).

T.H. Swales "The Sequestration of Religious Property in Norfolk at the Reformation" (Ph.D. Diss. Sheffield 1965).

**IV - Conference on Modern Biography - University of East Anglia, 12-14
April 1985**

Friday April 12: Lecture: Robert Skidelsky: Modern Biography: A Case of
Indecent Exposure (Lecture Theatre 3).

Saturday April 13: a) Modern Biography Panel: Hugh Brogan, Susan Crosland,
Alistair Horne (Room 0.23)

b) Lecture: Victoria Glendinning: Modern Biography: Lies and Silences
(Lecture Theatre 3).

c) Literary Biography Panel: Michael Holroyd, Andrew Sinclair, Hilary
Spurling, (Room 0.23).

d) Lecture, Lord Blake: Some Problems in Political Biography (Lecture
Theatre 3).

Sunday April 14th a) Political Biography Panel: Ruth Dudley Edwards,
Kennedy Morgan, Richard Shannon. (Room 0.23).

b) Publishers Panel (Room 0.23).

BIBLIOGRAPHY - APPENDIX I

I - Stonyhurst Documents:

The original "Anglia" MSS at Stonyhurst which contain much material on Southwell and his Milieu are now in a very fragile condition. However, a complete set of photocopies of these MSS are available at Farm Street, together with a variety of transcripts of original Stonyhurst MSS. (See below, Farm Street Documents). At Stonyhurst there is a number of original works open to inspection which shed much light on Southwell's milieu. Following is a selection of such works (Courtesy of Fr. F.J. Turner, Librarian Stonyhurst):

1. MS.A.VIII.40 - Examination of Popish Recusants in Queen Elizabeth's Time () This is a small octavo (8vo), MS of 50 folios, with a 'Hand and Star' watermark. J.H. Pollen surmises that a fair copy was made in Flanders or Spain. Perhaps it once belonged to a Fr. William Warford, "who was sent to Spain in 1599". Pollen, in a note, says that it passed into the possession of Fr. John Morris at the sale of the books of William Good, Dean of Ripon (d. 1868). Morris appears to have intended to edit it in his series of "Troubles", as he collected some illustrative papers for that purpose, which, however, he never completed. The subject matter of this MS is the disputation of two Catholic prisoners, Thomas Wright (an ex-Jesuit) and William Alabaster (then a recent convert) with certain Protestant Bishops. The first debate took place on Shrove Tuesday 1598. Topcliffe, in this MS, interrogates Wright, and sheds much light on his methods of interrogation. This MS is referred to in The Month of April 1904.
2. MS.BI.12 Visitation of Surrey (1601?). A folio volume containing a collection of Heraldica and notices of armorial bearings of Hertford and Surrey, especially of the Copley family.
3. MS.BIII.1 Southwell's Translation of Diego de Estella (A Spanish Franciscan) Meditaciones Piisimas del Amor de Dios. C.A. Newdigate, writing from Farm Street to Fr. Kelly, the Librarian at Stonyhurst, on July 24th 1925 says "Meantime an interesting discovery in connection

with Southwell's 'Hundred Meditations'. I find Southwell was not the author - only translator. That the author is Diego de Estella". MS.BIII.I is a volume of 408 folios (4 to quarto). Date of transcription uncertain. Probably mid-Seventeenth century.

