THE NEWSLETTERS

1. [John Southcot] to [Richard Smith], 13 December 1631

[*AAW, A XXIV, no. 213, pp. 769–770*]

Most hon[ored] m*aste*r,

I have yours of the 1 and 8 of December w*hi*ch came both togeather and in the former there were divers enclosed for others w*hi*ch made it come open to my hands, the party that receaved it at the French house being desirous to give M^ris^ Salisbury[1] hers before her departure from thence. Wherfor, if it please you, lett y*ou*r letters to me come alwayes single and sealed by them selves. I ame sory to see what M^r^ Fitton[2] writes of the Fr[ench] ambassadors[3] absence from court and discontent, w*hi*ch wilbe a great hinderance to his negotiation for the present. As for Ingolos[4] opinion of y*ou*r going to R[ome] I know not on the suddaine what to say to it, but I could easily be induced to think that some of the court have sett him on to propose it by way of freindship out of a feare perhaps <and jealousy> they have of y*ou*r remaining in France and joyning with the French b*ishop*s. Neither do I think that your presence in R[ome] would hasten but rather protract matters longer beside the charges of y*ou*r maintenance there, w*hi*ch, if it be as M^r^ Fitton writes, I know not how we shalbe able to procure it from hence. Neither is it liked by some of our brethren here that M^r^ Fitt[on] should be silent concerning the breve[5] being procured uppon so false information. For although he seek not to destroy the regulars exemption from approbation, ~~yet there are~~ wherin perhaps

[1] For a possible identification of Mrs Salisbury, see J.H. Pollen (ed.), *Unpublished Documents* (CRS, 5, 1908), p. 393.

[2] Peter Biddulph. See Allison, RSGB, I, pp. 360–361. Biddulph had gone to Rome in July 1631 as Richard Smith's representative and agent for the secular clergy. He remained there until March 1638.

[3] Jean de Gallard, baron de la Rochebeaucourt et de Brassach, French ambassador at Rome.

[4] Francis Ingoli, secretary of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (De Propaganda Fide), and a friend of the English secular clergy leadership. See Hughes, *RCR*, pp. 341, 342, 363–365, 385, 387, 389, 397, 400, 402–406; Hughes, *HSJ*, p. 183.

[5] The papal breve *Britannia*, issued by Pope Urban VIII on 29 April/9 May 1631.

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it will not be needful to stirr more, yet there are divers other points touched in the supplication,[6] w*hi*ch are not to be wholy smothered up in silence, and especially that of the appellants condemnation as tracti a Diabolo,[7] about w*hi*ch M[r] Charnock, as I heare, hath written something briefly in the appellants defence.[8] But it is well liked that M[r] Fitton should inculcat those other points for the declaration of my l*or*ds[9] authority over the laity, and for the 3 parochialls,[10] and shewing of letters patents and faculties. And we intend to moove the Italian Capucin[11] that is now here concerning those points, and to desire him to write to Rome about them, w*hi*ch M[r] Laborne, who hath talked with him, thinkes he may be soon persuaded to doe, finding him very freindly to us, and [*p. 770*] opposit to our chief adversaries.

Concerning the mony w*hi*ch Fa[ther] Leander[12] saieth that that M[r] Skelton[13] had, I have requested M[r] Laborne <to write> to M[r] Skelton about it. What S*ir* Fr[ancis] Inghilf[ield][14] gave was left to M[r] Shelleis[15] disposing, wherof I suppose he hath given you an account.

[6] The 'Humillima Supplicatio Cleri Saecularis' of 6/16 July 1631 (AAW, A XXIV, nos 127, 128), which asked Urban VIII to delay publication of the breve *Britannia* in which the pope announced his decision over Smith's dispute with his opponents in England.

[7] See AAW, A XXIV, no. 127, p. 503.

[8] On 19/29 March 1632 Richard Smith reported to Biddulph that Robert Charnock, who, with William Bishop, had led the secular clergy's first appeal against the archpriest George Blackwell in 1598, 'hath written the storie of his and <my> p*redecess*ors [i.e. William Bishop's] going to R[ome] and their emprisonment there by F[ather] Persons'. Smith planned to dispatch it as soon as he could and would 'call upon the*m* in England to send you other books of the appellants'. Smith had in his possession 'an excellent booke of that matter written by M[r] Colleton', i.e. John Colleton's *Iust Defence of the Slandered Priestes* (London, 1602), 'but it is in English'; AAW, B 27, no. 107. In the end Smith sent two appellant books 'which cost me here very dear'; AAW, B 27, no. 116. See also AAW, B 27, no. 128.

[9] Richard Smith.

[10] See *Letters 13*, *15*, *29*.

[11] Alessandro d'Ales, alias Francesco della Rota, for whom see Albion, *CI*, pp. 111–115. This Capuchin correspondent of Cardinal Francesco Barberini was prone to recite the alleged ills and moral laxity within the English Catholic community largely as they would have been phrased by Richard Smith and his friends. The Capuchin, however, advised the appointment in England of an Italian rather than an Englishman as a bishop, as a way to keep the peace among English Catholics. A similar recommendation was made by the queen's almoner, Jacques le Noël Du Perron. See also Hibbard, *CI*, p. 43.

[12] John (Leander) Jones OSB.

[13] Simon Skelton. See Anstr., II, p. 296.

[14] Sir Francis Englefield had died on 26 October 1631. See Berry, *Sussex*, p. 354.

[15] William Shelley. See Anstr., II, p. 293.

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I cannot gett the Vindiciae[16] nor the Queremonia.[17] Simbolum Jesuitarum[18] I send hereinclosed, and I have Examen Juridicum[19] to send by the first good opportunity. The Apologie of Fludd[20] in Latin may be had in Paules church yard.

If your health serve you this winter, I think it would be to much purpose if you pleased to write some short treatises in English concerning mattrimony and baptisme as I remember you once intended to do. I wish also that you would finish your treatise De Optimo Confessario, and De Aequivocatione, while you have the help of bookes there. And were it not to seem to overpresse to[o] much, I and others do desire that somwhat were written by your penn by way of exhortation or admonition to the Cath[olics] of England with inculcation of Gods judgments uppon such as have resisted ep*iscop*all authority by examples taken out of Church history. Such a treatise would do infinitt good, and the true way to draw men of[f] from this opposition is to deale with them by way of conscience as we find by experience.[21] M^r^ Hare[22] and I have made an attestation under our hands and seales w*hi*ch if you please you may print, not putting in our names at length but only the first letters. For my own part I see no great inconvenience in printing the attestations so that the priests names be not sett down ad longum, for that p*er*haps would prove dangerous to them.

This is all for the present, but only my woonted dutie.

No address.

[*on p. 769*]

Endorsed: 13 Decemb[er] 1631

[16] Thomas Bacon, *Vindiciae pro Nicolao Smithaeo contra Censuram Nomine Facultatis Parisiensis editam in eius Librum, cui Nomen, Modesta & Brevis Discussio, &c [. . .]* (Liège, 1631); ARCR, I, no. 34.

[17] John Floyd SJ, *Ecclesiae Anglicanae Querimonia Apologetica de Censura Aliquot Episcoporum Galliae, in Duos Libros Anglicanos, &c. Authore Hermanno Loemelio* (St Omer, 1631); ARCR, I, no. 488. See Allison, RSGB, I, pp. 374–375.

[18] John Floyd SJ, *Censura Symboli Apostolorum ad Instar nuperrimae Censurae quarundam Propositionum [. . .]* (Paris, 1631); ARCR, I, no. 484. See Allison, RSGB, I, pp. 374–375.

[19] Francis O'Mahony OFM, *Examen Iuridicum Censurae Facultatis Theologicae Parisiensis* (Frankfurt [imprint false; printed at Louvain?], 1631); ARCR, I, no. 861. See Allison, RSGB, I, p. 367.

[20] John Floyd SJ, *An Apology of the Holy Sea Apostolicks Proceeding for the Government of the Catholicks of England during the Tyme of Persecution* (Rouen, 1631); ARCR, II, no. 292. See Allison, RSGB, I, pp. 356–359.

[21] For the treatises on the scope of his episcopal authority which Richard Smith wrote in 1631 while he was in France, see Allison, QJ, pp. 135–138.

[22] This may be the priest Robert Hare (not listed in Anstr.) who was a prisoner in the New prison in 1632; AAW, A XXVI, no. 164, p. 495. (In December 1633 he petitioned successfully for release; *CSPD, 1633–1634*, p. 329.)

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2. [George Leyburn] to [Richard Smith], 20 December 1631

[AAW, A XXIV, no. 207, pp. 749–752]

Most honored sir,

This daye I receaved a packett from M^r^ Plantyne[23] of the 16 of Decembe*r* in w*hi*ch ther was onely one inclosed from you unto S*i*gnor Antoni[n]o.[24] The regulars continue in ther violence and more than ever move the lay-Cath[olics] against you. The Lord Baltomore,[25] Brudenall[26] and Sir Basile Brooke[27] had soe delt w*i*th my Lord Morley[28] th*a*t they had made him of a friend an enenimy [*sic*]. The Lord

[23] Lawrence Platt. Both Lawrence and his brother Francis used the alias of Plantin; Anstr., II, pp. 247–248. John Southcot's diary notes that Lawrence 'went agent to Paris 15 August [1631]', CRS, 1, p. 107. Francis Platt was subsequently cited in a list of allegedly disreputable priests who favoured the Jacobean oath of allegiance and/or led loose lives, although it was added that he had reformed; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 68, p. 287. In May 1632 Lawrence lamented the recent beheading of Louis de Marillac 'specially [. . .] because he was my good friend, and once I had the honour to be his cha[plain]'; AAW, A XXVI, no. 74, p. 209. In August 1633 Richard Smith noted that 'the elder Platt is come hither to read in a monastery', and 'the younger is come over to be [a] guide to young gentlemen'; CRS, 22, p. 183. In January 1655 Peter Biddulph nominated Lawrence to succeed him as the English secular clergy's agent at Rome; Anstr., II, pp. 247–248.

[24] John Southcot.

[25] Sir George Calvert, 1st Baron Baltimore, for whose opposition to Richard Smith, see Allison, QJ, *passim*.

[26] Sir Thomas Brudenell, 1st Baron Brudenell, the future 1st earl of Cardigan.

[27] In 1635 the English secular clergy reported disapprovingly of Sir Basil Brooke, 'totus im*m*ersus est negotiis secularibus et contentiosis praesertim monopoliis, circa metallia, silvas, saponem, et similia'. (See *Letter 65*.) However 'ex se magis propendet in clerum secularem quam in regulares, et amicissimum se exhibuit tum priori episcopo (qui in eius aedibus prope Londinu*m*, quae com*m*uniter vocantur Aula episcopi [i.e. Bishopshall], diem suum obiit) tum etiam moderno, ante incaeptam controversiam de approbatione regulariu*m*, sed postea a Ploydeno [Francis Plowden] tractus est in partes opponentiu*m* epi*sco*pum, una cum Thoma Brudenello, qui modo est baro [. . .] contra propriam inclinationem, nullo alio magis motivo, quam amicitiae erga Ploydenu*m*, vel certe, aurae cujusdam popularis, cui jure deditus est, quia opponentes episcopum se ostendabant, pro sapientioribus et praecipuis Angliae Catholicis. Postquam vero im*m*ersit se huic oppositioni, nullis fuit illo violentior aut acerbior contra epi*sco*pum'. He was entirely Hispanophile and had taken, as his second wife, Frances, the daughter of Henry Mordaunt, 4th Baron Mordaunt, the widow of Sir Thomas Neville, 'cuius intuiti magis quam antea mancipat se obsequio Jesuitarum et Jesuitam modo alit domae suae quod nunquam hactenus fecit'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 58, p. 224. See Allison, QJ, pp. 120–121, 141; CRS, 1, p. 100. (Brooke was a close friend, and executor, of the 9th earl of Shrewsbury, who was a patron of the Jesuits; B. FitzGibbon, 'George Talbot, ninth earl of Shrewsbury', *BS*, 2 (1953), pp. 96–110, at p. 102.) In January 1635, however, Brooke told the Oratorian priest and papal envoy, Gregorio Panzani that he would approve the restoration of local Catholic episcopal authority over English Catholics, provided that the restored bishop's powers were restricted and he had the king's approval; VA, PD, fo. 68r.

[28] Henry Parker, 14th Baron Morley and Monteagle. In the early 1630s Morley had employed, as a chaplain, the secular priest William Hargrave, who in 1634 became

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Brudenall told him that if he did adhere unto you he would endangere his estate, he would be excomunicated living seperated <from his wife>, and he would be deprived of his good man [*sic for* name] at your pleasure in soe much that my lord was strangely carryed away and they did inveye much against your person. But now I have satisfyed my lord and have hindered ther designe upon him which was to procure his hand against you. And moreover I am to goe to morrowe unto the Lord ~~Brudenall~~ <Baltamore> to expostulate concerning what was sayd unto my Lord Morley and my lord haith promised to goe with me. M^r^ Collenton[29] is now come to the towne but will not be drone to residenc[e]. Our chef friends here are unspeakeably trubled with the contents of M^r^ Fittons[30] letter from Rome. He writeth of a favorable audience, of the readines of the French ambassa[dor][31] to assist him in regarde of her Majestyes letter,[32] of the great hopes he harbored of wish[e]d successe. But, after, he signifieth that you have written a letter unto his Holines[33] which doth hinder all successe in your affayres, because you resigne unto him your authority in soe much that all for the present is dashed and he cannot negotiat any farther.[34] This letter of yours is taken greatly to hart here by your friends and if ther be tyme ther will be written a common letter to

president of the college of Saints Peter and Paul at Lisbon; Anstr., II, p. 146. The secular clergy's January 1635 survey of the Catholic nobility noted with satisfaction that 'favet clero specialiter, et aegre tulit se delusum fuisse a barone de Baltimore defuncto, per falsas informationes circa authoritatem ep*iscop*i Chalcedon*en*sis quare sub chyrographo suo una cum Marchione Wintonensi [John Paulet, 5th marquis of Winchester] negavit se ullo modo adstipulari adversariis ep*iscop*i'. It was noted also that, from a life of youthful excess, he had turned to one of frugality; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 3, p. 15. (AAW, A XXVIII, no. 3 is a summary of the dispositions of the English Catholic peers. Along with AAW, A XXVIII, no. 58, it was probably drawn up for Gregorio Panzani. He repeats some of the contents of both documents in his 'Relazione' of the state of religion in England, an account which largely endorses the views of the English secular clergy leadership (VA, Barberini MS LVI, 136 (a.n. 2450): 'Relazione dello stato della religione Cattolica in Inghilterra data alla Santita di N.S. Urbano VIII da Gregorio Panzani nel suo ritorno da quel regno l'anno 1637' (transcript and translation at ABSJ)). Panzani noted on 25 February 1635 that George Fisher and John Southcot had come to see him, 'et attesimo alla relatione'; VA, PD, fo. 80r.

[29] John Colleton. See Anstr., I, pp. 82–84.

[30] Peter Biddulph.

[31] Jean de Gallard, baron de la Rochebeaucourt et de Brassach, French ambassador in Rome.

[32] See *Letter 5*.

[33] Pope Urban VIII.

[34] For the circumstances of Richard Smith's resignation as bishop of Chalcedon, see Allison, QJ, pp. 138–139, 144; AAW, OB I/ii, no. 128; *Letter 16*. Smith, who had been living in the French embassy in London for two years, left the country on 24 August 1631. (George Leyburn conducted him as far as Calais.) The papal breve *Britannia* (29 April/9 May 1631) had pronounced on the issues in dispute between him and his enemies mainly in favour of his enemies, at least on the question of 'approbation' (for which events see the Introduction in this volume). (For a printed copy of the breve, see AAW, A XXIV, no. 93.) Leyburn

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wish you to undertake the charge agayne. I have told M^r^ Hammon[35] what you wish[e]d me if it may doe any good. It would be a great comfort unto our friends to heare th*a*t those 3 ther wer well united together and deuly furnished w*i*th ther rents [?] for M^r^ Hamon to supplye ther wants, and this would be if all the moneys were at your disposing. Agayne, I could have gotten ther moneys, thought [*sic for* though] w*i*th much difficulty, if M^r^ Plantyn as I wish[e]d him would have been advised by me and abstayned from to[o] much officiousnes in his informations to M^r^ Hamon. I protest unto you faithfull[y] this want of union amongst many of ours doth soe truble me th*a*t I am wearie and out of hart to do any thing. Few occurrences only. Our State is thinking of breaking w*i*th Spane. On Fridaye last did dye Doctour Price, subdiene of Westminster,[36] receaved 3 dayes before into the Catholike Church, in soe much th*a*t ther was holden a consultation not to burie him but at last it was determined th*a*t he should be buried.[37] He was one of ours th*a*t did receave him into the Church. This example is like to doe great good.

