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

Volume II - Notes and Appendices
INTRODUCTION

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.J. 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
INTRODUCTION


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.


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)


13 Forrester "Forty Martyrs" Venerabile p. 177.

14 Ibid p. 178.

15 Ibid p. 179.


18 Ibid p. 201.

19 Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell Saints and Society (Chicago, 1982) p. 5.

20 p. 191.
 CHAPTER ONE

NOTES


   Thomas Dorman, D.D. a native of Berhamstead, 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.


Martin *A treatyse* f.A.4.; A.5.r.; B.5.r.


Hide *Epistle* (Scalar, 1972) f.E.6.v., E.7.r; Martin *A treatyse* C.2.V.


Martin *A treatyse* f.C.5.r.


Ibid pp. 68, 69.


See Waugh *Epistle* pp. 162, 168, 239 et al.


Ibid p. 49, lines 15, 16.


23 Southern *Recusant Prose* p. 42.


26 Robert Persons *A Briefe Apologie, or Defence of the Catholike Ecclesiastical Hierarchie* (1601) p. 184.


30 Bossy *Character* pp. 41, 43.

31 Lawrence Stone *The Causes of the English Revolution* (1972), pp. 59, 63, 64.


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.


36 A.G. Dickens Reformation and Society in Sixteenth Century Europe, (1966) p. 44.


40 Palliser Age of Elizabeth, table 5.2, p. 141.


45 Stone Crisis of the Aristocracy, p. 184.


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.


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.


57 The Workes of Syr Thomas More, Knyght, Some tyme Lorde Chauncellour of England Wrytten by him in the Englyshe Tonge (printed by John
Cawood, John Waly and John Tottel (1557) - STC 18076, p. 81, "A Treatise uppon 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.


64 Edwards, Elizabethan Jesuits pp. 249, 250.

65 Hide Consolatorie Epistle f.B.2.


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 Churche pi, Recto.

69 The edition of the Bible used here is the "Revised Standard edition" - (Fontana Paperbacks).

Dorman "A Provfe of Certeyne Articles, p. 9 Verso.

Ibid p. 50 Verso, Chapter Heading.

Ibid pp. 53 Verso, 54 Recto.

Ibid p. 54. Recto.

Holmes Resistance & Compromise pp. 18, 28, 29, 153, 154, 43, 44.


Dorman A Provfe of Certeyn Articles p. 67 Verso.

Hide Consolatorie Epistle f.A.II.

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.


J.H. Pollen The English Catholics in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (1920) p. 51, n.


Wernham Before the Armada p. 261.


Wernham Before the Armada, p. 305.

Richard Simpson Edmund Campion (1907) p. 84.

94 C.M. Antony  *Saint Pius V*, (1911), pp. 60, 102.


95 Donald Attwater  *A Dictionary of the Popes from Peter to Pius XII* (1939) p. 253.


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).


103 Antony  *Pius V* pp. 72.


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.


115 Dickens Counter Reformation p. 138.


117 Burleigh "Execution of Justice" pp. 44, 45; 35, 39.


119 Eliet "Important Considerations", pp. 75-77.


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 avouched 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.


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.


136 Waugh Epistle p. 228.


Holmes Resistance & Compromise pp. 56, 57, 64, 83, Hide Consolatorie Epistle, Fii.

eo Hicks, MS Life of Southwell, Farm Street. 46/11.


p. 201, 202.

p. A.5. recto.

See Holmes Resistance & Compromise p. 244, n.6.


Waugh Epistle p. 129, 238, xiii.

C.R.S., Vol V, p. 325.


Allen A True, Sincere and Modest Defence pp. 53, 54; Buckland Seaven Sparkes pp. 138-140, 149.

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.


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.


158 Ibid.

159 Cameron *An Examination*, Chapter Two - Heading - p. 5.


161 Ibid p. 3 "Popish Prejudices against the Reformed Religion examined and confuted.


163 Philip Hughes *Rome and the... Counter Reformation in England* (1942) p. 175.


Peter Holmes Resistance and Compromise pp. 12, 15, 83.

Ibid p. 64.


Ibid pp. 189, 190.

Patrick Collinson "The Elizabethan Church" in Haigh, ed. The Reign of Elizabeth I, p. 189.


Christopher Haigh "The Church of England, the Catholics and the People" in Christopher Haigh, ed. The Reign of Elizabeth I, p. 203.


180 Ibid p. 403.


183 Ibid.

184 pp. 28, 29, Appended to Martin A tratyse of Christian Penegrenation.


186 Ibid.

187 Ibid p. 182.


189 Pritchard Loyalism pp. 8, 9.

190 Ibid p. 146.


192 Kingdom Execution pp. 47, 48.

193 Ibid p. 49.
194 Ibid.

195 Ibid pp. 46, 47.


197 Holmes Resistance & Compromise p. 186.

198 Cecco "Persons" pp. 15, 192.

199 Ibid p. 192.

200 Ibid p. 221.
CHAPTER TWO

NOTES


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


13 Ibid.

14 Ibid. See also "Visitation of Norfolk, 1563" Harleian Society Vol XXXII, (1891) p. 259.


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 Woodraysia 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, Woodrysing Church p. 16.


29 Ibid.


See note 30 above.


Ibid p. 192.


Elton "Cromwell". T.R.H.S., I, pp. 91, 92.

Christopher Saint German. Newe addicions p. 7 Recto.
44 Ibid pp. 8 Verso, 9 Recto.


T. H. Swales "Opposition to the Suppression of the Norfolk Monastries"
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.


64 Swales "Opposition to Suppression" p. 263.


67 Ibid pp. 49, 50.

68 Ibid p. 50.

69 Ibid pp. 51, 72-84.

70 Ibid p. 77n.


Ibid


Ibid.

Ibid p. 192.

Ibid p. 301.

Ibid p. 106.


85 Kytsone, Sir Thomas D.N.B. (1909).

86 Ibid.


94 Richard Grafton Chronicle; or, History of England... From the Year 1189 to 1588, Vol II, (1809), p. 405.

95 Ibid.

96 Ibid.


101 Acts of the Privy Council 1542-1547, J.R. Dasent ed. (1890), (1545) p. 239.

102 Ibid p. 249.


108 Ibid.

109 Ibid.


112 Ibid., p. 511.

113 G.S. Davies Charterhouse in London - Monastery, Mansion, Hospital School, (1921), p. 124.


115 Ibid.


117 Ibid. p. 239.

118 Ibid. p. 240.


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.


126 Hoak King's Council, pp. 55,53.

128 Hoak Kings Council p. 58.


130 A.P.C. Vol II (1547-1550), (1890), p. 408.


133 Ibid. p. 283.


139 Ibid p. 131.

140 Ibid.

141 Ibid p. 132.
142 Ibid pp. 132, 133.

143 Ibid p. 133.

144 Ibid


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.