4. M.S.BIII.18:- The Spiritual Exercises according to the method of St. Ignatius 4 to unpaginated. Undated.
5. MS.AV.8?:- MSS Collection. Contains the interesting letter of Henry Garnet to his sister - a nun in Louvain - dated January 24th 1595, which in parts reflect the Catholics' emotional and temperamental dispositions. "God" he writes "in his singular Clemency satisfies the longing desire of a hungry mind thirsting after Justice." Garnet has hopes that his sister will persevere in her religious vocation, and is "confident... that the spirit of the world being utterly cast out of your heart". "If thou knowest not how filthy thou was in the world ... because that were casted (?) World...". This Collectanea also contains a Latin brief of Pope Urban VIII dated February 23rd 1643 and brief biographical sketches of John Almond, Christopher Bales, Christopher Buxton, William Hart, Thomas Hamerford(?), Thomas Holford, John Ingram, James Edward, William Lacy, Joseph Lampton, John Lapels(?), Richard Leigh, James Lomax, John Lowe, Anthony Middleton, Robert Middleton, Polydore Plasden, Thomas Portmore, Martin Sherson, Ralph Sherwin, Richard Smith, Robert Thorpe, Thomas Tichbourne and Euctace White. It also contains a "Life and Death of Edmund Campion", and Latin letters of Allen to Campion and Agazzari.
6. A.III.3:- A Catalogue (possibly a transcription of Nathaniel Southwell's) of Jesuits in England to 1660. It is a folio volume, well-watermarked, entitled CATALOGUS PRIMORUM PATRUM AC FRAGRUM EX ANGLIA COLLECTUS (Rome, 1640). Its dates run from 1555 to 1590. Names are arranged mostly chronologically. Southwell is listed on f.17, the entry reading: "Robertus Southwellus, annorum ... circa 17 admissus Romae in Domo probationis 17 October 1578 ... dilatus fuerat ... superioribus (nescio qua de caùse in societatem ... in Archivis

Coll. Ang. Rom... inter alia adversaria?? devota extat eiusdem querimonia Anglicae conscripta cui titulus hic prefixus querimonia..."

7. Christopher Grene's COLLECTANEA, P. (Parts I, II)

a. Operum Imperfectorum Roberti Personii: Two MS volumes in Grene's handwriting. The two volumes are continuously paginated Vol I: ff-338; Vol II begins with an index, then starts with ff 338 (9?) - 879. The last 13 folios are unpaginated. Vol I is subdivided into five sections:

1. "Notae Variiae Soc. Jesu in Anglia.

(Anglica Scripta anno 1605).

2. Punti (?) della Missione d. Inghiltr. per l'anno 1581.

3. Miscellanea.

4. The Life and Martirdome of Fr. Edm. Campion begun by Fr. Persons An. 1594. (f. 76-147).

5. Notae ... pro scribenda vita P. Campiani, "written, (as it seemeth) about the years 1593. (f. 149).

Vol. I contains "A discourse against the oath of allegiance written A. 1606. (Transcript made for Farm Street, 1933); De libris impressis a P. Personio (f. 180); A history of heretical persecution of Catholics and schismatics under Henry VIII; "The way how to reconcile a man to God", (f.203) and Exhortations of F. persons, and diverse Collections out of holy Scripture"; "Notae quedam Personii Pro Scribenda vita sua inceptae Anno 1587"; Rules of Faith and religion (f. 234); "De Anna Bolena" (f. 243); "Orationes Variiae Latinae" (f. 248) "De editione voluminum" (f. 288); "Oratio Reginae Angliae ad Parlamentum" (f. 291); "Epistolae variae Personii", and finally, "Modo di convertir tutte sorti di persone secondo l'ordine tenuto da Personio et Campiono (f. 330).

Vol I (Part I) is prefaced by a heading"

"Certaine notes of memory concerning the first entrance of y^e fathers of y Soc. of Jesus into England by way of mission in y^e year of 1580 with the principal matters that have happened since yt times about ye said Engl. Mission and maintenance of the Catholik Relgion in ye realme. There is a brief recitall also of what part in Engl. about matters of religion before y^e said

mission of religion before e said mission of ye Jesuits thither touching their union and conviction in other countries with ye principal of y^e Engl. nation that laboured in ye causes".

[Written in top right-hand margin]: "Transcribed in Martio 1689 out of the original where of the title and preface is F. Persons owne hand..."