This is all. And I am not furnish[e]d w*i*th leasure.

Decembe*r* 20 1631.

[*on p. 752*]

Addressed: For my maister.

Endorsed: Lords dealing against Chalced[on].

set out for his master further reasons why he had become *persona non grata* in England. '1. The Spanish divines hath [*sic*] declared against you. 2. You have a pension of the Cardinal Richelieu. 3. You [. . .] make a faction amongst the Catholics, having been sent for their comfort. 4. You have been the cardinal's [. . .] chaplain. 5. Your controversy is a French plot devised by the French to hinder the increase of Catholics for their own politic ends, or at least to frenchify them and avert them from Spain'; Anstr., II, p. 193.

[35] John Jackson, alias Hammond and Nelson. Jackson was described by a French Capuchin in July 1622 as 'l'ausmonier du Baron d'Arondel [Thomas Arundell] Catholique'; AAW, A XVI, no. 122, p. 496. In December 1634 Jackson came to the papal agent Gregorio Panzani in a carriage in order to take him to see his patron Arundell; VA, PD, fo. 43r.

[36] Theodore Price. See Albion, *CI*, p. 197; K. Fincham, 'William Laud and the exercise of Caroline ecclesiastical patronage', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 51 (2000), pp. 69–93 at pp. 80–81.

[37] John Pory reported that Price, 'at the hower of his death received extreme unction [. . .]. Whereupon I have heard my lord chamberlain [the earl of Pembroke] should saye to the king: is this the orthodoxe man your Majesty would have made a bishop last yeare?'; JPN, p. 190. Pory noted also that 'the custome of Westminster Abby is, when a prebend dye, some other prebend must undertake to bury him'. 'But all of them being ashamed to undertake this d[octo]rs buriall in respect of his religion last of all professed, hee laye some 6 or 7 dayes above grown[d]e', untill the dean allowed one Mr Frost, 'a singing man of the kinges chappell', to 'undertake so muche'. Price's livings were worth £600 p.a., and 'they saye he preacht but once in all his life'; *ibid.* See also *Letter 3*.

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3. Clerk [John Southcot] to [Peter Biddulph], 20 January 1632

[*AAW, A XXVI, no. 20, pp. 63–66*]

Sir,

I have y*our*s of the 30 Novemb[er] having continewed my weekly writing to you for these 3 weekes and more, and therfore shall be glad to heare that all mine are come safe to y*our* hands.

With these you shall receave the last part of the catalogue of knights, wherin you will find no markes but of such as are knowen to me to be Cath[olic]. Perhaps there may be many more that I know not.

Many here are also of opinion that we should demaund b*isho*ps with titles in England, and I was ever of that opinion my self even from the begining, for we shall never els have things rightly setled here, wherfor I do not see but that, as you find occasion offered there, you may propose it and solicit it as effectually as you can. Only be careful to carry the matter secret that o*ur* adversaries, if it be possible, may not heare of it till it appeare how likely it is to be effected, least they seek to hinder it both here and there. Why might not my Lord of Chalced[on][38] or some other be made archb[ishop] of Canterbury and reside ordinarily in Rome as the Irish Metropolitan doth, and then some other two b*isho*ps more be made with subordination to him to reside in England?[39]

But as for confraternities to be erected by the clergy,[40] I find that o*ur* brethren here do not relish any such motion, but they desire to go on the ordinary way as they have [*p. 64*] begunn and would gladly have his Hol[iness] to confirme o*ur* deane and chapter as it is, w*hi*ch both this b*isho*p[41] and his predecessor[42] sett on foot and have approoved by the advise of good lawiers both in France and Flanders, and I do not see what should hinder the validity of it. Yet we must do as we may, and as that court will permit, w*hi*ch you know better than we do here. Therfor do as you see cause. Y*our* commission is very ample, and there needs no particuler one for any thing you are to treat for the clergies good.

[38] Richard Smith.
[39] See *Letter 5*.
[40] i.e. the English secular clergy.
[41] Richard Smith.
[42] William Bishop.

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I suppose amongst other forbidden bookes you will gett the lay Cath[olics'] Declaration[43] to be putt in, as also the Answer to the Demaunds of a Great Prelatte sett forth in French then in English 1625.[44] And we hope you will gett the Hierarchie[45] excepted, w*hi*ch if it should be condemned I assure you it would make a great mutiny here and I have heard some already speake bigg words uppon that occasion.

Some of the Theatines[46] best freinds and followers here do speake very scurvily of his Hol[iness] in many places by occasion of Swedens victories in Germany.[47] It were good that notice were given of it in that court, for it makes his Hol[iness's] person and authority little

[43] Sir George Calvert, 1st Baron Baltimore, former secretary of State to James I, had returned in 1630 from his colony in Newfoundland and placed himself at the head of the opposition to Bishop Smith. (See the Introduction in this volume.) He put into circulation again the well-known attack on Smith of November 1627, usually referred to as the 'letter of the three gentlemen', and solicited signatures to it from Catholic nobility and gentry. By March 1631 the document was known as 'The Declaration of the Lay Catholicks of England'. With numerous signatures appended to it, the document was taken to the Catholic embassies in London, and to the Spanish diplomat Carlos Coloma in Brussels, and then went into print. Smith's supporters wrote an 'Abrenunciatio Catholicorum Laicorum Angliae in Declarationem quamdam sub ipsorum nomine false editam' (AAW, A XXIV, no. 98) to counter the 'Declaration', and, with the signatures of leading lay Catholics added to it, a translation of it was presented to the French ambassador, François Duval, marquis de Fontenay Mareuil, who, at the end of June 1631, signed a new rendition of it. A version was then printed at Paris, entitled *Général Désadveu des Catholiques Lais d'Angleterre, contre une Déclaration qui a esté faussement publiée à leur Nom* (Paris, 1631); ARCR, I, no. 362. See Allison, QJ, pp. 134–135; Hughes, *HSJ*, p. 188; AAW, A XXIV, no. 99. For the 'Declaration', see AAW, A XXIV, no. 77; and for confutations of it, see AAW, A XXIV, nos 78, 80, 81, 85, 86. For Thomas Arundell, 1st Baron Arundell's reply to the 'Declaration', describing it as 'a fitt discourse to be annexed to the incredible history of the invisible Church', see AAW, A XXIV, no. 87, p. 363.

[44] Etienne Binet, *An Answer to the Demands of a Great Prelate. Touching the Hierarchy of the Church. And the Just defence of Privileged, and Religious Men* (Rouen, 1626); ARCR, II, no. 885. This tract was a translation, probably by a Jesuit, of Binet's *Response aux Demandes d'un Grand Prelat [. . .]*, published in 1625 under the pseudonym of François de Fontaine. The prelate of the title was Sebastien Zamet.

[45] Matthew Kellison, *A Treatise of the Hierarchie and Divers Orders of the Church against the Anarchie of Calvin* (Douai, 1629); ARCR, II, no. 473. For Kellison, see Anstr., I, pp. 193–194. On 7/17 April 1632 Smith advertised Biddulph that 'I have showed D[octor] Kellis[on's] Hierarchie to the archb[ishop] of Toulouse', Charles Montchal, a friend of Cardinal de La Valette (who had supported Smith's appointment as bishop of Chalcedon, and who had held the see of Toulouse before Montchal); AAW, B 27, no. 108; J. Bergin, *The Making of the French Episcopate 1581–1661* (London, 1996), pp. 672–673. See also AAW, A XXVI, no. 36, p. 117 (Kellison's letter to Biddulph of 29 February/9 March 1632, thanking him for the 'care' of his book 'w*hi*ch I hope to send the next post unto you, as also to Paris, the b*ish*ops there having called for it so often'; AAW, B 27, no. 127).

[46] i.e. the Jesuits.

[47] On 3 January 1632 William Case, chaplain to John Paulet, 5th marquis of Winchester, had informed Biddulph that he believed it very probable that Richard Smith's opponents 'have some desperat designe against [Pope] Urban [VIII], because they goe about to possess

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regarded [*p. 65*] amongst Catholickes now a daies. [*two words erased*] Non fuit sic ab initio. Waunt of authority well setled amongst us hath brought us to great remissenesse already, and ere long will bring all to utter confusion if it be not prevented the sooner. And I pray make it appeere there how ridiculous a thing it is for the Jes[uits] to cry out as they do of the impossibility of the practise of episcopall authority here in these times, whenas they and other religious do practise things far lesse profitable, and with much more daunger. For the Jes[uits] practise their sodalities where many meet togeather and combine. They teach schooles also both in London and the country w*hi*ch cannot be done w*i*thout concourse and some noise.[48] The others

the mindes of the best Catholikes [. . .] that hee seekes the ruin of the emperour, that hee rejoyced at the overthrow' of the count of Tilly by Gustavus Adolphus at Breitenfeld on 7/17 September 1631 and 'would have had publique signes of joy, but that hee was by the advise of some hindred; that hee invited the k[ing] of Sweden to come in for th*e* distraction of the emperour; and that hee could not but see what advantage the Turke would hereby take for the subversion of Christianity', and they 'denigrate alsoe the French king by saying that hee assisteth heretiks and resisteth the progress of Catholike religion'; AAW, A XXVI, no. 17, pp. 57–58; CRS, 1, p. 107. On 9 May 1632 Case reported to Smith that his opponents were trying to discredit him by linking him with the opponents of the imperialists: 'they calumniat you by saying that you are a French man, the cardinalls [i.e. Richelieu's] creature, a stirring man, a stubborne man etc. They calumniat the cardinall by saying that hee is a fautor of haeretiks, nay as badd or worse than Sweden. They calumniat the pope by saying that hee hath beene colde in resisting haeretiks, and that hee hath thought it necessary for the howse of Austria to bee shockt'; AAW, A XXVI, no. 69, p. 193. For Urban VIII's attitudes to the conflicting interests of the Bourbon and Habsburg dynasties, see Pastor, *HP*, XXVIII, pp. 24–25, 30, 55f. His election as pope had been greeted favourably in Paris. Throughout his pontificate it proved difficult for him to maintain a pose of impartiality between France and Spain; *ibid.*, pp. 278f, 339f; R. Bonney, *The European Dynastic States 1494–1660* (Oxford, 1991), p. 68.

[48] Edward Bennett, one of Richard Smith's officials, had in January 1627 berated Richard Blount SJ concerning a school opened by the Jesuits at Holywell in Wales. Bennett wrote that 'lately there hath bin a complaint made unto me that one of your fathers should keepe a schoole at Greenfeild Abbey hard by St Wenefrides well which may breed no litle inconvenience in that place', because, alleged Bennett, this would provoke the authorities into persecution of Catholics. The 'whole countrey thereaboutes therefore intreated him to desist', but the Jesuit ignored this, so the district's archdeacon asked Bennett to intervene; AAW, A XIX, no. 111, p. 391. On 17 May 1627 one Edward Pennant informed Bennett that the fact that a certain Catholic, 'Mr Prichard', 'taught at Gree[n]field is as sure as that there is a schoole at Eaton'. This man Pritchard had 'schollers that mett there to the nomber of vii this last winter. The same was not soe privat, but the vicar of the parish (whoe keepes schoole at the church) tooke notice thereof and grumbled to me therat'. One 'great magistrat in the neibourhood [. . .] complayned to me of great indiscretion and overboldnes for his teachinge'; AAW, A XX, no. 82, p. 291. See also AAW, A XX, no. 83 (an affidavit, dated 20 May 1627, made by several people, including the priest Thomas Pennant, a brother of Edward Pennant, that Pritchard had taught at Holywell since November 1626); T.M. McCoog, 'The Society of Jesus in England, 1623–1688: an institutional study' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Warwick, 1984), pp. 286–287. For complaints in 1635 about the Jesuits' keeping of schools, at Anne Vaux's house at Stanley Grange and also near Wolverhampton,

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have their capitular meetings often times, they practise the giving of scapulars, girdles and the like, and com*m*end them to their penitents much more than they do the sacrament of confirmation, w*hi*ch they rather slight and extenuat. What will this come to in the end? You may confidently assure them there that nonn in England do or would much oppose the [*word deleted*] practise of episcopall authority here but some religious men and Catholickes their adherents, for if these would be silent and quiett [*p. 66*] the State would never so much as take notice of it or be seen to dislike it. This is certainly true.

For newes there is little stirring. I heare that we have made over to Sweden six score thousand pounds sterling already and bequeathed 80 thousand more ~~that~~ <the same> way, w*hi*ch France oweth us.[49]

Doctor Fludd,[50] a Cath[olic] doctor of phisick, hath bin questioned by the king this Christmasse about Doctor Price the k[ing's] chaplaine his dying Catholick, for they <two> were freinds and country men. But Doct[or] Fludd answered the matter very discreetly and well and in that conference the king expresed him self so far as to say that he hated neither the papists nor their religion, and that (notwithstandi[n]g they were more under the lash of the law) he would be as gratious to them as to his other subjects, and so dismissed Doct[or] Flud very graciously from him. He saied also that he did beleeve that the Church doth not erre. This doct[or] is o*u*r great freind and my phisitian and freind in particular.[51]

at Mr Leveson's, see *CSPD*, *1635*, pp. 303, 539, 545–546, 590, 608; Anstruther, *Vaux*, pp. 460–462.

[49] *CSPV*, *1629–1632*, p. 597.

[50] Dr Robert Floyd. See T.H.B.M. Harmsen (ed.), *The Foot out of the Snare (1624)* (Nijmegen, 1992), p. 295.

[51] See AAW, A XXIX, no. 41 (an extract from a (no longer extant) letter of 18 January 1632 by Southcot concerning Floyd and Theodore Price). Southcot 'visited D*oct*or Fludd this morning, who told me that the king had sent for him to examine him about Doctor Price his death, and charged him upon his alleageance to answere him truely to what he should aske him, saying before that he had heard him often by many comended to be an honest man, and that he did so beleeve him to be. First he asked him whether he brought any priest to D*oct*or P[rice]. D*oct*or Flud answered no, and truly. 2. Whether he had seen him in the compaghnie of any priest. He answered, yea oftentimes, at least such as he thought to be priests. 3. Whe[ther] he saw any priest do any priestly function about him at his death or before? He answered no. And truly. 4. Whether he died a papist. He answered that he thought he did because he had often heard him say he would saile to eternity rather in St Peters shipp than in John Calvins boat. To w*hi*ch the king replied in these words: so had I to[o]. For we do not hould that Calvin could not err as you doe that the pope cannot. The d*oct*or replied that he did not hould that the pope (scilicet as a privat man) could not erre, but ecclesia non errat, that the Church did not err. So doe I hould to[o], saied the king, and then saied further that he neither hated the papists nor their religion, and would be as gratious and mercifull to them as to his other subjects'. An account of Price's conversion was translated in order to be read in Rome; Albion, *CI*, p. 197, n. 3. See also *CSPD*, *1631–1633*, p. 205; Birch, *CT*, II, p. 21.

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The counsell are now buissy about the examination of a certai[n]e apprentise of 20 yeares of age taken in Salisbury who tould one of his compagnions that he meant to kill the king with a pistoll, and that the Divill one [n]ight had appeared unto him in the shape of a man and incited him therunto. Perhaps this devill was some puritan that made him self a divill for this purpose. More I have not what to write.