157 J.G. Nichols (ed) "The Diary of Henry Machyn" *Camden Society* (1847), p. 188.


161 Ibid p.21.

162 Ibid p. 47.


164 Ibid.


173 Ibid p. 90.


175 Ibid p. 156.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Place of P.C. Meeting</th>
<th>Business</th>
<th>Source</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>August 14th &quot;</td>
<td>Tower</td>
<td>A warrant to R.S. to issue arms and armour</td>
<td>Ibid p. 318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Ibid 15th &quot;</td>
<td>Clinck</td>
<td>Day-to-day business to which he has a signatory</td>
<td>Ibid p. 319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Ibid 16th &quot;</td>
<td>Tower</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ibid p. 320</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>Ibid 17th</td>
<td>Star Chamber</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ibid p. 322</td>
</tr>
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<td>7.</td>
<td>&quot; 22nd &quot;</td>
<td>Ibid</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ibid p. 327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>&quot; 26th &quot;</td>
<td>Ibid</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ibid p. 332</td>
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<td>Serial</td>
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<td>15.</td>
<td>November 3rd 1552</td>
<td>Ibid</td>
<td>Day-to-day business to which &quot;Mr. Southwell either to Sir Richard or his brother Sir Robert was a signatory.</td>
<td>Ibid p. 361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>&quot; 15th 1552</td>
<td>Ibid</td>
<td>Ibid - referred to as Mr. Southwell.</td>
<td>Ibid p. 365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>&quot; 22nd &quot;</td>
<td>Star Chamber</td>
<td>Warrant to R.S. to pay Sir Edward Walgrave towards discharge of the deites of the warderobb one thousaunde pounds.</td>
<td>Ibid p. 370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>&quot; 28th &quot;</td>
<td>Westminster</td>
<td>Day-to-day business to which R.S. was Signatory</td>
<td>Ibid p. 374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>February 27th 1553</td>
<td>Ibid</td>
<td>Directions to R.S. and others to see to the distribution of grain in Ireland, Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight.</td>
<td>Ibid p. 394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>February 23rd 1553</td>
<td>Ibid</td>
<td>Day-to-day business to which R.S. was a signatory</td>
<td>Ibid p. 397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Last of February 1553</td>
<td>Ibid</td>
<td>No names of Privy Council House attending this meeting are given</td>
<td>Ibid p. 401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serial</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Place of P.C. Meeting</td>
<td>Business</td>
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<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>March 5th</td>
<td>Ibid</td>
<td>A letter to R.S. as master of Ordinance to deliver to the Master of Ordnance of Ships &quot;two lastes of Serpentyne Poulde, and one laste of grosse courne poulde and xxxbiti dosen of top dartes&quot;</td>
<td>Ibid p. 404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>March 6th 1553</td>
<td>Ibid</td>
<td>A letter to R.S. to order lieutenant of the Tower &quot;to permit and suffer the Lord Cobham to have the libertie of the gardein, and his weif to come unto hym&quot;</td>
<td>Ibid p. 404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28(a)</td>
<td>March 22nd</td>
<td>Saint James</td>
<td>R.S. attended P.C.</td>
<td>p. 411</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>July 28th</td>
<td>Ibid</td>
<td>Warrant from P.C. to R.S. to paye a Richard Lewkenor £4 &quot;in consyderation of his good new[s] broute owt of Fraunce&quot;</td>
<td>Ibid p. 422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>March 27th 1554</td>
<td>St James</td>
<td>R.S. informs the Council that only 14 lastes of powder remain in the Tower Armoury. He is therefore empowered to request Thomas Gresham in...</td>
<td>Vol V, pp. 3,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serial</td>
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<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>March 28th 1554</td>
<td>Ibid</td>
<td>Flanders to provide x of Salt Petre &amp; XX lasts of Serpentine Powder and ½ (100) harquebuses 'from oute of Flanders'. Board of Commissioners including R.S. to be formed to examine Irish accounts and other aspects of Irish Affairs.</td>
<td>Ibid p. 4,5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>May 8th 1554</td>
<td>Star Chamber</td>
<td>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.</td>
<td>Ibid p. 19.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>May 10th 1554</td>
<td>St. James</td>
<td>Order to R.S. to deliver to Lord Clynton, appoynted to lead &quot;men of Warr about London&quot;, xx corseletes c (100) pykes, 1 hale, 1 tent and other material of ordnance.</td>
<td>Ibid p. 20.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serial</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Place of P.C. Meeting</td>
<td>Business</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>May 19th 1554</td>
<td>Ibid</td>
<td>Warrant to R.S. to deliver to Sir Henry Bedingfield &quot;corselettes, XXV almayne ryvettes&quot; to Pykes, XXV billes, XXV gonnes and bowes with their full furnitures&quot;.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>June 30th 1554</td>
<td>Farnham</td>
<td>Letter to R.S. to punish those &quot;that whisteled in the wall&quot;??</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36.</td>
<td>July 30th 1554</td>
<td>Winchester</td>
<td>Letter to R.S. inquiring what monies had been paid to disband the Earl of Darby's men</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>October 27th 1554</td>
<td>Westminster</td>
<td>&quot;Mr. Southwell, Mr. Englefield and Lord Page&quot; to examine those exporting Corn out of Norfolk and Suffolk.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>February 23rd 1554/55</td>
<td>Westminster</td>
<td>Letter to R.S. to deliver Sundry munitions and arms to be employed in the &quot;Northe Partes&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39.</td>
<td>March 27th 1555</td>
<td>Ibid</td>
<td>Letter to R.S. to deliver 50 coates of mail &amp; 50 &quot;hagbuttes&quot; and powder &quot;to be imploied in the King and Queenes Majesties service upon the Seas&quot;</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source:
- Ibid p. 49.
- Ibid p. 54.
- Ibid p. 80, 81.
- Ibid p. 98.
- Ibid p. 108.
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<tr>
<td>40.</td>
<td>September 23rd 1555</td>
<td>Greenwich</td>
<td>A Letter to R.S. informing him of the King's return home from Flanders and &quot;requiring him to make his repair with speade tattend upon his Highnes upon the seas, to bring over his moost roiall personne&quot;.</td>
<td>Ibid p. 184.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42.</td>
<td>November 27th 1555</td>
<td>Ibid</td>
<td>A Letter to the Attorney &amp; Solicitor with a Pardonne for Richard Southwell &quot;which they are willed to consider&quot;</td>
<td>p. 194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43.</td>
<td>June 2nd 1556</td>
<td>St. James</td>
<td>A letter of thanks to R.S. &quot;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 diligence in all other like cases&quot;.</td>
<td>Ibid p. 277, 278</td>
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<tr>
<td>Serial</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Place of P.C. Meeting</td>
<td>Business</td>
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<tr>
<td>44.</td>
<td>June 14th 1556</td>
<td>Ibid</td>
<td>R.S. intercepting &quot;two leases&quot; made by Katherine, Duchess of Suffolk and by him to the Lord Treasurer who summoned the Duchess and other parties concerned.</td>
<td>Ibid p. 283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45.</td>
<td>November 29th 1556</td>
<td>Ibid</td>
<td>&quot;A warrant to the Master of thordynaince&quot; (R.S.) to deliver Vol VI, p. 24. Powder to Calais 'for the furniture of the Queen's majesty service there&quot;.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46.</td>
<td>February 3rd 1556/57</td>
<td>Star Chamber</td>
<td>Letter to R.S. to repair immediately to the Court for &quot;bringing into order of those things that by wanting in his offices of the Thordinaunce and armourye&quot;.</td>
<td>Ibid p. 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47.</td>
<td>August 1st 1557</td>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>Letter to R.S. to 'haste away Mr. Bellingiam, Treasourer of Barwicke, with the treasure&quot; (Money to be sent north).</td>
<td>p. 137.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serial</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Place of P.C. Meeting</td>
<td>Business</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
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<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>50.</td>
<td>August 25th 1557</td>
<td>Westminster</td>
<td>R.S. and &quot;Mr. Secretary Bourne&quot; appointed to examine Lord Latimer touching the death of a woman.</td>
<td>p. 159.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51.</td>
<td>October 28th 1557</td>
<td>St. James</td>
<td>&quot;Letter to R.S. and others to examine one Newport and his man, and one Cowley, &quot;towching certain counterfeite Crownes taken with the saide Newporte&quot;.</td>
<td>Ibid p. 186/7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52.</td>
<td>October 30th 1557</td>
<td>Ibid</td>
<td>Letter to R.S. and others to examine one Newport and his servant, suspected of coining.</td>
<td>Ibid p. 193.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serial</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Place of P.C. Meeting</td>
<td>Business</td>
<td>Source</td>
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<td>--------</td>
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<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55.</td>
<td>January 19th 1557/8</td>
<td>Ibid</td>
<td>To the Maste of thordynance to send to Berwick XXX\textsuperscript{b}i\textsuperscript{t}i gunners for &quot;great pieces&quot;.</td>
<td>p. 245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56.</td>
<td>January 21st</td>
<td>Westminster</td>
<td>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&quot;.</td>
<td>p. 246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57.</td>
<td>February 4th 1557/8</td>
<td>Star Chamber</td>
<td>To R.S. to keep the previous batch of gunners at Berwick &amp; to send more, so that the total sent shall be 30 gunners.</td>
<td>p. 258,259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58.</td>
<td>February 8th</td>
<td>Westminster</td>
<td>R.S. ordered to summon Lieutenant or Clerk of the bande of the Sowldiours of Guysnes&quot; to deliver a list of soldiers' names.</td>
<td>p. 263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59.</td>
<td>March 15th</td>
<td>Greenwich</td>
<td>To R.S. to supply the Duke of Norfolk with xiiij peces of yron ordynance to be bestowed on the sea coasts within the precinct of his Lieutenancy, and to &quot;indente&quot; the said Duke for the &quot;re-delivery&quot; of the same to the Queen's use</td>
<td>p. 284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serial</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Place of P.C. Meeting</td>
<td>Business</td>
<td>Source</td>
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<tr>
<td>60.</td>
<td>March 17th</td>
<td>Ibid</td>
<td>To R.S. to deliver arms and ammunition for the defence of the Isle of Thanett in Kent</td>
<td>p. 286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61.</td>
<td>March 19th</td>
<td>Ibid</td>
<td>To R.S. to deliver to the Earl of Sussex Lord deputy of Ireland, timber to stock guns.</td>
<td>p. 90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62.</td>
<td>March 20th</td>
<td>Ibid</td>
<td>To R.S. to report on stocks of powder and munitions presently at Berwick.</td>
<td>p. 290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63.</td>
<td>March 23rd</td>
<td>Ibid</td>
<td>To R.S. to provide arms and ammunition for 'the furniture' of the Isle of Alderney</td>
<td>p. 291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64.</td>
<td>April 1st 1558</td>
<td>Greenwich</td>
<td>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</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65.</td>
<td>April 28th 1558</td>
<td>Ibid</td>
<td>Warrant to R.S. to deliver arms and ammunition to Mr. Bedingfield, captain of the Guard.</td>
<td>p. 298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66.</td>
<td>August 12th 1558</td>
<td>Ibid</td>
<td>Warrant to R.S. to deliver to the Navy Ordnance Master, William Wynter Powder, weights, shot, hydes, sheepskins, corne powder, canvas for cartridges etc.</td>
<td>p. 306</td>
</tr>
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</tbody>
</table>
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 tester 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 Kfaithes'.