Vol I is well written and gives a general view of political and religious events since Henry VIII's time from a Catholic viewpoint. It contains interesting discussions such as "The Consultation" whether English Jesuits should be sent to England, "or noe" (f102R., Cap. 13). It was pointed out "that Engl^d was hearer" and perhaps "in more necessity of spiritual help than the Indies". The Jesuits, it was pointed out, "are more bound to conserve the parts of Christendome already gotten, than to seek to gaine niew (parts) though both be of great merit". (f103R). Also pointed out was the difficulty "that... the enemy in England according to his lying and fraudulent manner of proceeding would publish [that] this mission was not for matter of religion but for some practise of State and so would seek to make the persons odious and their actions doubtful" [spelling modernized]. A third difficulty, "more weighty than all the rest", "was about the manner of the priests living in England for seeing that they could not live in public nor in any one house together, they did not see how they could observe well their religious discipline of prayer, exhortations, meditations, conference and other like helps which were". [spelling modernized]. On f104v, (Cap. 14), there is an account "How F. Campion was called from Prague to Rome as he prepared himself for his journey to England". There are references to Southwell on f.301r., 303v, in Vol I; and on f.61r and ff501-507 in Vol II.

8. M.S.AIII.3. is a MS entitled DE BONIS PROV. ANG. ET SCOT (A Collection of Miscellaneous documents on ENgland and Scotland). Folio 41 is a Latin document entitled CASUS COMITISSAE DE ARUNDEL. It refers to a complicated legal dispute arising over a large sum of money invested by the Countess of Arundel in Rome and which was utilized after her death for the benefit of the Jesuits. The sum seems to have been

badly invested by the person (unnamed) to which it was entrusted, who was eventually bankrupted. Attempts were made to recover the sum, apparently by seizing his property. There is a reference to a Robert Southwell as a witness that the sum had been sent to Rome. All this was taking place long after our Southwell's death. No date is given to the document but Fr. F.J. Turner suggests that it may be as late as the 1630's.

THIRD . . .
P 2 3 NOV 1987
LIBRARY ENGLIN

TRINITY COLLEGE
P 23 NOV 1987
LIBRARY

THESIS
1252.2

Map-1

Saxon's map of Kent, Sussex, Surrey and Middlesex, 1575
Some of the Estates of Southwell's nearest relatives have
been noticed out, viz Caudrey, Wainwright, Fife (Sussex);
Galton (Surrey) and Worthington (Hampshire). "Horslam"
in Sussex is marked out as the place where Southwell had been
held to be with his Cousin Anthony Conley, by Richard
Topcliffe. (See. cl. 9).

South

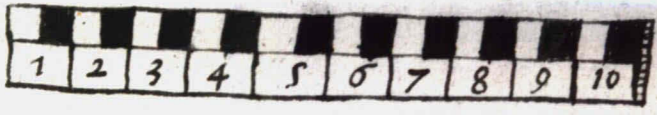
Portland

The Isle of Wight



East

West



From Southampton to Calshot being 7 miles no danger except they come in Calshot and St Andrews from Calshot to Lymington
 good landing in two places viz between Stafore and Leape for the garde thereof George Boulett Esq is appointed
 wth 200 men And at Little Dept and Siblers Land end for the garde thereof William Scudger gent is
 appointed wth 113 men From Lymington to Lymington no danger of landing
 From Lymington to Chertou Rompe for the most parte sea borne landing in June wth or wth
 small boats But if the wynd blowe garde most dangerous because there is no bar for the
 garde of this place is appointed Thomas Coble gent wth 100 men From Chertou Rompe
 to Christchurch Haven mouth like landing wth the like is not dangerous for their shipping
 for the garde thereof is appointed William Westbrooke gent wth 125 men
 From Christchurch Haven to Beant mouth for the most parte good landing wth small
 boat and their shippinge maye safely lye wth in Calshot 1/2 mile of the Coast in great
 number for the garde of this place is appointed William Scudger gent wth 200 men

North

TRINITY COLLEGE
 P 23 NOV 1987
 LIBRARY DUBLIN

97

7208

41

1476 - Hampshire and Dorset [21585] MPF 208
"The Coast from Portland to Southsea, including the Isle of Wight;
with a note showing landing places, guard commanders and
numbers of men. Ms. A little more than 3 miles to an inch.
Churches, fortifications. Cardinal points." Maps and Plans
in the Public Record Office 1. Bristol Isles c 1410 - 1860.
(HMSO, 1967) p. 209.

Map 2

COPYRIGHT PHOTOGRAPH
NOT TO BE REPRODUCED
WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE
PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LONDON.
DOCUMENT: MPF 208

P 23 NOV 1987
LIBRARY DUBLIN