Adieu. 20 Januar[y] 1632.

No address.

Endorsed: 20 Jan[uary]. Antonino. Clerk.
About the Jesuitts speaking against the pope.
That the regulars practise things more dangerous than episcopall auctority.

4. [George Leyburn] to Fitton [Peter Biddulph], January/February 1632

[*AAW, A XXVI, no. 22, pp. 71–72*]

Worthie deare sir,

I have receaved yours of the 20 of December. All our friends were more trubled with my maisters resignation[52] than I can expresse as you will perceave by a former from me. But I hope that her Majestyes second letter wherin is inclosed the supplication[53] of the Catholiks of this country will open the way agayne to your negotiation.[54] Our friends did meet 3 dayes aggoe in my chamber. The poynts resolved: Mr Lovell[55] will imparte they are for canonicall and ordinarie authority and therfore mislike your propos[it]ion concerning a congregation. My maister writeth that at Ro[me] the Jesuists informeth [*sic*] that ther is a great peace and quietnes in this country since his departure. But the contrarie is most true, nothing but disorder and confusion. And assure your selfe that the best and most of the councell would willinglie winke at a bishop. Your propositions for more bishops doth [*sic*] much take. But then his Holynes must style them bishop

[52] See *Letter 2* for Richard Smith's resignation as bishop of Chalcedon.
[53] See *Letter 1*.
[54] For Henrietta Maria's letters, on Richard Smith's behalf, to the French ambassador in Rome and to Urban VIII, see *Letters 5, 18, 24*.
[55] John Southcot.

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of Yorkeshire, bishop of Lancheshire, determining the dieces, or, if he would make 3, one to have the jurisdiction ~~of~~ <over> all Catholikes on this syde of Trent, the other over all on the other syde of Trent, and the third [to be] bishop of Walles.[56] I had thought to have writte[n] unto S*i*gnor Georgio[57] concerning the 4 cheef opposers of episcopal authority, w*hi*ch are the Lord Baltamoore, Sir Nicho[las] Fortescue,[58] Sir Toby[59] and Ployden.[60] Sir Toby you knowe well. Ployden is the Catho[lic] common executour wherfore he feareth th*a*t in matter of wills he should be cal[le]d [in]to question.[61] The report is th*a*t he haith marryed [h]is owne made and keepeth it privately. Baltamoore after his first wifes d[eath] did marrie his wifes kitchin made,

[56] See *Letter 3* for Southcot's views on this topic of titular and established sees. Leyburn argues, in this letter, for non-established sees. For the scheme for three bishops, see *Letter 5*; and, for a 1634 petition concerning the same, to be directed via the queen to Gregorio Panzani, see AAW, A XXVII, no. 201.

[57] George Con. Con was a Scottish cleric who rose to prominence in the household of the cardinal secretary of State, Francesco Barberini. Leyburn had written to Con on 15 November 1631; AAW, A XXIV, no. 206. See Hibbard, *CI*, pp. 47–48, and *passim*.

[58] See *DNB*, *sub* Fortescue. Sir Nicholas was a grandson of one of Henry VIII's groom porters. He had briefly fallen under suspicion after the discovery of the gunpowder plot. He obtained a number of government posts from 1610 onwards, including a chamberlainship of the exchequer. He died in Fetter Lane on 2 November 1633. The secular priest, Edward Johns, recorded in December 1633 that Fortescue in his last illness had recanted his opposition to Smith. He denied having assisted with the composition of the 'letter of the three gentlemen' but acknowledged that he had consented to its publication; CRS, 22, pp. 185–186.

[59] Sir Tobie Mathew. He had been one of the principal opponents of Richard Smith in England during the 1620s. Smith's supporters made polemical use of the fact of Mathew's priesthood, conferred on him via a secret ordination, the clandestine nature of which allowed him to masquerade in England as a lay courtier. One account of Smith's opponents described Mathew's affectations and appetites, and said that 'rursus a nonnullis estimatur ut vafer nebulo, ab aliis (praesertim faeminis) ut magnus sanctus', but, either way, he was very vain and affected Spanish manners; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 58, p. 233. See *Letter 57*. In January 1635 Gregorio Panzani reported that Charles I believed that Mathew was mad; VA, PD, fo. 67r.

[60] Francis Plowden (1588–1661), who lived at Aston-le-Walls, in Northamptonshire, was a well-known Catholic lawyer. He used his professional expertise to assist other Catholics. He was a favourer of the Society, and his Jesuit brother Thomas resided with him; Allison, QJ, p. 142; B. Stapleton, *A History of the Post-Reformation Catholic Missions in Oxfordshire* (London, 1906), pp. 309–313.

[61] Plowden specialized in probate work, and would inevitably have viewed with hostility Richard Smith's intention to set up a tribunal to deal with, *inter alia*, probate cases. According to the secular clergy, he was 'ingenii turbulentissimum ac litium amantissimi propriae opinionis ac voluntatis tenacissimus' and 'assiduus sectator fori contentiosi'. He was depicted unfavourably in the play *Hierarchomachia* (see *Letter 32*). He was also 'author et fautor praecipuus diversorum monopoliorum seu inventorum quorundam lucrosorum, ob quae hodie Catholici nostrates magno in odio habentur a Protestantibus'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 58, pp. 223–224.

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and having [*ms torn*] her in the New Found Land[62] haith lately marryyed him selfe unto his doughters chambermaide.[63] He did first sollicite her and, when he could not prevaile, he did give her money to buy a ring and when he had the ring he did marrie her, notw*i*thstanding the mayde, fearing least this was not sufficient, being not done by a pr[iest], she would not permitt him to consummate, wherupon he told her th*a*t now she was bound. Notw*i*thstanding he could not prevaile untill she had been w*i*th Fa[ther] Knott[64] whom he kept and told him her case, to w*hi*ch he replyed w*i*th a smile ~~this~~ th*a*t her lord would not wish her to any thing w*hi*ch is unjust, wherupon she went and did consummate the act w*i*th him. Since,[65] this good lord would goe backe pretending th*a*t there was a spirituall kindered betwixt him and her w*hi*ch did make the marriage invalide and this was because his wife was god mother to this maide: a foule and scandalous busines when it shall be brought upon the State, as infallibly it will. The Jesuists now persuadeth her to goe to religion.[66] For Sir Nicholas, it

[62] For Baltimore's second wife, Joan, who died in 1630 when shipwrecked while returning to England, see GEC, I, p. 393; Hughes, *HSJ*, p. 176; Codignola, *CHL*, pp. 46, 53–54, 165, 168, 170; L.C. Wroth, 'Tobacco or codfish. Lord Baltimore makes his choice', *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, 58 (1954), pp. 523–534, at pp. 529–531; *Letter 5*.

[63] According to AAW, A XXVII, no. 111, p. 321, her name was Mary Wynne. She was the daughter of Captain Edward Wynne, who had been the leader of the first group of settlers whom Sir George Calvert sent out to Newfoundland, and who landed at Ferryland in August 1621; Codignola, *CHL*, p. 10; VA, PD, fo. 79r.

[64] Matthew Wilson SJ.

[65] i.e. since that time.

[66] On 27 February 1632 John Jackson sent an account of the business to Richard Smith, who urged Biddulph, 'if you could there get an answer to that case it would be to great purpose'; AAW, B 27, no. 107. The seculars argued that Baltimore's marriage was clandestine, and therefore against the canons of the Council of Trent. See *Letters 4*, *5*, *8*. Jackson wrote further that she had refused intercourse 'till she acquainted Fa[ther] Knot and asked his opinio*n*. He sayd she might be assured th*a*t my lo[rd] wold aske nothing of her that was unlawfull, therupon they consummated mariage. When this was knowne to some it trobled the*m*. And there was a co*n*sultation of 12 Jes[uits]', including 'Fa[ther] Blu*n*t', and 'Fa[ther] Knot or Smith'. And Mary Wynne was 'removed from him'. 'They first laboure*d* to have her enter in[to] religio*n*. Then they found a means to make it noe mariage and drew this case. Isabella post matr*imoniu*m co*n*tractu*m* et co*n*summ*atu*m cu*m* Antoniu*m* levat de sacro fonte Cath*olic*am mortua Isabella Antonius cu*m* eade*m* Catharina clam co*n*trahit in Anglia pro verba de praesenti absq*ue* sacerdote vel testibus et co*n*summ*ant*. Quaeritar utru*m* talis co*n*tractus inter Antoniu*m* et Catharina*m* sit validus. They conclude it is not.' But they 'will not have it knowne and say if it come to be knowne to th*e* priests, they will not medle w*i*th it'. Baltimore's son, Cecil, shortly to become the 2nd baron, who had, noted Jackson, 'maried yo*u*r best ladies daughter' (Anne, daughter of Thomas Arundell, 1st Baron Arundell of Wardour and his wife Anne), 'offred the made or rather his now mother in law a 100^{li} and th*a*t his fa[ther] shold give her 50^{li} to relinquish'. But the maid 'will not but keeps the ring as a testimonie. There is means made to see if any pr[iest] will be of opinion th*a*t it is noe mariage in regard of cognatio sp*iritua*lis, seing the Councel of Trent, say they, is not here receyved.' It was believed that Wilson had gone to see the nuncio at Brussels

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is well knowne how lude ever he haith been. Besyds he maryed his owne made, and keepeth her obscurely in the country. Is ther not great need of a bishop? Aske Signor Georgio to whom remember my table service. I did deliver his last unto Fa[ther] Philip[67] wherin his facultyes were inclosed.

Addressed: A Mons*ieu*r Monsieur [*sic*] Fitton. Rome.

Endorsed: [*on p. 71*] M^r^ Fitton.
[*on p. 72*] About my L*or*d Baltamour and the 3 chief adversaryes my l*or*d hath.

5. Antonino [John Southcot] to [Peter Biddulph], 3 February 1632

[*AAW, A XXVI, no. 23, pp. 73–76*]

Sir,

I wrote not the last week to you, but referred all to M^r^ Lab[orne] who shewed me yours of the 20 Decemb[er] wherin you make no mention of the ~~two~~ writing or omitting to write by the two precedent posts, and yet the last w*hi*ch we receaved from you bore date 30^th^ of November, by w*hi*ch account two weekes letters are lost if you wrote by both those posts.

I have written divers letters unto you since the 30 of November which was the first time I began to write, two in Decemb[er], of the 2 and 16, and three in January of the 6, 13 and 20^th^, of the receipt of all w*hi*ch I shalbe glad to heare, having as yet heard nothing therof, but especially of the receipt of that of the 2 of Decemb[er] with w*hi*ch we sent you the priests and Catholickes petition to his Hol[iness] accompaghnied with a letter fro*m* the queen to Mons*ieu*r Brissac,[68]

about the case, and would lobby against Smith at the same time; AAW, A XXVI, no. 32, p. 105. See also Jackson's account of the affair sent to Biddulph on 1 March; AAW, A XXVI, no. 33. For the presentation of this material about Baltimore to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, see Hughes, *HSJ*, pp. 229–230. George Fisher related the case to Gregorio Panzani in February 1635; VA, PD, fo. 79r.

[67] Robert Philip, the queen's Scottish Oratorian chaplain. When Henrietta Maria's Oratorians and Theatines were summarily dismissed by Charles in 1626 she retained the services of only two priests, both Oratorians (Robert Philip and Pierre Viette), and a Scottish chapel clerk, until 1630 when a number of Capuchins (eight priests and two lay brothers) were permitted to attend her; Dockery, *CD*, p. 37; Hibbard, 'Henrietta Maria', *The Court Historian*, 5 (2000), pp. 15–28, at pp. 26–27.

[68] Jean de Gallard, baron de la Rochebeaucourt et de Brassach, French ambassador in Rome. For a French version of the petition, of 31 December 1631, sent by the English

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w*hi*ch is the thing you desire in this letter to M[r] Laborne, and w*hi*ch I hope will put my l*or*d[69] right againe in that court.

We have receaved the printed coppy of the jubily,[70] but it wantes authentication, as the breve you sent before also did. ~~But~~ Hereafter I pray send such things ever authenticated by some notary.

The regulars I heare do informe there that all is quiett here now the b*isho*p is gonn, [*two words deleted*] seeking therby to hinder his rettourne, but the petition we sent will shew the contrary. To w*hi*ch you may add that many cry out for the sacrament of confirmation[71] and speake and write bitterly ag*ain*st those that have caused my l*or*d to fly and, if there be such outward quietnesse here as they now bragg of, it is bycause they them selves forbeare to make so great a busseling, now my l*or*d is gonn, [*p. 74*] as they did before, bycause they were the only causes of the unquietnesse that was then made. But assure y*ou*r self the inward discontents are more now and further extended by much [*word deleted*] since my l*or*ds departure, and it is to be feared they will break out into some disorder shortly if my l*or*d rettourne not the sooner to us againe. And therfor hasten his rettourne, or at least the substitution of some other in his place all you can. The disorders and abuses against religion and man*n*ers both in clergy, some secular ~~reg~~ some regular, and in the laity are incredible, and if authority be not quickled [*sic*] setled they wilbe incurable. M[r] Muscot[72] knowes many particulers in this kind w*hi*ch you may do well to write unto him to sett down, or rather wish my l*or*d b*isho*p to injoine him to sett down, in writing all he knoweth, and to send it to you. The sight of those things will moove more than anything els in that court.

We have consulted a little concerning the buissenesse of making b*isho*ps with English titles. And there are 3 waies in deliberation. 1. to give ould titles such as were in the time of the first Saxons. 2. to divide England according to the present division of administring justice, videlicet, all shires on this side the river of Trent, the Presidentship of the North, and the Presidentship of Wales, and according to this division to settle 3 b*isho*ps with subordination to one as archbishop.[73] 3. To give moderne titles as of Canterb[ur]y, York, London etc*ete*ra.

Catholics to the pope, with a copy, in George Leyburn's hand, of the queen's letter to Brassach, also dated 31 December 1631, see AAW, A XXIV, no. 217.

[69] Richard Smith.

[70] By a bull of 5/15 December 1631 Urban VIII had proclaimed a universal jubilee to invoke God's assistance for the Church in the circumstances of the current European conflict; Pastor, *HP*, XXVIII, p. 279; CRS, 1, p. 107.

[71] For the politico-ecclesiastical significance of the sacrament of confirmation, see Allison, RS, pp. 156, 160; Allison, RSGB, I, pp. 341–342.

[72] George Fisher. See Anstr., II, pp. 102–109.

[73] Smith wrote in November 1631 to Biddulph that he had petitioned Urban VIII for '3 bishops, one for the Southe at Dorchester by Oxford where S. Birin[us] was bishop',

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Which of these three waies is best we [*p. 75*] cannot agree but leave it to you to propose any. And surely the last is that w*hi*ch we must come unto in the end wherin there is no other difficulty but feare of offending the State,[74] w*hi*ch may be prevented two waies. First by assuring that Protestants are exempted and that the b*ishop* shall have only spirituall and not temporall power over Catholickes, and consequently can have no pretences ag*ain*st the k[ing's] right. Secondly by procuring the thing to be donn first and then before it be made publick to gett some foraine prince to dispose the k[ing] to be content with it with such reasons as may be alleaged for that purpose. There might be also a third way, w*hi*ch is this: to give the title of Canterbury to my l*or*d of Chalcedon <really>, but to will him not to use it, but to use still that of Chalcedon. Consult these things with o*ur* freinds there, and do as you think good, for all is left to y*ou*r dispatch and prudent resolution. I send you two points more, suggested by M^{r} Button[75] the archd[eacon] of Staffordshire, wherof you may have use there.