- 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 Suthwell 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.
- 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 wherin 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...


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


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/RG.

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).


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.

Ibid p. 168.

Ibid pp. 179, 192.

Nichols (ed) Narratives... Reformation, p. 45.

Ibid.

Ibid p. 46.


Records, Lincoln Inn (Black Book) p. 293.

Ibid p. 296.


Ibid folios 9-10v.

B.M. Add. MS. 27960 f. 9-10v.

Ibid f. 9v.

f. 10.

Ibid f. 10v.


Ibid p. 181.

Norfolk Record Society, 8656 Shelf mark 21.C.4, Hobart.

Norfolk Record Society, 8462 Shelfmark 21.B.3.

Norfolk Record Society, 17290 Shelfmark 32.F.7.


Norfolk Record Society, 11187 Shelfmark 26.A.1. (References 48-53, transcribed by Mr. T.L.M. Hawes).
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.


Ibid p. 117.

Ibid p. 125.

Ibid.

Ibid p. 129.

Henry Spelman History and Fate of Sacrilege, p. 203.

Norfolk Record Office - Walsingham Documents (Merton) V/16. (Transcribed by Mr. T.L.M. Hawes).

Norfolk Record Office - Norfolk Consistory Court, Will register entitled MOYSE ALS SPICER f. 198.

College of Arms letter to author, dated October 10th 1984.


72 Ibid p. 219.

73 Ibid.


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.


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.


86 Ibid.

87 Ibid p. 351.


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".


92 Francis Edwards The Elizabethan Jesuits, (1981), Book the Fifth, p. 239.


95 A.C. Southern Elizabethan Recusant 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


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.


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).


Smith Dee p. 18.