For newes I cannot say much. It is reported and hoped that o*ur* queen is again with child. Pursevants are still buissy. A minister is to be censured shortly in the starr chamber for saying that there was but

another at Hexham 'where there was a bishop in S. Bedes time', and a third in Wales (at Caerleon) 'where [there] was a b*ish*op in the Britons time'. Smith's thinking was that 'if his Holiness [shall] restore thes three old b*ish*oprics w*hi*ch long since are decayed he shall no more pr*e*judice the b*ish*ops in England than by making b*ish*ops in p*ar*tibus infidelium, and yet shall make the*m* ordinaries'. On 10/20 May 1632 he wrote to Biddulph that he had advised Urban VIII that the bishop for the South 'should either be archb[ishop] or have arch*iepiscop*al authoritie over the other two of the North and of Wales'; AAW, B 27, no. 109; Allison, RSGB, II, p. 236. See AAW, A XXV, no. 114 (a paper in Latin suggesting the division of England into three Catholic bishoprics), no. 115 (a paper in Italian recommending the appointment of an archbishop and two bishops, and suggesting candidates, including John Southcot, John Jackson, Cuthbert Trollop, George Fisher, Edmund Lechmere and Thomas White). Smith had recommended them all separately, with Richard Franks, to Urban VIII on 10/20 May; AAW, B 27, no. 109.

[74] A project for granting titles to English Catholic bishops based on the existing sees of the Church of England had caused considerable trouble during the early 1620s. At the end of August 1622 Edward Bennett had reported to Rome that 'our adversaries', despairing of victory in the curia, 'have not omitted to stir up coals here, and, as is very probably thought, have stirred up the king and State to oppose in the business'. The lord keeper, Bishop John Williams, 'hath been lately with the Spanish ambassador [Carlos Coloma] complaining, as from the king, that the pope went about to set up bishops in his kingdom against his will, which, in former ages, was not wont to be done but by the prince's nomination; and withal signified that he understood they should be created with titles of Canterbury, Lincoln, &c; which must need cause great exasperation in the State, and would by no means be suffered'; TD, V, pp. 90–92, ccxlix; AAW, A XVI, no. 133, p. 535; no. 153, p. 595.

[75] Richard Button. See Anstr., I, p. 60. He had been one of the leading appellant priests in the protests against the archpriest George Blackwell. He was a founding member of William Bishop's episcopal chapter, and in June 1625 became archdeacon of Staffordshire and Cheshire. In August 1636 Button was resident with Lady Isabel Stafford; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 135, p. 457.

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a paire of shires between the Church of Rome and that of England.[76] The cause of the two Scotts[77] w*hi*ch hath bin long in triall before my l*or*d of Lenox[78] [*word deleted*], <made> High Cunstable for that purpose, and other lords is not yet ended, but it wilbe shortly, and it is thought it will end by [*p. 76*] banishing Ramsy[79] who accused the other that is a Scottish lord (his name I have forgotten)[80] to have drunke to the health of James the 7th of Scotland (meaning the marquis [of] Hamilton), but as it seemes can not proove it sufficiently ag*ain*st him. Once it was to have been tried by single combat but now it seemes not.

Three Jesuitts were lately released and banished at the instance of [the] queen mother[81] who sent hither a gentleman to see the queen.[82] One of these Jes[uits] is Fa[ther] Knott.[83]

For conclusion lett me tell you that the L*or*d Baltimor, quondam S*i*r Georg Calvert, secretary of State, who is now become a great champion for the Jes[uits] by Toby Mathewes p*er*suasion and a great antibishoper, since the losse of his second wife[84] at sea, co*mi*ng from

[76] John Pory recorded on 4 February 1632 that on the previous Wednesday (1 February) 'one Mr Carrier a minister was censured in the starr chamber at £500 fine, and imprisonment during the kinges pleasure, and referred over to the high commission', for saying, among other things, that 'they haste but a payer of shires between our religion and popery, and that it skill*e*d not which of the twoe a man professed'; JPN, p. 205. For the prosecution of Richard Carrier with others in star chamber, see S.R. Gardiner (ed.), *Reports of Cases in the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission* (Camden Society, new series, 39, 1886), pp. 89–108. I am grateful to Kenneth Fincham for this reference.

[77] For the prosecution, beginning in July 1631, of James Stuart, Lord Ochiltree, on account of the charges which he had brought against James Hamilton, 3rd marquis of Hamilton and others (including the earls of Haddington, Roxburgh, and Buccleugh), see *RPCS, 1630–1632*, pp. viii, xliii, xliv, 263, 269, 352 and *passim*; A. Searle (ed.), *Barrington Family Letters 1628–1632* (Camden Society, fourth series, XXVI, 1983), p. 197; JPN, pp. 165, 184, 186, 191.

[78] James Stuart, 4th duke of Lennox. For Lennox, see D. Smith, *Constitutional Royalism and the Search for Settlement, c. 1640–1649* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 39–42.

[79] David Ramsay, a gentleman of the privy chamber, who had served as the marquis of Hamilton's intermediary with Gustavus Adolphus. See *RPCS, 1630–1632*, p. xliv.

[80] Donald MacKay, Lord Reay. For the dispute between Reay and Ramsay, see *CSPD, 1631–1633*, pp. 251, 252, 270, 311, 343, 400; *RPCS, 1630–1632*, pp. xliv, 388, 412; JPN, pp. 177, 184, 186, 191, 197, 199–200, 202, 209, 213, 215, 219, 229, 243, 245, 261, 265, 271, 277, 305. The Venetian ambassador in England, Giovanni Soranzo, reported on 18 July 1631 that 'the Scots who were arrested bore testimony against the marquis that he had designs and practices against the king and prince, to make himself king of Scotland. They based their calumny upon his followers in that kingdom and his near blood relationship to the crown', *CSPV, 1629–1632*, p. 526. His raising of levies for Gustavus Adolphus was alleged to be part of his intended treason. See Sharpe, *PR*, p. 168; *CSPD, 1631–1633*, p. 437. Ochiltree's trial was indefinitely postponed, and he was kept in prison until 1652; *RPCS, 1633–1635*, p. xliv.

[81] Marie de Médicis.

[82] For the arrival of Marie de Médicis's envoy, Biscara, to visit Henrietta Maria, see *CSPV, 1629–1632*, p. 576.

[83] Matthew Wilson SJ.

[84] Joan Calvert. See *Letter 4*.

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Virginia, hath gone about to marry an other waiting maide that was his last wifes goddaughter. He first married her with a ring per verba de praesenti but clandestine, as I take it, and then solicited consummatione with her, after which obtained, he pretends now he cannot marry her without dispensation from Rome, wherin the Jes[uits] seeke to abett him uppon pretence of spirituall alliance which the Councell of Trent hath abrogated. It seemes God will humble and punnish our adversaries with shame. The case is secrett, and in secrett I write it to you, as I meane to do to my lord wherfor name not me hereafter if it co[me] to light, but you may lett it be knowne there what this man is whom they so much rely uppon, and whose children they seek to preferr to [*word obscured*], as I heare, in that court.

Adieu.

No address.

[*on p. 73*]

Endorsed: 3° Februar[y] 1632. 3 Feb[ruary]. Antonino.
About 3 bishops more. About Baltamore.

6. Antonino [John Southcot] to [Peter Biddulph], 24 February 1632

[*AAW, A XXVI, no. 30, pp. 97–100*]

Sir,

I wrote unto you the last weeke according to custome. But as yet we heare nothing from you of the receipt of our former letters which we much desire to doe, being in paine for feare of some miscariage.

M^r^ Laborne is gonn into Lascashire [*sic*] about some buissenesse of his own, and he desired M^r^ Hare and me to supply in his absence. He receaved yours of the 3 of January, and as touching Fa[ther] Philip[85] we do conceave that Signor Agostino[86] is mistaken in him, for

[85] Robert Philip seems to have been consistently supportive of Smith and his friends in their quarrel with the regulars. See *Letter 22*. Gregorio Panzani noted, however, that Philip admitted to him in December 1634 that there was fault on both sides of the dispute, and that Smith had boasted in France 'di volere tribulare li Giesuiti'; VA, PD, fo. 4or. In January 1635 Philip told Panzani that if the secular clergy lobbied him for the return of Smith, he, Panzani, should dissuade them because Smith had alienated both the regulars and the State; *ibid.*, fo. 58r. Nevertheless, the Jesuit Robert Jenison informed Panzani in the same month that Smith had, in 'lettere intercette', instructed his friends to get Philip invested with episcopal authority (although Philip pointed out that, as he was Scottish, it would be impossible); *ibid.*, fo. 63r.

[86] Girolamo Agostini, secretary to Alvise Contarini, Venetian ambassador.

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he was o*u*r freind before Agostinos coming and did us good offices with Chasteauneuf[87] and others. Perhaps he might in freedom of speach say to him that my l*or*ds[88] demaund was intempestiva, but we can not inferr of that any aversion in the man ag*ain*st my l*or*d bycause many of the clergy <and> of my l*or*ds best freinds did think as much. We rather thinke that Agostino ~~was~~ is no freind of my l*or*ds bycause he com*m*unicated with my l*or*ds adversaries an information w*hi*ch was given him <here> in privat touching the laity, as we wrote unto you heretofore, w*hi*ch was called Vera et Sincera Informatio de Affect*ioni*bus Catholicorum erga Ep*iscop*um Chalced*onien*sem etc*etera*.[89]

The narration[90] and supplication,[91] w*hi*ch I mentioned to you in my last letter, to his Hol[iness] from the clergy is not yet [*p. 98*] coppied out but I purpose to have a coppy ready by the next week and will send it to my l*or*d for you. It is long and containes much matter but you may abreviat it and alter it at y*ou*r discretion.

We intend also the next week to send you a letter[92] from the chapter to his Hol[iness] in conformity of those points w*hi*ch you proposed to Card[inal] Ginetti[93] where we will touch uppon that point of a successor in Fa[ther] Fitzherberts place.[94]

We certified you in some of our former letters of a disgracefull accident happened of late to one of my l[ord] b*isho*ps chief opposers, namely my L*or*d Baltimor.[95] The Jesuitts have undertaken to breake

[87] Charles de l'Aubespine, marquis de Chateauneuf, French ambassador in England.

[88] Richard Smith.

[89] This document is now AAW, A XXI, no. 42 (which Allison, QJ, p. 142, dates to c. 1627). It accuses Francis Plowden and Sir Tobie Mathew of being behind the agitation against Richard Smith, influencing others such as Sir Basil Brooke and Thomas Brudenell, 1st Baron Brudenell (whose first cousin Audrey (d. 1623) had been Brooke's first wife). On 7/17 April 1632 Smith reminded Biddulph to 'be not too confident of Sig*no*r Agostino', for Southcot had written that he 'played him a trick in England, and his accusing of F[ather] Phil[ip] increaseth the suspicion'; AAW, B 27, no. 108. By January 1633 Smith heard from Biddulph that Agostini was now to be trusted again; AAW, B 27, no. 115.

[90] See *Letter 7*. This item appears to be the 'Humillima Narratio' referred to by Southcot in *Letter 17*.

[91] The 'Humillima Supplicatio'. See *Letter 1*.

[92] This appears to be AAW, A XXVI, no. 31, a petition (dated 26 February 1632) from John Colleton, dean of the chapter, and countersigned by George Leyburn, to Urban VIII, urging the restoration of Richard Smith and episcopal government over English Catholics, and arguing that the control of the English college in Rome should return to the secular clergy now that, the petition (mistakenly) said, the rector of the college, Thomas Fitzherbert, was dead.

[93] Cardinal Martio Ginetti, major-domo of Urban VIII.

[94] Thomas Fitzherbert remained as the rector of the English college in Rome until his death in August 1640.

[95] See *Letters 4, 5*.

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the mach[96] and to worke it by the nuncio of Brusselles[97] meanes. But perhaps the clergy wilbe of an other opinion when the case shalbe proposed unto them, it being now in handling in Fa[ther] Knott.[98] He gave the maide (who was his penitent) straunge councell, as I heare, for he led her [to] be assured that my L[ord] Balt[imore] would moove her to nothing but what she might lawfully doe wherupon she gave way to consum*mac*ion, as my l*or*d had mooved before. I was tould this day that Fa[ther] Knott is much [*p. 99*] vexed <and troubled> [*word deleted*] hereat, now fearing (it seemes) that he shalbe accounted to have given very imprudent and ungodly counsell to the maide. You shall heare more of this hereafter.

Here is arrived one M[r] Chambers, a Scottish priest, whom you have seen perhaps in Paris. He goeth into Scotland[99] shortly and at his rettourne he desireth to carry with him some information from hence to the nonce of Paris[100] touching our affaires w*hi*ch we will in the meane time think of. Some think that he is a b*isho*p and sure it is that he was to have bin made b*isho*p for Scotland, but that the Theatines,[101] hearing of it, sought to crosse it. Yet perhaps he was privatly consecrated, w*hi*ch if it be soe, it will be a great strengthning to us and o*ur* bishop. He heares that two things are objected ag*ain*st you in Ro[me]. The one is that you were dismissed the college,[102] the other that you were the chief agent in procuring the Sorbon censures[103] whereat, they say, the pope is offended. And he seems to feare that these two consideration[s] will

[96] i.e. the marriage of Sir George Calvert, 1st Baron Baltimore, and Mary Wynne.

[97] Fabio de Lagonissa, archbishop of Conza.

[98] Matthew Wilson SJ.

[99] On 1 March 1632 John Jackson reported to Biddulph that 'Mr David Chambers is in towne. I have him once a day w*i*th me. He prepares to go to Scot[land] where the Jes[uits'] proceedinges doe much hurch [*sic for* hurt]'; AAW, A XXVI, no. 33, p. 107. For Chambers, see M.V. Hay, *The Blairs Papers, 1603–1660* (London, 1929), pp. 111–12; Allison, RSGB, I, p. 362. He had connections with the Paris Oratory, and had campaigned for the appointment of Catholic bishops in Scotland. He enjoyed the patronage of Urban VIII's nephew, Cardinal Francesco Barberini, and was a cousin of Thomas Chambers, the well-known nephew of George Con and almoner to Cardinal Richelieu; Hay, *Blairs Papers*, pp. 122–129; Hibbard, *CI*, pp. 125, 269, 288; I. Atherton, *Ambition and Failure in Stuart England* (Manchester, 1999), p. 205.

[100] Cardinal Alessandro Bichi.

[101] Jesuits.

[102] This is a reference to Peter Biddulph's part in the so-called 'Fitton rebellion' at the English college in Rome. On 15/25 October 1623 five students, including Biddulph, were expelled from the college by the rector Thomas Fitzherbert; Anstr., II, p. 25.

[103] i.e. *Censura Propositionum quarundam, tum ex Hibernia Delatarum, cum ex duobus Libris Anglico Sermone Conscriptis in Latinum Bona Fide Conversis Excerptarum [. . .]* (Paris, 1631); ARCR, I, nos 683–685, which condemned *inter alia* two English tracts written by Jesuits (Matthew Wilson SJ, *A Modest Briefe Discussion of some Points taught by M. Doctour Kellison in his Treatise of the Ecclesiasticall Hierarchy* (Rouen [imprint false; printed secretly in England], 1630); ARCR, II, no. 822; Floyd, *An Apology of the Holy Sea Apostolicks Proceeding [. . .]*).

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much hinder th*e* progresse of y*ou*r negotiation, as proceeding from one whose person is not gratefull. But I tell him [*p. 100*] that the first is ~~fals~~ far otherwise than as it is reported, and the second, were it true, can be no prejudice unto you or us bycause by the event the pope and cardinalls will see our intentions w*hi*ch will cleer all in time.

Newes we have nonn. Carleton Vicount Dorchester[104] died on Ashwednesday last, and the secretariship is not yet given to an other. Many are in competency for the place as L*or*d Cottington,[105] S*i*r Kellam Digby,[106] L*or*d Aston,[107] S*i*r Dudly Digg[es], Watt Mountague[108] and others.[109] Pursevants are still buissy. Compositions are not yet ~~finished~~ <accorded> for recusants. The king and queen are gonn to Newmarkett for a month or 3 weekes. I heare the mony is stayed now w*hi*ch should have bin [*word deleted*] <sent> to <the k[ing] of> Swedland.[110] We are in hand to recover o*ur* fishing out of the Hollanders hands.[111] The kings going to Scotland houldeth not for this yeare.

This is all I have to say. So in hast, adieu. 24 Febr[uary] 1632.