H.M.C. Salisbury (Cecil) MSS, Part VI, (1895), p. 143 - "Thomas Ferrers to the Queen".

H.M.C. Salisbury (Cecil) MSS, Part X, (1904), pp. 441, 442, "Marquis of Brandenburg".

Ralph Houlbrooke, The English Family, p. 41.

Ibid.

Ibid p. 247.

Foley Records Vol I (Series One) p. 339.

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.

122 Ibid p. 345.


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.


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.


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.


137 Simon  *Education, Tudor England*  p. 11.


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.


145 A.W. Parry  *Education in the Middle Ages*  (1920), p. 176.

146 Ibid p. 175.

148 Power, *Nunneries* pp. 1, 2.

149 Ibid p. 2.

150 Ibid p. 5.

151 Ibid pp. 13, 14.


154 Kennedy "Dissolution" p. 47.


157 Power *Nunneries* pp. 237-239.


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.


163 Ibid p. 57.

Camden *Elizabethan Woman* p. 57.

Warnicke *Women of... Renaissance* p. 92.

Ibid.

Camden *Elizabethan Woman* p. 58.


Ibid p. 203.

Ibid p. 204.

Warnicke *Women of... Renaissance* p. 56.


Ibid p. 123.

Francis Edwards *The Elizabethan Jesuits* p. 239.


Ibid p. 78.

Ibid pp. 107, 108.

Ibid p. 89.

182 Ibid.

183 Ibid.

184 H.E.D. Blakiston *University of Oxford College Histories - Trinity College* (1898), pp. 36, 42, 43.


186 William Berry *Sussex County Geneologies*, (1830), - Copley Genealogies - West Sussex Record office Ref. MF 711.


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.

195 Ibid p. 695.

196 Ibid.

197 F.A. Inderwicke A Calendar of Inner Temples Records; (1896), p. 151.


199 R.C. Christie The Letters of Thomas Copley, (Roxburghe Club, 1887), Appendix, p. 184.


201 A.H. Smith County and Court p. 4.


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.


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.


215 Lawrence Stone Family, Sex, Marriage p. 89.


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.
Richard Southwell, Arnsdorff Will

This the sole of God Jesus Christ 1586 (31 Hen). 1. Richard Southwell the elder of Horsham St. Faith in the county of nor. Require being of good and perfect memory not to praise God ordinarly one xcv on his present Seament. Let the soul of the Father, son and Holy Ghost believing by you through the merits of the death and passion of my Saviour and Christ Jesus to be a medium of all my works and to be a testimonial of all eternal kingdom of heaven

Body to be buried in the church where he died.

* - wife Margaret - an annuity of £6 issuing out of the manor of Horsham St. Faith, (previously out of the 500 sale to Henry Report) payable in equal portions at the annunciation of the E.V.H. 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 as much of the manors of horsham and Bromeater in the county of norfolk and of messuages, lands, tenements and hereditaments to the value of £50 a year.

Poor of horsham St. Faith to be distributed at my burial day at the discretion of executer, the whole sum to have (been?) distributed within three years of the burial.

Exeuntix - wife Margaret
Signed Richard Southwell
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 Norff. 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, Hugo 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.
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 iiiijd.
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 tenament 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.]
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).

Charterhouse, valor of possessions in the city of London, parishes of St. Michael Cornhill 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).
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 spoone. 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,

Proved at Norwich Penultimate day of February 1580 [1581].

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


"Being in good and hole mynde... my soule to Almightie god trustinge to have the benefightes of his glorious presence amongst the saints in heaven... To the highe alter in Ellingham 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 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 1/2 acre & 2 1/2 acre close & 1 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 Stylle a tenement in E. and a 2 1/2 acre close subject to paying 20/- to my godson James Stile at age 18, and to Edmund Stille and Margaret his wife 26/8 towards bringing up their children, and 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 standyngge 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 Edmund 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 anie manner of joyned worke. "To Allys West one bullock, my wiefs black worsted kyrterll & 10/- & her dwellinge in hir chamber while a widow. To my servant John Salter "my tawyne 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 Agnest his sisters "to evey of them xiid". To Elizabeth West and Agnest 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 baision 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. "tower 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.


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)
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.


6. Ibid.


8. Ibid p. 636.

10 Sherlock "Discoveries" N.A. p. 222, n.3.


12 Dugdale Monasticon Anglicanum, III (1821) p. 635.

13 Ibid.


15 Sherlock Discoveries N.A. p. 203; Midmer "Monastries" p. 170.


17 Norfolk Record Society, 8656, 21C4, Hobart.


19 Devlin Southwell p. 6.

20 Ward Miracles pp. 38, 39, 41, 42.


22 Ibid p. 59.

23 Ibid p. 208.

24 Ibid p. 211.


26 Ibid p. 236, and Dugdale Monasticon Anglicanum III, p. 635.

28 📖 Sherlock "Discoveries" N.A. p. 204.


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.


40 Ibid.


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.


48 Ibid p. 41.

49 Janelle Southwell p. 6, n. 10.

50 Edwards Elizabethan Jesuits p. 228.

51 Ibid pp. 228, 229.


53 Weinstein & Bell Saints & Society p. 27.


56 Ibid, pp. 18, 19.

57 Ibid pp. 29, 30.


60 J. Gathorne Hardy *The Rise and Fall of the British Nanny*, (1972), p. 36.


62 Houlbrooke *English Family* p. 132.

63 Ibid, pp. 133, 134.

64 Cited in Devlin *Southwell* pp. 21, 22.


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".


71 Palliser, *Age of Elizabeth* Fig. 8: "Farming Regions in England, 1500-1640" p. 163.


73 Smith *County and Court* pp. 148, 108.


Ibid, p. 12 - "Verses Set Forthe in the Faver of the Duke of Norfolk His Causes".


Ibid p. 72.

Ibid p. 44 n.113.


Smith "Elizabeth Gentry" p. 165.


Smith "Elizabeth Gentry" pp. 166-169.

Ibid p. 168.

Ibid p. 169.


Ibid p. 72.
Ibid p. 19.
Ibid p. 20.
Houlbrooke Letter Book, Parkhurst p. 75.
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.
Ibid p. 33.
Ibid p. 48.
Ibid p. 132.
Houlbrooke Letter Book... Parkhurst, pp. 84, 87.
Stone Family, Sex, Marriage pp. 6, 7.
Garnet Schism pp. 35, 36, 39, 40.
Ibid p. 78.

105 Ibid, pp. 244, 246.


107 *Statutes of the Realm* (Printed by Command of... King George the Third) Vol IV (1547-1624), (1819), pp. 531, 532.