Yours,

Antonino.

No address.

Endorsed: 24 Feb[ruary]. Antonino. About my L*or*d Baltamour his case.

7. [John Southcot] to [Richard Smith], 28 February 1632

[*AAW, B 47, no. 59*][112]

Most hon[oured] m*aste*r,

M^r^ Laborne being gon into the North about buissenesse of his own, and not to rettourne till Easter, I receaved two packetts from you

[104] Sir Dudley Carleton, 1st Viscount Dorchester.

[105] Sir Francis Cottington, created Baron Cottington in July 1631.

[106] For the secular clergy's relationship with Sir Kenelm Digby, see A.F. Allison, 'An English gallican: Henry Holden, (1596/7–1662): part 1 (to 1648)', *RH*, 22 (1995), pp. 319–349, *passim*.

[107] Sir Walter Aston, 1st Baron Aston of Forfar.

[108] Walter Montagu, younger son of Henry Montagu, 1st earl of Manchester. See Hibbard, *CI*, *passim*.

[109] Cf. Birch, *CT*, II, p. 169.

[110] See *Letter 3*; cf. *CSPV, 1629–1632*, p. 597.

[111] Cf. *ibid*., p. 612.

[112] AAW, B 47 is unpaginated.

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since his departure, the first of 23 of February, and the later 1° Martii. And in the later there was one to me, with M^r^ Fittons[113] to your self enclosed in it, but wheras M^r^ Fitton saies in that letter that he sends you ~~the~~ a coppy of the second information w*hi*ch he gave to Card[inal] Ginetti, y*our* letter makes no mention therof, and we should be glad to see it also, that we may proceed from hence in conformity therunto, wherfor I beseech you cause M^r^ Plantin[114] to write a coppy for us by the next post.

We will procure the best information we can to satisfy M^r^ Fitton in those points which he mentioneth in his letter and heretofore some of them were [*word deleted*] touched in o*ur* former letters. He hath bin weekly written unto ever since the begining of December and I hope they will all come safe, bycause in his last to M^r^ Laborne he writes that M^r^ Skinner[115] receaved that week a letter from hence dated the 18 November, wherby it appeares that o*ur* letters come but slowly.

For my part I do not like that the nonce[116] should be so importunat with you to go to R[ome].[117] It argues some feare <they have> of y*our* stay in France, and a desire to prolong the buissinesse and weary

[113] Peter Biddulph.

[114] Lawrence Platt.

[115] Edward Skinner. In February 1630 Thomas White recommended that Skinner should succeed him as Smith's agent at Rome; AAW, A XXIV, no. 5, p. 13. Edward was the second son of Anthony Skinner of Shelfield Park, Aston Cantlow, Warwickshire, and Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Gage of Bentley, Framfield, Sussex (a patron of the secular clergy until his death in 1614). He was a brother of the priests Andrew and James Skinner. (James became the secular clergy's agent in Rome in 1646. His sister Eleanor was one of the first members of the new Augustinian convent at Paris, founded with the assistance of leading secular clergymen. See Anstr., II, pp. 296–297; William Camden, *The Visitation of the County of Warwick in the Year 1619*, J. Fetherston (ed.) (Harleian Society 12, 1877), p. 295; *Letter 46*; F.-M.-Th. Cédoz, *Un Couvent de Religieuses Anglaises à Paris de 1634 à 1884* (London, 1891), p. 28.) On 7/17 April 1632 Smith informed Biddulph that 'Mr Skinner [. . .] is this day gone for England', by way of Dieppe, 'in companie of the L[ord] Grandison [William Villiers, Viscount Grandison], but in very weak case for healthe'; AAW, B 27, no. 108. (By May Smith had heard that Skinner was 'much mended'; AAW, B 27, no. 109. Cf. AAW, A XXVI, no. 142, p. 385, XXVII, no. 27, p. 71.) In London, Skinner continued to receive news from France, particularly from Lawrence Platt (see e.g. AAW, A XXVI, no. 74, p. 209), and from Biddulph in Rome (see AAW, A XXVI, *passim*), until his death in early 1633; *Letter 32*.

[116] Cardinal Alessandro Bichi.

[117] On 19/29 March, Smith reported to Biddulph that his patron Cardinal Richelieu, who was 'exceeeding forward to help our cause', had offered Smith £500 to go to Rome. Smith had successfully persuaded Richelieu that he (Smith) and his leading supporters in England believed that Smith would be 'detained [there] under some honorable com*mendat*ion', and in effect prevented from carrying on his struggle. They thought that he should stay in Paris until the suit against his opponents was successful, and then return to England. The nuncio Cardinal Bichi, however, thought Smith's presence was needed in Rome 'because the Jes[uits] send 20 rel*ati*ons for every one of ours'; AAW, B 27, no. 107. See also AAW, B 27, nos 108, 109.

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you out. Others here are of my opinion also, and therfor it is wished by us that you ~~should~~ would not seem to give him any hope therof but put it fairely of[f] with some good excuse, as of y*our* age and of the charge etc*etera* and we conceave that the feare they have of your stay in France (if it be well mannaged) may moove them to dispatch you the sooner, especially if y*our* freinds write effectually for you from thence, and the b*isho*ps second it, by way of entreaty and intercession, and no otherwise, as we never desired they should to the least prejudice of the Sea Apostolick or his Hol[iness's] authority.

I have inquired who those two English ambassadors are at Civita Vecchia of whom M^r^ Fitton writeth in his last letter, and I understand they are two brothers called Nappers, the elder wherof goes to R[ome] uppon a wager being to receave 5 for one at his rettourne.[118] Whether the Jes[uits] will make use of ~~the~~ him there I know not, and perhaps they will, bycause he hath used them here divers times, and is thought to tend that way. He is a bould man and hath a good witt. Therfor it were good M^r^ Fitton were advertised therof. It is now more than ever desired that you should see o*ur* ambassador[119] there, bycause he is the likliest man to be made secretary in Carletons place. It is sufficient that the nonce is not against it.

M^r^ Price[120] hath gotten a protection under 6 of the councells handes by S*ir* John Langworths meanes,[121] who wrought it by a clerk of the councell uppon some considerations w*hi*ch I know not what they were.

Two pr[iests] are discovered that ~~live pretend~~ live in the shew of wedlock. The one I heard of but yesterday being a young man of 30 yeares of age of 3 yeares standing here, wherof two he hath led in this sacrilegious manner. He studdied at Sivil, and of a marchants factor there was made a scoller and pr[iest] and now keepeth a ~~wharlf~~ wharf about Milford Lane. His name is Crispe.[122] He went by the name of Cary. But he is yet knowen to few, yet I feare the Jes[uits] will know it, bycause one Tipper, S*ir* John Wintours man, hath bin <lately> tould (by mischaunce) that he was a priest w*hi*ch before he knew not, and it is like he will not conceale it from the Jes[uits]. The other is Anth[ony] Smith[123] whom [*sic*] when I acquainted [him] with that

[118] Christopher and William Napper, two of the sons of William Napper and Isabel Powell, are both recorded as having been in Rome in January 1632; A. Davidson, 'Roman Catholicism in Oxfordshire from the late Elizabethan period to the Civil War c. 1580–1640' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Bristol, 1970), p. 207; CRS, 1, p. 133.

[119] Sir Isaac Wake. See *CSPV, 1629–1632*, p. 598. Smith recorded that Wake was a 'moderate' man and a good friend; AAW, A XXVII, no. 61, p. 177.

[120] William (Benedict) Jones OSB.

[121] The Langworths were patrons of the Benedictines; ARSJ, Anglia MS 32/ii, fo. 401r.

[122] See Anstr., II, pp. 75–76.

[123] For Anthony Smith, alias Pole, see Allison, JG; Codignola, *CHL*, pp. 43–45.

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report made of him, he humd and hawd and spake little consequently or to the purpose. And since that time, w*hi*ch was a month agoe, I have neither seen him nor heard from hime. I feare it is to[o] trew, and some say that he hath two wives, one a Protest[ant] and an other Cathol[ic]. God help them bothe and mend them.

M^r^ Spence alias Chambers[124] is come. M^r^ Hammon[125] thinkes him to be a zealous clergy man, and doubts whether he be actually b*isho*p or noe; but takes no notice to him, nor speakes of it to others, bycause, if it be so, it is very secrett. He desires to have an information from us at his rettourne out of Scotland after two or 3 months, thinking to go over againe.

I send you <now> the long narration and supplication w*hi*ch I mentioned before,[126] and when M^r^ Plantin or some other hath taken a coppy you may please to send it to M^r^ Fitton who may reduce it into a shorter forme.

This week we send our com*m*on letter[127] to his Hol[iness] in conformity of those points which M^r^ Fitton gave to Card[inal] Ginetti.

We heare not yet of M^r^ Haslewoods[128] arrivall here.

You may please to write still to M^r^ Laborne by the name of Fontaine, only the outward cover must be to Mons*ieu*r Heyne.

Thus with woonted duty remembred, I rest.

28 Febr[uary] 1632.

No address or endorsement.

8. [John Southcot] to [Richard Smith], 14 March 1632

[*AAW, A XXVI, no. 38, pp. 121–124*]

Most hon[oured] m*aste*r,

I have yours of the 8 of this month wherin you make no mention yet of visiting o*u*r ambassador there,[129] a thing so behoofull in many respects that y*ou*r freinds here would not have it omitted by any meanes.

[124] David Chambers. See *Letter 6*; cf. Anstr., II, pp. 340–341.
[125] John Jackson.
[126] See *Letters 1*, *4*, *6*.
[127] Presumably a reference to AAW, A XXVI, no. 31 (John Colleton to Urban VIII, 26 February 1632).
[128] James Haselwood. See Anstr., II, pp. 150–151. He eventually became chaplain to Viscount Stafford.
[129] Sir Isaac Wake. See *Letter 7*.

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We wrote the last week to the Inquisit[ion] and the week before [to the] pope, and now we send duplicates of them by the way of Paris w*hi*ch you will receave togeather with these. M[r] Laborne is still out of town. M[r] East[130] is sick of an ague in the country. He writeth to me very earnestly to have his case proposed to the assembly of b*isho*ps there and him self justified by their verdict w*hi*ch M[r] D[octor] Seton[131] promised to do who carried the case with him drawen by M[r] East him self. I send you that parcell of M[r] Easts letter to me w*hi*ch concerns that buissenesse and I beseech you lett M[r] Plantin[132] call uppon D[octor] Seton for the case and, when the assembly is, lett it be proposed, and followed to M[r] Easts desire and satisfaction, whom we have all <reason> to keep o*u*r freind as much as we can. M[r] Ploydon,[133] S*i*r Basil[134] and that crew do give it out here that my l*or*d b*isho*p is coming over againe shortly, perhaps to hinder [*two words obliterated*: his coming (?)] <if they can> fearing indeed that he shall come unexpectedly uppon them ere long by some order from the citty.[135] They beginn now to give out that the Catholickes are willing to have a b*isho*p but with no tribunal, or forum externum.

I heare that Fa[ther] John Floid and Fa[ther] Rudesindo[136] have given their verdict at large in writing uppon the l*or*ds case,[137] and pronounce that it is no marriage, giving only for reason the not reception of the Councell of Trent here w*hi*ch hath taken away that impediment of compaternity derived from the wife to the husband.[138] I have seen Fa[ther] Floids verdict but I could not gett a coppy of it, for, it seemes, they are loath to lett anything be seen under their

[130] This appears to be the cleric Richard East who wrote to Richard Smith in April 1632 with news about John Floyd's recently published reply to Sir Humphrey Linde (*A Paire of Spectacles […]* (Rouen, 1631); ARCR, II, no. 298), criticizing Floyd's tract for 'not carrying w*i*th it the gravity of a divine', and for making jokes at Smith's expense; AAW, A XXVI, no. 52, p. 157. See also *Letters 25*, *32*, *33*; AAW, A XXVI, no. 24, p. 77. East had been ordained at Arras in April 1631 and was sent to England in June 1632; Anstr., II, p. 92.

[131] Dr William Seton had been a friend of the secular clergy while he was in Rome during the 1620s; AAW, B 26, no. 70. Thomas More described him as 'nere of kin to the late chanceler of Scotland', Alexander Seton, earl of Dunfermline (d. 16 June 1622); AAW, A XVIII, no. 55, p. 337.

[132] Lawrence Platt.

[133] Francis Plowden.

[134] Sir Basil Brooke.

[135] On 7/17 April 1632 Richard Smith complained to Peter Biddulph that 'Mr Ploiden and his fellows give out everie where that I am to returne shortly and that speech did first rise from the Capucins in England', though 'whence they had that I know not'. Smith speculated that the rumour might have come from François Joseph le Clerc du Tremblay (Père Joseph); AAW, B 27, no. 108.

[136] William (Rudesind) Barlow OSB.

[137] Baron Baltimore's marriage to Mary Wynne. See *Letters 4*, *5*, *6*.

[138] Southcot refers here to the fact that Baltimore's third wife was god-daughter to his second wife.

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hands wherin they oppose the reception of the Councell. The clergy[139] consulted of this case the last week, and resolved that the mariage was good, but nothing in writing. Indeed John Floids reasons ~~are~~ and answers are but fallacies, as far as I could judg of them hearing them read but once over by an other body who was charged not to lett that coppy go out of his hands.

I ame sory you yeald to M^r^ Colletons request of not abiding ordinarily in London, for now we have no hope to draw him from his brother and kinred who I feare will gett all he hath when he dieth. And, besides, his sup*er*iority[140] [*p. 122*] is of small use to us or to the Catholickes while he is not ordinarily at hand to be spoke withall.

For my self I humbly thanke you for the care you shew of my health and indeed I was fain to use some prevention this Lent fearing the like consequence as ~~that~~ happ[ened] [he]re last Easter by occasion of Lenten diett. I ame now somwhat better than I was, but still in phisick and not yet confirmed in healthe and strength, soe as I dare ride half a dozen miles. Neither have I bin able yet to go down to my fathers house in Surrey,[141] but after Easter I will beginn to make a triall.

This book of Petronilla[142] is wonderfully well liked of, and many coppies are wished for here.

As for y*our* going to R[ome], all here are against it and not without good reason for that were to beginn y*our* buissenesse againe, and <to> putt your self and us to needlesse charges and perhaps to hinder y*our* rettourne hither for ever. O*ur* freindes will not give their consents unto it by any meanes.[143]

D*oct*or Flud[144] tould me the other day that one in the country saied unto him I had forsworne [my] self in attesting the Disclaime[145] wherfor I could wish that the attestations were printed, with the two first letters of the pr[iests'] names, for M^r^ Hares justification and mine in that point.

[139] i.e. the secular clergy.

[140] Colleton was dean of the episcopal chapter.

[141] The Southcot residence was at Merstham (Albury Manor); *VCH Surrey*, III, p. 216; CRS, 1, pp. 98–99.

[142] P.S.P., *A Discours Hapned. Betwene an Hermite called Nicephorus & a yong lover called Tristan, who for that his mistresse Petronilla entred into religion would faine become an hermite* (Paris, 1630); ARCR, II, no. 586. This work is a translation of Jean-Pierre Camus, bishop of Belley's romance entitled *Pétronille. Accident Pitoyable de Nos Jours*, written in 1626. It was a polemic directed against some of the regular clergy.

[143] See *Letter 7*.

[144] Dr Robert Floyd. See *Letter 3*.

[145] *Général Désadveu des Catholiques Lais d'Angleterre [. . .]*. See *Letter 3*.

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Thus, with all woonted duty, I rest. 14 Martii 1632.

[*on p. 124*]

Addressed: For my maister at Paris.

No endorsement.