109 Christie Letters; *Thomas Copley* p. xxvi.


115 Christie Letters... Thomas Copley p. xxvi.


117 Ibid p. 7.

118 Historical MSS. Commission - Salisbury (Cecil) MSS Vol I, (1883) p. 467, item 1485.

120 Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica, Vol VIII (1843) p. 255.


123 Christie Letters... Thomas Copley, p. 169.

124 Collectania 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.


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, Eleticslesley, 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 preceding 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)
CHAPTER FIVE

NOTES


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".


4 Sobey "Roffey's Link..." Sussex Life, (March 1972.)


6 Manning and Bray History and Antiquities of ... Surrey, Vol II, (1809), p. 227.

7 Devlin, Southwell, p. 11.


12 Ibid.


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. Gowern, A. Mawer and F.M. Stenton The Place Names of Surrey, (Cambridge, 1934) - "Gatton".


84

21 Ibid p. 3.


25 Brent "Maritime Economy" p. 3.


27 Brent "Maritime Economy" p. 3.


31 Ibid.

32 Ibid p. 43.

34 Ibid.


36 Ibid p. xiv.


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.


42 Kennedy Episc. Admin (Vol I), cxx.


46 Ibid p. xlii.

48 Ibid p. xliv.

49 Ibid.

50 Ibid p. cxxvii.


52 Manning Religion, Society, Sussex p. 131.

53 Ibid.

54 Ibid.

55 Ibid pp. 155, 156.


58 Ibid p. 259.

59 See Devlin Southwell p. 11.

60 Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica, VIII, p. 258.


63 Ibid.

64 Ibid pp. 180, 181.


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.


75 Ibid p. 266.

76 Ibid.


Ibid p. 158.


Leo Hicks "MS Life of Southwell" - Farm Street (46/22/2) f. 2.

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".

Hicks MS Life, Southwell, f.2.

Christie Letters, Thomas Copley p. xvi, and n.3.


91 Ibid p. 236.


95 Ibid p. 152.


97 Devlin Southwell p.13.

98 Ibid.


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 Wriothesley, Henry D. N. B., 1909.


109 Ibid.

110 Ralph Dutton English Court Life from Henry VII to George II, (1963), pp. 76, 77.


112 Houlbrooke "Letter Book, Parkhurst" pp. 146, 147.


118 Ibid.

119 Ibid p. 104.

120 J.S. Cockburn (ed) Calendar of Assize Records – Surrey Indictments (HMSO, 1980), pp. 4, 32, 54, 63, 72, 78 respectively.


122 Southern Recusant House Ch. IV "Of the worthy virtues of the Viscount Montague, husband of the Lady Magdalen" p. 17.


124 Ibid, Ch. VI "Of the excellent humility of the Lady Magdalen, p. 25.


128 Ibid p. 159.


132 Ibid.

133 Ibid p. 55.

134 Ibid p. 56.

135 Ibid.


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.


142 Devlin, Southwell, p. 15.

144 Ibid.


146 Ibid pp. 7, 8.

147 J. Charles Cox Hampshire, (1916), Frontispiece.


153 Ibid.


155 Ibid p. 192.


161 J.G. Nichols (ed) "Inventories of the Wardrobes, Plates, Chapel Stuff etc... of Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond" Camden Society, (1855), XCVI.


169 Fritze "Role of Family and Religion" Historical Journal, 25, p. 268.

170 Paul Hampshire Recusants Ph.D. Diss. pp. 157, 158.

171 Ibid.


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.


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 foressed 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.

184 Genninges Briefe Relation p. 105.

185 Ibid.


189 Gregory Martin "To my Lovinge and Best Beloved Sisters" pp. 21, 22 appended to Martin's A treatyse of Christian Peregrination (1583).


193 Ibid p. 49.


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.


204 Ibid p. 186.

205 Ibid p. 279.

206 Ibid.


210 Weinstein and Bell *Saints and Society*, p. 56.

211 Ibid p. 67.

212 Ibid p. 71.
CHAPTER SIX

NOTES


5. Pierson Philip II p. 96.


11. Ibid p. 78.

13 Ibid p. 18.


15 Ibid p. 52.

16 Geyl *Revolt* p. 44.


21 Muray *Antwerp* p. 29.

22 Wilson Elizabeth and the Revolt p. x.


24 Cadoux *Philip of Spain* p. 159.

25 Ibid p. 236 "Chronological table - 1576".


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.


35 Geyl *Revolt*, p. 19, and Guicciardini *Descriptions*, p. 78.

36 Guicciardini *Descriptions* p. 79.

37 Ibid p. 96.


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.


46 Ibid pp. 70, 79, 80, 100.


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.


57 Murray Antwerp, p. 29.
58 Duplessis "Douai", p. 705.

59 Ibid p. 517.

60 Ibid p. 341.

61 Ibid p. 706 citing Maximilian De Longueval, Seignor De Vaux, letter to Don John, November 14th 1577. Correspondence De Granville, VI, 541-582.


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 XVIe Siecle" Memoirs... De Douai... Actes du Colloque, p. 89.

67 Ibid.


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" - Diarium Secundum" p. 105.

75 Ibid p. 106.


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. x1.

85 Ibid pp. x1, 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.


93 Knox Douay Diaries, p. xxxviii.

94 Ibid, p. xxxvi.

95 Devlin Southwell, pp. 24, 25.


97 R.C. Christie Letters of Thomas Copley, (1897), pp. 189, 190.

98 Bald Humble Supplication, pp. 5 & 6 and Haile Allen p. 1.


102 Knox Douay Diaries, p. lxxviii.

104 Knox Allen... Letters, p. xxiii.

105 Knox Douay Diaries, p. lxxix.

106 Ibid.


109 Knox Douay Diaries, p. lxxx.

110 Ibid p. lxxvii.


112 C.R.S. Vol XXXIII, "Father Augustine Baker" p. 60.

113 Swan "Introduction of the Elizabethan Settlement", p. 139.


115 Knox Letters... Allen p. xx.


117 Ibid.

118 Ibid p. 176.

120 Swan "Elizabeth Settlement" Diss. Ph.D. p. 144.

121 Ibid p. 145.


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


130 Knox Douay Diaries, p. xxix.

131 Ibid p. lxxii.


133 Ibid p. xlix.

134 Ibid p. li, n.2.


Haile Allen, p. 166.

Ibid p. 164, 165, 166.

Knox Douay Diaries, p. li.

McDonald and Brown Poems p. 76, line 11, 12.
CHAPTER SEVEN

NOTES


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.

11 Jackson *Last of the Valois* p. 93.


13 Ibid.

14 Ibid p. viii.


16 Ibid.

17 Ibid p. 55.


19 Ibid p. 16.


21 Ibid p. 343.

22 Ibid.

23 Knox *Douay Diaries* p. 113.


27 Devlin *Southwell*, p. 9.

28 Foley *Records*, III, Series VIII, pp. 725, 726.

29 Ibid.


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.