9. [John Southcot] to [Richard Smith], 11 April 1632

[*AAW, A XXVI, no. 54, pp. 161–162*]

Most hon[oured] m*a*ster,

Even now I receaved yours of the 12 of Aprill to w*hi*ch there occurreth not much to answer in particuler. Mr Nelson[146] hath sent for M^r^ Dade[147] to deliver him the generals letter, but he hath putt off his coming once or twice. I cannot yet heare that Doct[or] Haillers book[148] is come hither. It is pitty Directeur Spirituel[149] is not in English and Latin pro bono com*m*uni, for I conceave it would do much good in all places. I heard M^r^ Plantin[150] was in hand with it <once> and I wish he had made an end of it ere he had given it over.[151]

A good freind of y*our*s and ours tould me that he understood from a privy counseller for certaine that my L*or*d Peter[152] and others had

[146] John Jackson.

[147] Thomas Middleton OP, Superior of the English Dominicans.

[148] François Hallier, *Defensio Ecclesiasticae Hierarchiae, seu, Vindiciae Censurae Facultatis Theologiae Parisiensis, adversus Hermanii Loemelii Spongiam* (Paris, 1632); ARCR I, no. 499. For Hallier, whom Allison terms a 'moderate gallican', and his links with the English secular clergy, see Allison, RSGB, III, pp. 165–166. On 7/17 April Smith recorded that a member of the Sorbonne 'told me that it is thought D. Halliers book will be put in the Indice'; AAW, B 27, no. 108.

[149] Jean-Pierre Camus (bishop of Belley), *Le Directeur Spirituel Désinteressé* (Paris, 1632).

[150] Lawrence Platt.

[151] Lawrence Platt in 1633 did, in fact, publish his translation of Jean-Pierre Camus's book *Le Directeur Spirituel Désinteressé* as *The Spirituall Director Disinteressed* (Rouen [imprint false; printed at Paris], 1633); ARCR, II, no. 648. This work argued for the superiority, as confessors, of parochial clergy over the religious orders. See E. Duffy, 'The English secular clergy and the Counter-Reformation', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 34 (1983), pp. 214–230, at p. 224.

[152] William Petre, 2nd Baron Petre. Via a notarial instrument drawn up by William Case on 11 May 1632, the marquis of Winchester described how he found Petre to be a violent opponent of Catholic episcopal authority in England; AAW, A XXVI, no. 71, p. 199. In January 1635, the seculars described Petre with venom thus: 'totius est a partibus Jesuitarum, et alienissimus ab ep*isco*po Chalcedonensi quamvis in pueritia fuerunt una condiscipuli. Hic baro ex illis est, qui credunt nihil doctum, nihil prudens, nihil pium esse in toto terrarum orbe, nisi quod proficiscitur a Jesuitis, pro quibus est zelosissimus ne dicam factiosissimus, vir alioquin pius'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 3, p. 16.

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geven up somwhat to the k[ing] by my l*or*d treasurers[153] meanes in writing a good while since ag*ain*st the bishop.[154] But this freind, defending the b*isho*p in his answer to the saied counsellor, and retorting all objections uppon the b*isho*ps adversaries, shewing that the daunger to the State was greater on their part than on the b*isho*ps, bred a good opinion in the counsellor of the b*isho*p and his authority, which he promised to informe the k[ing] of. I suppose you will ghesse at the parties though I name them not. Mr Fountaine[155] and I will do o*ur* best to gett a coppy of that writing or at least to learne the contents therof.

There hath happened this weeke an other foule buisinesse which ma[y] [*ms torn*: argue (?)] the want of authority here, and serve as a testimony of Gods [*ms torn*: judgements] ~~uppon the~~ withall in some kind. The buissenesse is this. M[r] Worth[ington],[156] clayming interest in a young gentlewoman,[157] daughter to my Lady Perkins,[158] lately profest at Gaunt,[159] and having used many waies to gett her from thence both before and since her profession, pretending that she is his lawfull wife, and consequ*en*tly that her profession is void, but after much labour and charge having profited nothing in the buissenesse, nor yett anything by following it so eagerly but scorne and derision from his adversaries and their freinds, without hope to prevaile any other way, at length resolved uppon this course, videlicet to cause M[r] Gibbons al*ia*s Wakeman,[160]

[153] Sir Richard Weston, 1st Baron Weston, created earl of Portland in February 1633.

[154] Richard Smith.

[155] George Leyburn.

[156] William Worthington was the son of Thomas Worthington of Blainscow Hall, and Mary, daughter of George Allen of Rossall Grange (and thus a niece of Cardinal William Allen). William was a great-nephew of Thomas Worthington DD, the former president of Douai college. He was also a brother-in-law of Peter Biddulph (*Letter 10*), for he had previously been married to Helen, daughter of Richard Biddulph of Biddulph Hall, Staffordshire, Peter Biddulph's father. Richard Biddulph was himself regarded as a favourer of the Society of Jesus. (Thomas Worthington DD, who had entered the Society in 1626, died at Biddulph Hall in 1626 or 1627; Anstr., I, p. 388.) In June 1633 Richard Smith informed Biddulph that 'they write that' the Jesuit John Worthington, the Biddulph family chaplain, 'who is to goe to R[ome] as procurator of their order, giveth out that he is to com*m*and you fro*m* yo*ur* father to give over yo*ur* office'; AAW, B 27, no. 121. However, entries in Gregorio Panzani's diary for February and May 1635 suggest that John Worthington was not as hostile to Richard Smith and the seculars as many other Jesuits were; VA, PD, fo. 91r. See also PRO, 31/9/17B (transcript of Panzani's letter to Cardinal Francesco Barberini of 13 May 1635).

[157] Penelope Parkins.

[158] Mary Parkins.

[159] Ghent.

[160] John Wakeman. Biddulph noted that Chrysogona Wakeman (a member of Mary Ward's Institute) was sister to John Wakeman and to Thomas Wakeman SJ. On 7/17 April 1632 Biddulph reported to Edward Skinner that there were 'two Jesuitesses' who had left Rome for Paris via Marseilles, 'one M[rs] Ratclif and M[rs] Wakeman who is my kinswoman.

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the concealed Theatin,[161] to be apprehended by a messenger of my l*or*d of Dorsetts,[162] having first petitioned to the k[ing] and gotten the reference to be made unto his l*ordshi*p, and carried before my l*or*d, who, examining the matter in the presence of them both, in fine com*m*itted Gibbons close prisoner to the Gatehouse where he is at this present, and there likely to ly, for ought I see, till M^r^ Worthington gett his wife whom Gibbons carried over and persuaded to be a nunn. This matter haith bread a great clamour ag*ain*st Worthington and a great scandall to all.[163] And it were fitt that M^r^ Fitton[164] certified the pope [*p. 162*] and card*ina*lls therof, as I suppose you will do the nonce[165] there.

Mr Calvert[166] is much disgusted, and sweareth that he hath seen it written from Paris that the clergy hath certified <and divulged> his fathers case there, to his ignom[in]y, by one who saieth that he had the letter in his hand wh*ic*h was written to my l*or*d[167] him self from hence about that matter.[168] Either he doth this out of cunning, and to see what we will say to it, or els, if it be true, we cannot but think that my l*or*d hath some untrusty persons about him that seek to do ill offices w*hi*ch his l*ordshi*p may quickly ~~know~~ perceave.

She came lately from Naples. Her brother is one of the priests'; AAW, A XXVI, no. 57, p. 167.

[161] i.e. Jesuit.

[162] Edward Sackville, 4th earl of Dorset, whom the secular clergy identified as a supporter of Richard Smith.

[163] This was a long-running case concerning a broken marriage agreement between William Worthington and Penelope Parkins (daughter of Sir George Parkins, the recorder of Nottingham, and his wife Mary, daughter of Edward Isham); G.W. Marshall (ed.), *The Visitations of the County of Nottingham in the Years 1569 and 1614* (Harleian Society 4, 1871), pp. 159–160; P.W. Hasler (ed.), *The House of Commons 1558–1603*, 3 vols (London, 1981), III, p. 176. William alleged that Penelope had been compelled to go abroad and enter a house of religion; AAW, A XXIV, no. 185, p. 687; XXVI, nos 1–14, no. 24, p. 63, no. 88, p. 255, no. 95, p. 261, no. 101, p. 279, no. 111, p. 311, no. 147, p. 401; XXVII, no. 147, p. 449; *Letters 10*, *11*, *12*, *20*; Anstr., II, p. 331. See also AAW, A XXVII, no. 5 for copies of documents relating to Worthington's suit. He claimed that he was 'deluded of the certane promises [which] were given unto me by M^rs^ Parkins in the way to Dover for her speedie returne, she pretending that jorney partly to avoyd her mothers and friends importunitie in pressing her to marrie an Irish man, partly to avoyd her indignation against the mariage with me', since 'her fortunes depended wholie upon her mother'. Worthington believed he had John Wakeman's promise that Penelope would return, but 'in the end [Wakeman] broake his oath', and 'cloathed her in a religious habitt'. Worthington's threats against Wakeman and the Jesuit Matthew Wilson were to no avail, and he went over to Ghent to seek redress there; AAW, A XXVI, no. 4, p. 23.

[164] Peter Biddulph.

[165] Cardinal Alessandro Bichi.

[166] Cecil Calvert, who, four days after the date of this letter, would become the 2nd Baron Baltimore, following the death of his father, Sir George Calvert; GEC, III, p. 393.

[167] Richard Smith.

[168] Sir George Calvert, 1st Baron Baltimore's marriage to Mary Wynne. See *Letters 4*, *5*, *6*.

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It were to be wished in my opinion that my lord treasurer and Lord Cottington were particulerly writen unto in my lords behalf by my lord ambassador there,[169] seeing those two have bin made the chief instruments to informe the k[ing] against him.

I should have informed you long since in secrett, as I did Mr Fitton, that Signor Angelo[170] the Italian <and> musitian to the king tould me he was to goe to Chichester to treat with the bishop[171] there about his conversion, and to make him an offer of provition from the resident of Spaine[172] here in his Majesties name for his maintenance according to his degree beyond seas. What the ground should be of this I know not, or whether he tould it me only to [en]deer him self unto me, but he conjured me to great secrecy, and as a secrett I beseech you to keep it till we heare further.

Thus with my sisters[173] humble duty remembred, and my own, I rest.

11 Aprill 1632.

No address or endorsement.

10. Antonino [John Southcot][174] to Fitton [Peter Biddulph], 13 April 1632

[*AAW, A XXVI, no. 55, pp. 163–164*]

Sir,

I wrote to you the last weeke according to my custom, since which time I receaved yours of the 3 of March by Mr Skinner who is, God be thanked, safe arrived in Sussex, ~~and~~ as he writeth to me, and intendeth to be in London within a fortnight. We will all be ready to do with curtesy as you desire, and [*word deleted*] shew our selves thankfull for the paines he hath taken there in our affaires. The last we had from you was of the 13th of March wherin you sent Card[inal]

[169] Sir Isaac Wake, who died in June 1632; *CSPV, 1629–1632*, p. 626.

[170] This is presumably the 'musitian' called Angelo whom Sir George Calvert noted in January 1623 as being in Charles's service. Angelo had caused a scandal by assisting with the 'musique' at 'midnight masse' in the Spanish embassy in London at Christmas in 1622; Bodl., Tanner MS 73, fo. 270r.

[171] Richard Montagu, bishop of Chichester.

[172] Juan de Necolalde y Martinez de Barrenechea. See A.J. Loomie, 'The Spanish faction at the court of Charles I, 1630–8', *BIHR*, 59 (1986), pp. 37–49.

[173] This may be a reference to John Southcot's sister-in-law Elizabeth (Seaborne); W.C. Metcalfe (ed.), *The Visitations of Essex*, 2 vols (Harleian Society 13–14, 1878–1879), I, p. 492.

[174] For Southcot's change of his alias, see *Letter 14*.

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Borgia his speech made in open consistory[175] and wrote the passages briefly of that buissenesse to M^r^ Laborne ~~but I hope~~ w*hi*ch we were all sory to heare of. In requitall of that newes M^r^ Lab[orne] will certify you of a scandalous action happened here since Easter between one John Green, al*ia*s Gibbons, al*ia*s Wakeman a pretended sec[ular]

[175] For the speech delivered by Gasparo Borgia, archbishop of Seville and Toledo, on 27 February/8 March 1632, see AAW, A XXVIII, no. 74; Pastor, *HP*, XXVIII, pp. 287–290; JPN, pp. 251–252. In December 1631 Borgia, who had replaced the count of Monterey as the Spanish ambassador in Rome, had been instructed to represent forcefully to the pope the necessity of aiding the emperor financially, and to allow Philip IV to levy taxation on the Spanish clergy for that purpose; and, if Urban VIII refused (as he, in fact, did), to deliver a strong protest; *ibid.*, pp. 281–282. Southcot noted in his diary that Borgia 'spake in public consistory to the pope by commandment of the king of Spain protesting the king to be free and the pope to be to blame if any harm came to religion by the wars of Germany'; CRS, 1, pp. 107–108. See also AAW, A XXVI, no. 42, p. 131 for Biddulph's information of 10/20 March 1632 that, following his performance in the consistory, Borgia 'is held here to have incurred excommunication for his disobedience and insistent proceeding against the pope, insomuch that now he neither frequenteth congreg*ac*ion nor chappels. He came last week to the congreg*ac*ion of the Holy Office before his Holiness, allthough he was not warned to come as the custome is, and then the pope asked him what he did there, seeing he was not sent for, and tould him that he was excom*m*unicated, and that he should looke unto it, because he would not absolve him from it, yett, because the congreg*ac*ion concerned the good of the Church, he would not for that time forbid him to stay and be present at it'. Afterwards the pope told Borgia that he would no longer receive him as Spanish ambassador. Biddulph believed that Borgia and 'those who were authors of that protestation, have done the pope greate wrong [. . .] for they should rather have thanked' the pope; for the pope had 'some 7 or 8 dayes before [. . .] apppointed [. . .] a congreg*ac*ion' of former nuncios to France, Spain, and Germany to consider 'the business of the emperour' and 'to doe what they should think fitt for his assistance'. This congregation was to meet on the very day that Borgia delivered his protest, 'and they have met often since'. However, 'I doubt not butt many in England will augment these matters, and draw all they cann in the worst sense to calumniate his Holines, and make the world believe that there were some greater division than indeed there is'. See also Pastor, *HP*, XXVIII, pp. 290–291. On 29 May 1632 Biddulph recorded that 'the Spanish embass[ador], who was so long expected, is now arrived at his Holiness sollicitation, who could not endure that Borgia should be any more embass[ador]', although 'last night there arrived an extraordinarye currier from Spaine with order that Borgia should remaine still ordinarye embass[ador]' and the other should 'be only as extraordinarye'; AAW, A XXVI, no. 78, p. 219. On 23 June/3 July 1632 Biddulph noted that Cardinal Borgia and the pope were reconciled; AAW, A XXVI, no. 91, p. 251. However, on 7/17 July Biddulph wrote that Borgia had been refused audience by the pope on the grounds that there was already a Spanish ambassador in Rome; AAW, A XXVI, no. 94, p. 259.

For Borgia's continuing troubles at the papal court, and his return to Spain in early 1636, see AAW, A XXVIII, no. 86, p. 337. On 9/19 July 1636 Biddulph reported that Borgia, who had abandoned his palace in Rome (AAW, A XXVIII, no. 135, pp. 458–459), had 'taken a very faire pallace in Madrid, haveing before been lodged in a monasterye' which indicated that he would not be coming back to Rome. Philip IV showed him 'extraordinarye favour' and used 'his counsell in all businesses of State', so much so that Olivares had started to take against him; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 139, p. 467. But on 5/15 August Biddulph noted that Borgia's 'long stay in Madrid' offended the pope, who would proceed against him with 'rigour' if he did not go to his archbishopric; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 150, p. 505.

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priest but com*m*only thought a concealed Jes[uit] whom I suppose you knew there in the college,[176] and a brother in law of yours, one M^r^ Will[iam] Worthington who married y*ou*r sister. There hath bin a buissenesse depending between these two about two yeares and more concerning the Lady Perkins her daughter,[177] whom Worthington claimeth as his lawfull wife, being (as he saieth <he> can proove) contracted unto her and having bedded with her. This gentlewoman Gibbons notwithstanding persuaded to be a nunn, and carried her over to the English Benedictine nunns at Gaunt, where she was lately profest contrary to Worthingtons will and clayme, w*hi*ch clayme he prosecuted partely by himself and partly by a procurator before the bishop of Gaunts officiall even till the time of her profession.[178] And finding no meanes to prevaile there as he expected, but suffering rather much trouble and disgrace by the manifould practises of the freinds of that house both in his person and in his reputation, he thought he had no other remedy but to cause Gibbons to be apprehended by a messenger, w*hi*ch he did by order from the earle of Dorsett, having first petitioned to the king, who made the reference to Dorsett. But withall he hath used such caution as that Gibbons shalbe questioned uppon no other point but this, as indeed he was not, when he appeared togeather with Worthington uppon the 8 of this month before my l*or*d of Dorsett, who, finding him guilty of what the other accused him, com*m*itted him close prisoner to the Gatehouse where it is intended he shall ly till Worthington have his wife from Gaunt, but he is not so close but that he hath the liberty of the house, and free accesse of his freinds unto him. Of this case you may make good use to shew the necessity of ep*iscop*all authority here, and withall the judgments of God uppon them that oppose it, for Worthington was alwaies leaning to that side, and hath ever bin the Jes[uits'] penitent. The other[179] is a Jes[uit] in hart, and is wholy used and [em]ployed in their buissenesses both here and beyond seas ag*ain*st my l*or*d[180] and Doct[or] Champney.[181] [*p. 164*]

I understand for certaine that there was a writing presented to the k[ing] against my l*or*d b*isho*p by some Catholickes a good while since. My L*or*d Peter was named in particuler for one and no doubt but my

[176] John Wakeman was admitted at the English college in Rome in October 1615 and was ordained in December 1620. He would have known Biddulph, who entered the college in October 1619; Anstr., II, pp. 331, 25.

[177] Penelope Parkins, daughter of Sir George and Mary Parkins. See *Letters 9*, *11*.

[178] See AAW, A XXVI, no. 101.

[179] i.e. John Wakeman.

[180] Richard Smith.

[181] Anthony Champney; see Anstr., I, pp. 70–71. On 26 February 1635 Wakeman visited Gregorio Panzani, and represented himself as 'molto indifferente' concerning the issue of episcopacy, but said he believed that a restored bishop should have restrictions placed on his jurisdiction; VA, PD, fo. 80r.

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L*or*d Baltimor, Savage[182] and others were consenting therunto also by meanes of my l*or*d treasurer[183] and L*or*d Cottington; but I cannot learne what was contained in the writing nor gett a coppy of it although I have used some diligence already therin. This was tould by a privy counsellor to a Cath[olic] freind of ours who spake much in my l*or*ds behalf to that counsellor and gave him good satisfaction concerning his claime and person wherof the counsellor saied he would informe the k[ing].[184]

I should have tould you before that this action of Worthington hath caused a great noise and scandall here amongst Catholickes, and if the matter be not taken up quickly it may be of very daungerous consequence and bring many Cath[olics] in question for sending over their children unto monasteries w*hi*ch is ~~made~~ premunire by a law made in K[ing] Charles his time.[185] It is reported that Worthington hath the hands of some pr[iests] for the justification of this action and to warrant the lawfulnesse therof and Ghibbons (as I heare even now) hath bin so imprudent and so uncharitable as not only to suspect me for one of those pr[iests] but also to write it to my father, and yet I protest sincerly that I neither allow of the action, nor ever knew of it till it was past and donn, neither do I think that any other seculer pr[iest] hath his voice or hand in it, and I ame sure all the better sort here in London are utterly ag*ain*st it, yet I doubt not but information wilbe given there to the contrary w*hi*ch you must seek to prevent or forestall if you can.

Other occurrences I must referr to M^r^ Laborne. Adieu in haste. 13 Aprill 1632.

Addressed: Pour Mons*ieu*r Fitton a Rome.

Endorsed: Dated 13 Aprill. Antonino.
About my brother Worthington his busin[ess]. [*ms obscured*] petition put up by [*ms obscured*] to the king against my l*or*d.

[182] Thomas Savage, 1st Viscount Savage, Henrietta Maria's chancellor. The secular clergy's 1635 survey of the nobility noted that Savage 'non vult se im*m*iscere oppositioni adversus ep*iscop*um, licet aliquoties solicitatus fuerit, nam fatetur eiusmodi negotia o*mn*io relinquenda esse Sedis Apostolicae dispositioni'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 3, p. 15. See Hibbard, *CI*, p. 40.

[183] Sir Richard Weston, 1st Baron Weston, created earl of Portland in February 1633.

[184] See *Letter 9*.

[185] On 19 March 1628, after the return of the Commons from the opening of parliament, 'there was read (as of form in other parliaments hath been usual) one bill', which had failed in 1626, entitled 'An act to restrain the passing or sending of any to be popishly bred beyond the seas'. It passed into law as 3 Charles I, c. 3. It received the royal assent on 26 June 1628. See *CD 1628*, II, pp. 12, 25; IV, p. 481; *The Statutes of the Realm*, 11 vols (London, 1810–1828), V, pp. 25–26.

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11. Laborn [George Leyburn] to [Peter Biddulph], 13 April 1632

[*AAW, A XXVI, no. 56, pp. 165–166*]

Worthie deare sir,

I receaved yours w*it*h a copie inclosed of Cardinal Borgia his speech in the consistorie w*hi*ch was to[o] plane and bitter.[186] You write comfortably concerning my maisters[187] busines. Sweet Jesus send a speedie and wish[e]d conclusion. Our cheef friends mett on Tuseday last together in my chamber and they desired me to commend unto you divers particulars of busines w*hi*ch they assure them selves by your assistance may be effected to ther contents. First is th*a*t you please to endevour to p*ro*cure th*a*t ordinarie facultyes of missionaryes may be equall and th*a*t order may be taken w*i*th the Jesuists ejects w*hi*ch are many in this country and much disordered, as alsoe order may be taken to hinder them[188] from making ignorant and simple priests, w*hi*ch they doe w*i*th intention to make a dishonorable and contemptible clergie. The second was to wish you to put up a petition th*a*t the congregation will be pleased to take into ther owne hands all regular missionaries and th*a*t they may be examined de vita et moribus. Third was th*a*t you send alwayse y*ou*r breves authenticated and more than one copie. The fourth th*a*t no particular indulgence might be granted unto particular persons. Here you may touch of the Jesuists sodalities.[189] The fift th*a*t noe bookes may be printed w*i*thout licence from the ordinarie of England. The sixt is a long busines w*hi*ch causeth great scandall, w*hi*ch is thus. Your brother Worthington some 3 yeares aggoe did marrie him selfe unto a doughter[190] of the Ladie Perkins w*i*thout her notice and

[186] See *Letter 10*.

[187] Richard Smith.

[188] i.e. the Jesuits.

[189] See AAW, A XXVI, no. 81, p. 225, for John Jackson's report of 6 June 1632 to Biddulph about the alleged use of sodalities by Jesuits to supplant secular priests. Jackson claimed he had received 'diverse l*ett*res out of <diverse parts of> th*e* country, reporting the regulars erecting and spreadding of new sodalities', and 'if some order be not taken w*i*th these sodalities many abuses will growe upon their use of them'. Jackson said he had been told 'of a gentleman who maintained a <sec[ular]> preist', and the Jesuits, 'knowing the use they cold make of him and his wealth, watched an opportunitie, and, when the sec[ular] pr[iest] was gone upon some business abroad, one of them came to him, moved him to be of a sodalitie, and being thereupo*n* to make a generall co*n*fess[ion] it had been held incongruent if he had not made the same to any but one th*a*t cold advise him into th*a*t sodality', and thus 'they gain*e*d him and others by him'. See also AAW, A XXVI, no. 141 (Thomas Hill OSB's information to George Fisher, to be forwarded to Biddulph in Rome, concerning the Jesuits and their sodalities).

[190] Penelope Parkins.

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after did lye with her and as he sweareth did consummate ex sue parte although she, a mayd at that tyme, could not be penetrated,[191] and sodainely after her mother had notice and, being a creature of the Jesuists, did consult with them, much offended with this marriage; wherupon they (whether moved with charity or a good peece of money I will not sweare) wrought with the doughter and wonne her to goe over to Gant wher they did cloth her and after her nov[ic]eship did intend to professe her, of which [*p. 166*] the king, who haith a great morall goodnes, is much offended with this proceeding of the Jesuists and says that he will write over to the infanta[192] that the gentleman M^r^

[191] In July 1632 Penelope Parkins made a statement admitting that she had spent one night with Worthington in her chamber in Drury Lane, but her maid was present throughout, and could testify that no intimacy had taken place. She claimed that she 'never made any publicke or private sponsalls with M^r^ Worthington nor ever expressed my self unto him by words or signes of promise of future marriage nor of any prefixed day or time to marry him. Yet once being tyred out and forced by his importunity seeking then to ridd my self of him, I said to satisfy him at that time that wee would talke againe of that matter on Wednesday following but, I never intending it, wee mett not that day, and at our next meeting I gave him a flatt deniall to marry him, bidding him to cease from further troubling of mee therewith.' Subsequently she met Worthington and a priest 'in Lincolnes Inn Fields (as I was coming from my mothers going to my grandmothers with whome I then lived withall)'. The priest advised her 'that it was needeles to expect my mothers consent', but Penelope replied that 'though my mothers consent were not necessary yet of this am I resolved, without my mothers consent will I never accept of any man in marriage'. She swore that, 'M^r^ Worthington neyther had any carnall knowledg of mee, neyther did I ever comitt act or suffer act comitted by him by which I might any waies suspect carnall knowledg betweene us for that I never suffered him to attempt the same soe as I never had the least scruple of any such act had with him.' She denied Worthington's claim that she had on one occasion lured him to see her, 'for I incited him not but he came up to my chamber against my will, nor would by any perswations depart at that time of night, yet made promise confirmed by oathes that he would not attempt any thinge dishonest, and withall threatened to make a noise that my mother should know of his presence unles I would remayne in the chamber and be quiett, wherupon he staied all that night. But by my commaund the mayde who was ever present with mee lay downe at my back, and went not from mee at all that night till morning following [. . .] at her riseing. M^r^ Worthington takes leave of mee and made great boasts and ostentation of his fidelity kept and performed unto mee that night.' Subsequently he became more bold, and 'would have had an other kynde of admittance than the former was', but she told him he was 'unworthy in demaunding a thing soe prejudiciall to my fame and honour'. She swore also that Worthington admitted 'immediately before my coming out of England in presence of my mother and M^r^ Gibbons that, for any carnall knowledg hee had of mee, I was as innocent as the child new borne [. . .] [and] for ought he knew I was a virgin'. Lastly she alleged that she was 'not [. . .] compelled, drawne or urged to this course of religion which I professe, either by my mother, M^r^ Gibbons, or any other what soever, but have freely undertaken it, through Gods sole guift of his divine grace and inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and that my mother gave mee her free consent to marry with M^r^ Worthington rather than that I should depart out of England discontentedly'; AAW, A XXVI, no. 95, pp. 263–264.

[192] Isabella Clara Eugenia, archduchess of Austria, and ruler of the Netherlands.

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Worthington may have justice.[193] If Winter[194] had not been gon over he had been apprehended as well as Gibbins.[195] I heare th*a*t the Jesuists, by some friends who are inward w*i*th the treasurer and Cottington, have caused a petition to be preferred unto the king against my lord,[196] and one of the cheef in the councell, hearing of it, sayd th*a*t he would informe against th*a*t information.[197] I cannot furnish you w*i*th more occurrences for the present, onely th*a*t now it is generally thought th*a*t our queen is w*i*th child.[198] The king is never willinglie from her.

[193] William Worthington counterclaimed that Penelope Parkins was relying upon 'th*e* opinion of some [. . .] divines [. . .] who speake very largely of a womans power to sweare in this case for her honors sake when she is induced rather to lett her actions be framed as dishonest than in th*e* way of marriage'. 'M[r] Edward Silisdon and M[r] Gibbons [. . .] intimated inspection as the best way for clearing of this point. But divines and phisitians will tell us many reasons why this can bee noe clearing to her, or barr to my p*re*tention w*hi*ch way soever it fall, and yet gives scope enough of occasion to both p*ar*tes of this deposici*o*n. And therefore I shalbe loath to enter into th*e* examinacion of this point by p*ar*ticuler interrogatories till wee come before some judge that must determine th*e* matter, leaving every one to their more charitable opinion both of her and mee, upon such circu*m*stances and passages as wilbe made manifest by the proofe of witnesses.' She 'sweares the mayde lay at her backe whilst I was in the chamber but shee saith nothing in what p*ar*te of the chamber I was, at the same tyme, and where I lay both then and after when the mayde was dep*ar*ted thence'. Worthington insisted also that she was forced to enter religion; AAW, A XXVI, no. 111, pp. 312–313. Worthington alleged further that 'the mayde Catherine Nunn [daughter of John Nunn of Norfolk], who (as hee hath heard heertofore) was induced to sweare falsly before the eearle [*sic*] of Dorsett touching the concubitus, hath lately written a letter of repentance [. . .] out of remorse of conscience', and it was hoped that she would 'declare who induced her to that perjurie'; AAW, A XXVI, no. 8, p. 37; no. 1, p. 17. (Richard Worthington, William's brother, who became a chaplain at the Venetian embassy in London, also said the maid had been proved a liar. He claimed on 13/23 August 1632 that, in Ghent, Penelope Parkins was now tiring of the spiritual exercises which she was put to by the Jesuits, although Edward Weston and the abbess of the convent had promised her that she might herself one day become abbess there. She had confessed to Richard Worthington that she and William 'had layne one night together, and how extraordinarye her love was to my brother, and that so much as that shee would have preferred him in mariage before a king or an emperor, and that shee loved his person yet verye well, though shee disallowed of his pretences'; AAW, A XXVI, no. 11, pp. 45, 44.) On 7 October 1632 William Worthington informed Biddulph that he believed Penelope Parkins was secretly in England, and the earl of Dorset was now not so favourable to his cause as he had hoped. Worthington had, by then, negotiated for a match between himself and the daughter of one of Henrietta Maria's servants, Françoise de Monbodiac, wife of Jean Garnier, and had used an intermediary 'to interest' Henrietta Maria's 'confessor in it on my behalf'. But she had then contracted herself to a Frenchman to whom she was now married; AAW, A XXVI, no. 147, p. 402. For Richard Worthington, see Anstr., II, p. 365.

[194] Robert Winter, brother of Sir John Winter.

[195] John Wakeman.

[196] Richard Smith.

[197] See *Letters 9*, *10*.

[198] This rumour was untrue. See *Letter 15*.

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I heare that the countesse of Buckinghame is dead or dying.[199] The countesse of Shroseberry is buryed.[200] The Lord Brudenell is very sick. Sir Luis Treshame went post yesterdaye towards [*word illegible*]. I should have written this in D[octor] Champneys letter.

Here are many unnaturall sutes amongst the gostlie children of Jesuists and <of> some other regulars: Ployden and his sonne,[201] M^rs^ Corame and hers, M^rs^ Perkins and hers, <M^r^> Cuffolde[202] and his, and many more, and th*at* fowle busines of the Lord Baltamoore,[203] as alsoe this of Worthingtons, toucheth nearly the Jesuists, both of them, especially Baltamoore, being ther creatures.

No address.

Endorsed: 13 April. Laborn.
About divers points that the clergy would have mee to sollicite.
About strang[e] suites amongst the Jesuitts paenitants.
M^r^ Worthingtons case.
13 Apr[il]. Lisbon.

[*in margin on p. 165*]

Y*our* brother Worthington, having notice, did goe over him selfe to Bruxells and did claime her for his wife of the bishop, wherupon the Jesuists did cite him to the bishops court;[204] and being many and powrefull, and he but one and destitute of friends, they did what they listed them selfes <and put M^r^ Worthingtons [*sic*] in prison at

[199] Mary Beaumont, who had married successively Sir George Villiers, Sir William Rayner, and Sir Thomas Compton, and had been created countess of Buckingham in July 1618. She died on 19 April 1632.