36 Ibid.


40 Ibid.
De Buck *Spiritual Exercises*, p. 93.

Ibid p. 93, 94.


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.

Devlin *Southwell* p. 27.

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.


Ibid pp. 64, 65, 67, 68, 69, 73.

Dupont-Ferrier *Clermont*, pp. 103, 113, 114.


54 Bald *Humble Supplication* p. 11.

55 Brown *Two Letters* "Of my Duty towards my Superiors", p. 34.


57 Brown *Two Letters* "Of the Care of my Children", p. 51.


60 MacDonald & Brown, *Poems* p. 14, lines 11, 12; P. 26; lines 11, 12; p. 18, 1.

61 Knox *Douay Diaries*, (June, 1577) p. 124.


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.
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.

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.


Ibid pp. 1, 2, citing Bartoli Vita de S. Ignazio, and C.C. Martindale God's Army.


Strype Ecclesiastical Memorials Vol III, (1832, ed.) pp. 1, 8, 14.

D.N.B.


Farm Street Transcripts, Pollen Transcripts 46/13/1 f. 25, Lansdowne MSS, Vol 38, No. 41.
Ibid - transcript of "Lansdowne MSS, Vol 45, no. 5.


C.R.S., 39, p. 4.


Leo Hicks "MS Life of Southwell" insertion between folios 11, 12.


Ibid pp. 136, 137.

Devlin *Southwell*, p. 33.

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


2 Hicks "Letters and Memorials" C.R.S. Vol 39, p. 2.


5-9 Ibid pp. 89-114.

10 Leo Hicks MS Life of Southwell, Farm Street, f. 11.


13 Ibid p. 93.

14 Ibid p. 163.

15 Ibid p. 164.

16 Ibid p. 133.
17 Ibid.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.

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.


Janelle Southwell pp. 110, 144, 145, 173.

Ibid pp. 174-175.

Ibid p. 284 citing De Backer - Sommer vogel Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jesus tome VI, Col. 294-298.

Leo Hicks, MS Life of Southwell, f. 15.

De Buck Spiritual Exercises and Devotions, (1930) "Renewal of Resolution", p. 40.

Ibid "Reflections on St. Luke's Day after taking my vows".

Hicks, MS Life of Southwell, f. 16. What Hicks means by "resided" is probably, "attended".

59 Ibid pp. 207-209.


62 Ibid pp. 185, 186.


64 Devlin Southwell p. 47.


66 Ibid pp. 228, 229.


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.
Ibid pp. 231, 232.

Ibid pp. 195, No. 2 and 17; p. 198 No. 24; p. 199 no. 2.


Sells *Italian Influence* pp. 316, 317.

Janelle Southwell pp. 119, 121, 123.

Ibid p. 127.

Ibid pp. 117, 118.

Ibid p. 141.

C.R.S. Vol. 39, pp. 95 n. 3, 114.

Ibid p. 114.

Ibid pp. 114 and 105 notes 29, 30.

Ibid pp. 117; 117n.6,7; 118; 114; 104 n. 25; 105 n.27.


Ibid p. 29, 30.


Brodrick *Bellarmine* p. 56.


107 Van Laak "Martyres" p. 354.


109 Ibid p. 368.

110 Brodrick Bellarmine p. 56.

111 Male L'Art Religieux p. 129.

112 Ibid p. 132.

113 C.R.S. IV (Miscellanea) (1907) p. 113.

114 Ibid.


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.

123 Ibid pp. 303, 305.

124 Buckland Seaven Sparkes pp. 30, 41, 43.

125 Ibid pp. 44, 45.


127 Bald Humble Supplication p. 29.


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.


134 Waugh Epistle of Comfort p. 239.


136 Ibid (See f. F4r, v; F5r, v; G1, r.v; G5r,v for further details.


138 Ibid pp. 72, 73.
139 Ibid p. 73.


143 Foley Records, I, p. 313.

144 Williams English College, p. 6; C.R.S., Vol 39, pp. 10, 11.


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 Forraigne Parts, (London 1626), pp. 21, 22.

150 Ibid p. 21.

151 Williams English College, p. 13.


Ibid "Rules of Intercourse with others" pp. 83, 84.


Hughes Loyola and... the Jesuits, pp. 103, 104 citing Possevino Bibliotheca Selecta, Lib, I, ch. 40.

Munday Romayne Life pp. 30-34.

Ibid p. 38.

It is not clear what Munday means by "back to school". - To the Roman College? For only an hour? - that does not seem likely.

The glass of wine and bread-manchet - taken twice daily may be intended to convey a symbolic association with Christ's Last Supper.

Munday Romayne Life p. 39.

Ibid p. 40.
166 Williams English College, p. 12.

167 Munday Romayne Life, p. 35.

168 Humphrey Ely Certain 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".


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.

Andrea was born on 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.


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.

185 Ibid p. 363.
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. 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 Complayntete this is expounded as

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Love mistris is of many mindes} \\
\text{Yet few know whome they serve}\end{align*}
\]

Ignatius, in the 'Exercises' teaches that "Love should be expressed in doing rather than protesting". 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." 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'. 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." 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." 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".

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. Loyola endeavours "to work on the five senses or upon the mind's power of repeating their impressions". 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". 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". 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". 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".

The religious luminosity of Southwell's poetry echoes the Ignation dictum pervading the 'Exercises' that man in himself is nothing. He shines only as he reflects God's light. 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". "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.
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 sulphor 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). 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 Prelin., 1st heading). 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".

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); 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; McDonald & 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.
APPENDIX I - NOTES


4. Ibid p. 79


6. Ibid.

7. Ibid p. 422.

8. Ibid p. 430.

9. Roberts "Influence" p. 452.


14 Roberts 'Influence' p. 454.


16 Ibid p. 111.


18 Corbishley *Exercises* pp. 35, 36.

19 Ibid p. 47.


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.


28 Ibid.

29 Ibid.
**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]

<table>
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<tr>
<th>V.E.C. Archives Reference</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. 1379 18.5 x 12</td>
<td>&quot;Heures A Lusiage De Rome Tout Au Long Sans Rien Requerit&quot; (printed in Paris 1516, Vellum, hand-illuminated).</td>
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<td>2. 1385 20 x 15</td>
<td>Indulgentiae Sunt (Henry VIII book against Luther; with the Pope's reply.) First printed edition, Rome 1521.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. 1388 28 x 21</td>
<td>De Soismate Anglicana By Nicholas Sanders (c 1565 MS).</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. 1389 19 x 14</td>
<td>Passio xvij Carthusianorum in regne Angliae (c. 1550, MS).</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. 1392 21 x 16</td>
<td>The True and Wonderfull Story of the Lamentable Fall of Anthony Tyrrell, Preest, From the Catholike Faith Written By His own Hand. (c. 1590, Vellum MS, bound).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. 1393 21 x 14</td>
<td>(Another copy of the above in Robert Person's handwriting. The MS is marked &quot;Rob. Person&quot; on the outside.</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. 1399 30 x 21</td>
<td>Historia Anglicana Ecclesiastica by Nicholas Harpsfield (MS, c. 1600, in two handwritings).</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. 1405 27 x 20</td>
<td>Poems of John Lydgate (Mid 15th c. MS, rebound).</td>
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<td>15.</td>
<td>1534</td>
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<td>17.</td>
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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?2? "Letter from Persons to Claude Aquaviva from 'Rotomagus', 12th November 1584" (Holograph, outsize. 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."


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).
Robert Persons: A Treatise Tending to Mitigation (1607) (fragments).

Robert Persons: A Sober Reckoning with Morton (1609) fragments.

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).

Clement VII Bull Pastoralis Officii (1597). (Ruling that English students should not take doctorates while still too young. Printed).

Catalogus Martyrum Anglorum Sub Henrico 8 et Elizabetha (1603) by Persons. (Incomplete).

"The Notes of Robert Persons upon Stowe's chronicle on Henry VIII and Edward VI".

"Names of Priests sent from Rome and Rheims to England Temp. Gregory XIII".

"Italian Testimony to Christina, Mother of Robert Persons" (Olim Martyrs, V)

Martyrs, Christopher Grene MSS Part I (Olim Martyrs VI).

Martyrs, Christopher Grene MSS Part II (50 Martyrs) (Olim Martyrs VII).

Martyrs, Christopher Grene MSS - Part III (59 Martyrs) (Olim Martyrs VIII).

Martyrs, Christopher Grene MSS - Part IV (62 Martyrs) (Olim Martyrs IX).

"Testimony etc" of Richard Leigh, (in Latin) (Olim Martyrs X).

Christopher Grene MSS - Part V (7 Martyrs) (Olim Martyrs XI).

I mio potere è nel processo giurato del Collegio Inglese, e il fu
prima ministrato per il n° 2 Ambroso Sanctul, Dario e il
ferita di a del cvnt dei Santi non di maggiori per de incen-
trate ne il n° 2 nello, de sorte depurato, in luglio 2624,
e il n° 2 Ambroso de furo certamente in marzo 1623 attuato
particolare negli al raggio del Collegio Inglese, in luglio 2624, e
esz, da questi giudici, e ad una identità di consenso, è usato
ad attrito, per il n° 2 in 2652, 2152, e qui verso fatto
costa per il Collegio fu portata per me. in 2652, 13 venere
forse delle sue di questa fine, ma ne la mia risposta per il non
dieta da ott. 2631, fino a ott. 2622, N. in avertiz, lo
procura di cui abbia, e qui fato confes. de Veneti in 2622,
rio dep, e in 17 neli, 22 furo, al me 1622, 22 mero
e nato, il in form la causa da qui, a 2622, 2622, e
ne rimane trovato bene nello guard 1622, e incerto anche,
2622, 2622, e che ne da ne relazione a 2622, 2622,
2622, 2622, porto a 2622, il suo, solamente non al 2622, 2622,
po in alla Pratica in 2622, de una in 2622, 2622
mai non, bodo 2622, 2622, e una in col non 2622, 2622
attento Nerei del legato, in 2622, 2622, 2622, 2622,
orrienti 2622, 2622, in 2622, 2622, 2622, 2622,
2622, 2622, 2622, 2622, 2622, 2622, 2622, 2622,
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in Cheligi, e nei tetti, e parve che si fosse accesa una fiamma. Ma vedendo il Principe, ecco che lo cercava, e quando lo vide, lo portò a se, e disse: "O Principe, io sono il servo di Dio, e ti do la tua libertà."

Angelo Giardino, a firenze, il 1° giugno 1566.
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 gli' heredi di domina Germana de Glianos sua olim moglie per la ricuperazione di ducati mille, che dovea conseguire, in luglio 1622, et havendo domino Ruberto, con suo testamento in marzo 1623 lasciato quest'azione, e ragione al Collegio Inglese, in Agosto 1624 il Collegio / prosegui detto giudizio, et a sua istanza fu compilato, e citato / ad dicendum, per la spedizione 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 Provincia, ma non mi ricordo, perchè non fu spedita / dita da ottobre 1625, sin'a settembre 1627, ch'io esercitai l'istessa / procura, che poi lasciavi, e fui fatto Confessor de' scolari nel Collegio / gion Napoletano, e sono 17 mesi, che tornai al medesimo carico. Vedrò / li notamenti, et informazioni cavate da' processi di Creditori di detta domina Germana / che mi vò ricordando haverli faticati, e credo, che inanierat actio / per mancamento d'effetti; e col seguente 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 Peroni bona memoria fece al detto Padre Filippo, 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 processì, 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 favore- voli 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- / genome, 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 spedizioni / furon date a' detti Reverenti, 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 rice- vuto adesso, che sto / scrivendo, e non ho tenuto tosto di far diligenza nelle / scritture per il partic- colare del legato di domino Ruberto. / Di Vostra Reverenza. / Indegno servo in Cristo / Angelo Oliveto./

Transcribed by Dr. Alessandra Langellotti
School of Palaeographic and Diplomatic Studies, Rome.
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. garnetii" (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.


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 recurrant 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).
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.

Archives Jesuitiques Flandro_Belges, n. 1529, cited by Leo Hicks MS Life of Southwell f 21-NRG.

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).

Caraman Garnet p. 23. I am indebted to Fr. Caraman's book for these details.

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.

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":

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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).

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.
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.

Garnet's letter of July 30th, Caraman Garnet, p. 28.

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).

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).


34 Ibid p. 69.


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.


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.


44 Caraman Weston p. 72.
Devlin, Southwell p. 116 and Caraman Garnet p. 36.

Devlin Southwell p. 116. This Lord Vaux was William Vaux, third Baron Vaux (15427-1595) 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 asylum 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).

C.R.S. V, p. 308.

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).

C.R.S. V, p. 309.

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.

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.


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.


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.


Gregory Zilboorg, M.D. "The Restles Surrender to Demonology", in *A History of Medical Psychology* (Date not given) cited in Ebon *Exorcism* p. 16.


Devlin *Southwell* p. 119.


Hamilton *Chronicle... Cannonesses* Vol I, pp. 90, 91.

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.

Garnet to Aquaviva, March 17th 1593, Stonyhurst MSS, *Anglia* f. 73.

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 Biographical 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 devil 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 sick". She was urged to drink it, and told that "the devil 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).

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, 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).


90 Hodgetts Priest-holes p. 288.
Ibid. This bundle of papers and books is now Brit. Mus. Add. MSS 39828-38.

Ibid pp. 290, 291.


Hamilton Chronicles, Vol II p. 166.

Anstruther Vaux of Harrowden p. 171.

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.

C.R.S. Vol V, p. 313.


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.

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.

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.


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).


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


110 Ibid, pp. 249, 250.


112 Ibid p. 5.

113 Ibid pp. 68, 125, 126, 138.


115 Newdigate New Chapter, p. 250.


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.


127 Caraman Garnet, pp. 42, 43.

128 Ibid. p. 43.

129 C.R.S. Vol V, p. 320.


131 Ibid p. 299.


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.


140 Ibid pp. 409, 410.


145 Loomie "The Armadas and...Catholics of England" p. 390 – citing the Wellcome MSS Vol VI, (Maritime Museum, Greenwich) "Discorso Sobra La Jornada de Inglaterre".

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.


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.


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.


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.


162 Lives, Philip Howard and Anne Dacres p. 158, See also F.W. Steer "Life of St. Philip Howard".


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.
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.

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.


Caraman Garnet p. 129; and Hodgett "Priest-Holes... Baddesley Clinton", Recusant History, 12, pp. 176, 178.

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.

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 Cunslay, 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.


173 Joan Wake The Brudenelles of Deane (1953), p. 71, and "Pedigree".


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.


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.


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.


188 Caraman John Gerard p. 42.

189 Michael Hodgett's "Elizabeth Priest Holes III"... Baddesley

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 4to (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. Landsdowne 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 Dictionary Vol V, p. 344.


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.


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 [counsel] 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


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.


Ibid.

B.M. Lansdowne MS. Vol 73, No. 47, Pollen's Farm Street Transcripts (46/13/1), 26.


Garnett's letter of July 26th to Verstegan. Stonyhurst Transcripts at Farm Street, (Coll B. 49, 305).

Ibid. Another version of this scene is provided by Verstegan. "...the Gentilwoman of the house... aanswered that she knew no such place. Then, quothe 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.

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 Anaesthiology at University Hospital, Utrecht.


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.


223 Ibid pp. 49, 54, 80.

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").

Richard Southwell's petition to the Queen on behalf of his son was first mentioned by Diego Yepez 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.

Simpson Rambler, VII, p. 118; Devlin Southwell p. 289.


236 B.M. Lansdowne MSS. Vol 65, No. 4 - Farm Street Transcripts J.H. Pollen 46/13/1 f. 95, 96.


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.


244 Brown Two Letters and Short Rules pp.xii, xiii.


246 Ibid pp. 78, xiii.
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.

Ibid f. 2, 3.


Persons A Conference p. 5.

Ibid pp. 212, 219, 130, 132, 142, 162.


Calendar State Papers Domestic 1591-1594 (ed Mary Ann Everett, 1867) April 14th 1594, p. 484.

Ibid - (July 1594), p. 533.

Ibid pp. 533, 534.

C.R.S., Vol 52, pp. 219, 220n.

Devlin Southwell p. 303 citing a letter of Garnet to Aquaviva of Feb. 22nd 1595.

Garnet's letter of Feb. 22nd to Aquaviva, cited by Devlin Southwell p. 303, and John Decker's "Narratio Martyri, f. 3.

Garnet-to-Aquaviva Feb. 22nd; Devlin Southwell p. 303.
The order Bernard chose to belong to, that of Citeaux, was the most rigorously available and aimed at self-annihilation, mortification of senses, detachment of soul from the flesh's bondage and its restoration to a "purity created" and, significantly "its original relation to its first parents and the invisible world." The order of Citeaux taught that this spiritual life was but a source of suffering necessary for the destruction of our perverted nature and Bernard submitted to its painful and rigorous disciplines. Southwell would have noted Bernard's quest for virtue. "His virtues daily developed (filius) so magnificently as to astonish the wise Saint who governed the one Abbey... Bernard could no longer suffer any impositions and the slightest fault was agony in the young novice." This singular quest for spiritual and moral perfection was not only natural but almost identical to that which prompted Southwell to pursue his "Spiritual Exercitation and Directions." Southwell, languishing in the Tower, would also have found parallels similar to his own
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. 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 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. 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.

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". 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." 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). 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". 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."

Throughout the references to St. Bernard in Exempla writings there is a uniform emphasis on Bernard's effectiveness in converting sinners through preaching. 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". 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. 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." 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'être. 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 fulness 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
CHAPTER NINE - APPENDIX I

NOTES


2. Ibid pp. 19, 23.

3. Ibid p. 42.

4. Ibid p. 52.

5. Ibid pp. 55, 56.

6. Ibid p. 129.


11. Ibid.


14 Ibid p. 294 citing Tubach *Index Exemplorum* (pp. 609, 612).


17 Ibid p. 3.


19 Ibid.


21 Leclercq "Images of St Bernard" *Thought* p. 301.


23 Ibid.
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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.

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II - Articles, Pamphlets, Newsletters and Booklets


Colin E. Brent "Rural Economy of Eastern Sussex 1500-1700" (East Sussex Record Office Local History Research Unit, No. 10, 1978).

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

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Bob Smalhout "What Killed Christ on the Cross?" Sunday Times, April 7th 1985).


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III - Unpublished Dissertations


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)
   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, Kenneth Morgan, Richard Shannon. (Room 0.23).
                  b) Publishers Panel (Room 0.23).
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 debae 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.I 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. M.S.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 cause in societatim ... in Archivis
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 1 is subdivided into five sections:

2. Punti (?) della Missioned. Inghiltr. per l'anno 1581.
3. Miscellanea.
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 Variae Latinae" (f. 248) "De editione voluminum" (f. 288); "Oratio Reginae Angliae ad Parlementum" (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 ye fathers of y Soc. of Jesus into England by way of mission in ye year of 1580 with the principal matters that have happened since yt times about ye said Engl. Mission and maintenance of the Catholik Religion in ye realme. There is a brief recitall also of what part in Engl. about matters of religion before ye said
mission of religion before e said mission of ye Jesuits thither
touching their union and conviction in other countries with ye
principal of ye 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
himselffor 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.
CHURCH

Chelmsford. August 29th, 1865.

This is to acquaint the Church Office, I. A. P. T. 12th, 1865 - 1866.

In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.

May our love, hope and faith grow, and our works be acceptable to God and our Lord.

H. H. H. March 16, 1866.

[Signature]

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