[200] Mary (Fortescue), wife of John Talbot, 10th earl of Shrewsbury. She died, in fact, in December 1635 and was buried on 6 January 1636; GEC, XI, p. 718. The earl's second wife was Frances, daughter of Thomas Arundell, 1st Baron Arundell and his second wife Anne (Richard Smith's patrons).

[201] For the litigation between Francis Plowden of Shiplake and his son Edmund over a now disputed former award made, in previous chancery proceedings, concerning maintenance promised as part of a marriage settlement for Edmund and his wife Mabel (Mariner), daughter of the Hampshire recusant Dorothy Mariner, see PRO, C 2/Charles I/P40/59, P65/22, P79/14, P93/17; A. Mott, 'A dictionary of Hampshire recusants: tempo Eliz', (typescript at ABSJ), pp. 261–262.

[202] Identity uncertain. For the Cuffaud family of Hampshire, see Mott, 'Dictionary', pp. 152–156. In May 1635 Alexander Cuffaud and his nephew William presented their arguments to Gregorio Panzani in favour of Richard Smith; VA, PD, fo. 93r.

[203] See *Letters 4*, *5*, *6*.

[204] For copies of the sentence (30 September/10 October 1631) of the episcopal court at Ghent, see AAW, A XXIV, no. 185; XXVI, no. 2. For William Worthington's account of the way he was dealt with by the court, see AAW, A XXVI, no. 3.

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Gant>.[205] The partyes who did prosecute this busines against your brother Worthington were one Gibbins and M^r^ Winter, the same ~~that~~ <who> prosecuted against D[octor] Champney and his. Now M^r^ Worthington, being com[me]d home with many foule aspersions and affronts, was inwardlie much trubled in soe much that hearing Gibbins was returned he preferred a petition to the king and desired that he might have a warrant for some of the lords of the counsell to apprehend Gibbins and to imprisonne him untill such tyme as his wife might be restored (and you must knowe that a relation was made unto the king of all his busines).[206] The king granted unto his petition and gave order to my lord of Dorsett to give a warrant which he did and sent his owne officers with M^r^ Worthington and they apprehended Gibbins and brought him before my lord of Dorse[t] who committed him prisonner to the Gatehouse.[207] The Jesuists peradventure will informe ther that M^r^ Worthington haith done this by counsell from the

[205] According to Richard Worthington, in his letter to Biddulph of 13/23 August 1632, William Worthington had come over to Ghent 'for a frendlie examining of his pretences having before sent over the narration of all things that had passed between the gentlewoman and him to the bishop of Gant under his oath'. In Ghent he claimed 'his tytle before the abbes, the bishop (offering his oath to him), the officiall, F[ather] Edward Silisdon and others. Yet they professed her to hudle up the busines, and put him out of hope of recovering his rights and moreover sought to disgrace <him> with arresting him in the streets by 3 base fellowes and, because the mariage was clandestine, easilie denyed and hardlie proved, they cited him for a matter of slaunder, and sought all the meanes to terrifye him, to have <him> desist from prosecuting his pretences'; AAW, A XXVI, no. 11, p. 43. For Worthington's own account of his imprisonment, see AAW, A XXVI, no. 3, p. 21; no. 4, p. 25.

[206] An undated letter by William Worthington relates that 'on Fryday last the Ladie Parkins' and Wakeman 'were before the lords of the councell, where I was with them, and the controversie betwixt us discussed, not concerning the contract which was not proper for that place, but only concerning the unlawfull conveying of Penelope beyond the seas to Gant'. The privy council referred the case 'to the statutes and lawes of the kingdome', and Lady Parkins and Wakeman were indicted in King's Bench 'upon the statute for transporting of a subject to a nunnerie'. Worthington claimed he did not want to see his adversaries suffer the full penalty of the law, but he professed to believe that in fact Penelope Parkins had been secretly in England for two months, and that this was the only way to make them produce her; AAW, A XXVI, no. 9, p. 39.

[207] Dorset, however, did not see the matter quite as Southcot and Leyburn reported it at this time. As an embarrassed Worthington noted in mid-June 1634, the case between the crown and Lady Parkins came in front of King's Bench on 8 June 'where by the juries vardict the lady was acquitted for sending her daughter, which I conceive was contrarie to the expectation of most of the auditorie'. Worthington appeared in order to give evidence for the crown, but Dorset 'was there in person as a witnes on the ladie's syde'. The earl deposed that he imprisoned Wakeman upon Worthington's 'suggestion that hee was a preiste'; Worthington claimed that Dorset was 'soe noble and soe honorable that I can not but conceive hee might have understood it soe, but sure I am, upon the faith of a Christian, that I never sayd it'; AAW, A XXVII, no. 147, p. 449. (Furthermore, Worthington's opponents 'pleaded against my testimonie that I was a convicted recusant, and withall informed the court that I had 2 sisters in Lovan monasterie'; *ibid.*) See also *CSPD, 1633–1634*, p. 52.

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clergie,[208] w*hi*ch is most false, for he is non[e] of ours, but ever was thers, and he haith these who take his part although others doe soe.

12. [John Southcot] to Gibbons [John Wakeman], 20 April 1632

[*AAW, A XXVI, no. 58, pp. 169–170*]

Sir,

I delivered y*ou*r letter to M[r] Muscot[209] and I expected his answer before this but that it seemes other urgent occasions have caused him to deferr it. You write to me that it is com*m*only bruicted that some of the clergy do warrant M[r] Worth[ington's] proceeding, and particulerly his act[ion] [?] uppon you. To w*hi*ch, if I should answer that it is more com*m*only thought and saied that he, being no dependant of the clergy neither in sp*irit*ualibus nor temporalibus, but of others was much likelier [to] have his advise from them than from the clergy, I should say but a truth. But I see that these termes com*m*only bruted and credibly reported are often misapplied, and consequ*en*tly misunderstood, wherfor in this present subject I will forbeare to use them and only tell you that for my part I know neither clergy man nor regular that had any hand in the buissenesse. And, although I have good cause to think that you understood me to be included in the number of those, some of the clergy, hearing what you had written to my father[210] concerning this matter before you wrote to me, yet I will not expostulat w*i*th you uppon that point but only wish you to be more sparing in y*ou*r judgments and speaches least you make this com*m*on bruict to fall particulerly uppon me, who never expected nor deserved to be driven to apology for my self in a buissenesse of this nature to w*hi*ch I was as much a stranger till it was past and donn as y*ou*r own neerest and best trusted freinds, and I have indeavoured both for Gods sake and y*ou*rs aswell before the receipt of y*ou*r letter as since by the best persuasions I could to draw of[f] the gentleman[211] from [*p. 170*] this course, but as I have no particuler interest in him so ame I able to prevaile nothing with him.

As for testifying y*ou*r true obedience to my l*or*d of Chalced[on][212] I shall not be wanting to do you that right w*hi*ch you expect at my

[208] i.e. the secular clergy.
[209] George Fisher.
[210] John Southcot snr. See *Letter 92*.
[211] William Worthington.
[212] Richard Smith.

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hands, but you must remember that I can plead nothing but words, and how far bare words and protestations without deeds will gaine creditt in these tumultuous and suspicious times, especially if it be objected that words are not only not supported but contradicted by deeds, I need not tell you. Truly I am sory for y*ou*r trouble and for the generall scandall that is like to come of it but ~~being~~, seeing it is no way in my power to remedy it as I desire, I pray accept of my poor praiers for y*ou*r pacience and spiritual comfort therin w*hi*ch are most willingly offered by y*ou*r [*two words illegible*] to serve you et[c].

20 Aprill 1632.

No address.

[*on p. 169*]

Endorsed: To M^r^ Gibbons.

13. Antonino [John Southcot] to [an English secular priest at Paris],[213] 1 May 1632

[*AAW, A XXVI, no. 64, pp. 183–184*]

Most hon[oured] s*i*r,

I have yours of the 26^th^ Aprill and M^r^ Laborne receaved this week two from M^r^ Fitton[214] of the 4^th^ and 10^th^ of Aprill wherin he writes that 18 noblemen[215] have sente a letter from hence to his Hol[iness] to

[213] See *Letter 43*; Allison, RSGB, I, p. 396.

[214] Peter Biddulph.

[215] A petition against Richard Smith ('Protestatio Declaratoria Procerum alioru*m*q*ue* Nobilium Angliae Catholicorum praetensam R*everendissi*mi Episcopi Chalcedonensis authoritatem impugnantium'; AAW, A XXIV, no. 75) had been drawn up and despatched to Rome in October 1631 with additional documentation. (See the Introduction to this volume.) In April 1632, Biddulph had reported that 'the Jesuitts have gotten 18 of the noble men in England to write against haveing a bishop in England, whereof 11 have written a com*m*on letter, and putt their names to it, and sent it to his Holiness; the other 7 would not subscribe their names butt they give their consent to the letter, vivae vocis oraculo, which was done before a notarye whom the Jesuitts caused to come out of the Low Countryes'; AAW, A XXVI, no. 49, p. 149. In fact, twelve nobles (rather than eleven) had signed the protestation itself. Five others (rather than seven) had said that they agreed with it but did not actually put their signatures to it. (The nobles who signed were John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury; Henry Somerset, earl of Worcester; Thomas Darcy, Earl Rivers; James Touchet, earl of Castlehaven and Baron Audley; Lord William Howard of Naworth; Thomas Somerset, Viscount Cashel; Edward Somerset, Lord Herbert; Sir Henry Neville, Baron Abergavenny; Thomas Windsor, Baron Windsor; William Petre, Baron Petre; Thomas Brudenell, Baron Brudenell; and Sir George Calvert, Baron Baltimore. Those who gave their assent, without

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disclaime from my l*ord*s[216] ordinariship, eleven wherof putt their names to the letter, and the other seaven gave onlie their consents before a notary whom (he saies) the Jes[uits] brought from beiond seas for that purpose, but he wisheth no notice to be taken of this as written from him, bycause the party that tould it him will come to be knowen, w*hi*ch were very inconvenient, and therfor we use the matter so here as if it had bin discovered here and not written from abroad. If this be true, I assure my self there hath bin much jugling and foule play, and many a o[ne] doubtlesse hath bin given without ~~their~~ <his> consent,[217] at least without ~~their~~ <his> [*ms torn*: true (?)] meaning, w*hi*ch I do beleeve the rather bycause my L*or*d Brudnel sought [to] draw in my L*or*d Morley by <meer> misinformation telling him of chimeras of tribunals, and undoinges etc*eter*a, w*hi*ch is a pretty story to tell, and I have desired M[r] Lab[orne] (to whom my L*or*d Morly discovered the matter afterward) to sett it down particulerly, and I wish he would do it also ~~to~~ in his letter to you that the nonce[218] there may have a scantling of their dealings, and know in what manner they have (probably) wrought with the rest,[219] and I feare they have not been ashamed to use my l*or*d marquis[220] his name in this kind, bycause

signing, were Richard Burke, earl of St Albans; Thomas Savage, Viscount Savage; Ulick Burke, Viscount Tunbridge; Henry Parker, Baron Morley and Monteagle; and Edward Vaux, Baron Vaux.) Of the other Catholic nobles, two (John Paulet, marquis of Winchester and Thomas Arundell, Baron Arundell) were generally favourable to the bishop, though they were said to think that it was not now the right time to restore Catholic episcopal jurisdiction in England. Two others (Francis Manners, earl of Rutland and Francis Browne, Viscount Montague) were uncommitted, and only one (Sir Henry Constable, Viscount Dunbar) supported the bishop wholeheartedly. The views of the remaining Catholic nobles were not stated. See *Letter 20*; Hughes, *HSJ*, pp. 224–227. 300 gentlemen were supposed to have signed the document. Even more, it was declared, had assented to it. See Allison, Q.J, p. 139; AAW, A XXIV, no. 73 (an English translation of the text of the 'Protestatio Declaratoria' with a different series of signatures).

[216] Richard Smith.

[217] On 19/29 March 1632 Richard Smith had written to Biddulph that Smith's cousin William Rayner 'yesterday told me that my adversaries say that none of the noble men but onely my l[ord] of Dunbar is for me but herein they use ther doctrine of mental reserv*ati*on [. . .] for it is certain that most of the noble men are for me, though in truth divers are les zealous by my absence becaus they are told I shal never come agayne'; AAW, B 27, no. 107.

[218] Cardinal Alessandro Bichi.

[219] i.e. of the Catholic aristocracy.

[220] John Paulet, 5th marquis of Winchester. In the secular clergy's January 1635 survey of the Catholic nobility, he was described thus: 'vita et famae semper intactae. Ingenio collet nec deest illi doctrina praesertim in rebus fidei controversis in quibus non mediocriter versatus est. Gallicae et Italicae linguae peritus. Est regi et reginae omnibusq*ue* proceribus et curialibus gratissimus et charissmus, nec non toti patriae ac reipub*li*cae observandus, licet notus sit pro Catholico'. Apart from his other good personal characteristics, 'pietate ac studio devotionis praecellit singulis diebus una cum familia in oratorio honorificentissime ornato, devotissime sacrum audit officium B.M. Virginis cum rosario eiusdem quotidie recitat,

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I know he was sett uppon particulerly at his last being in town by my L*or*d Baltimore, S*ir* Basil[221] and M[r] G[eorge] Gage[222] in my L*or*d Rivers[223] his house, and therfor we intend to acquaint him with the buissenesse this terme, and will cause D*oct*or Flud[224] to ask my l*ord*s of Abergaveny[225] and Vaux[226] what they have donn in the same kind.

litanias sanctorum vel audit publice in oratorio, vel privatim legit semp*er* ante cubitum'. He was 'zelator animarum ardentissimus', and 'exemplo suo omnes passim aedificat, et eius cura ac zelo plusquam viginti animae in illa vicinia ad Ecclesiae gremium nuper reductae sunt'. He was so in favour with the king that when the order to disarm leading Catholics was issued in 1625 'curavit rex armaturam marchionis (quam habebat insignem et copiosam) ei restitui ita ut singularem regis favorem in eo genere mirarentur multi Protestantes, direcerentque esse rem sine exemplo', and Charles was pleased to visit the marquis when he was on progress; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 3, p. 13. In February 1633, Richard East reported that the Tuscan agent Amerigo Salvetti 'was the only man who lately began the persuasion w*i*th the lord marquis not to be married [to Honora, daughter of Richard Burke, 4th earl of Clanricard and 1st earl of St Albans] w*i*th his owne priests but by a Jesuit, w*hi*ch was soe done to the great discreditt of the [secular] clergy'; AAW, A XXVI, no. 24, p. 78. However, the secular priest William Case served as a chaplain to the marquis and his wife. See also AAW, A XXVI, no. 103 (an attestation, dated 1 August 1632, testifying that both Winchester and the Earl Rivers believed their names had been wrongly cited in support of the 'Protestatio Declaratoria' against Smith); AAW, A XXVI, no. 121, p. 335.

[221] Sir Basil Brooke.

[222] See P. Revill and F.W. Steer, 'George Gage I and George Gage II', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 31 (1958), pp. 141–158. See also AAW, A XXVIII, no. 58 (1635?), an account of the principal Catholic enemies of Richard Smith, among whom was George Gage, 'filius Eduardi Gage filii junioris familia Gageorum de Furle' in Sussex; *ibid.*, p. 233. He was sent to Rome by James I to negotiate over the proposed dynastic marriage between Prince Charles and the infanta, Maria Anna. He was wholly Hispanophile and a patron of the Jesuits.

[223] Thomas Darcy, Viscount Colchester, created Earl Rivers on 4 November 1626. The secular clergy's account of the English nobility, compiled in January 1635, described him thus: 'habetur pro viro prudente, est etiam non vulgariter eruditus, praesertim quoad res historicas et politicas. Sed quoad pietatis et religionis Catholicae professionem et exercitia, tepidus et timidus, numerat supra sex millia librarum anglicarum de reditibus annuis, et vivit splendide quoad hospitalitatem, more patriae. Fuit attractus falsis informationibus baronis de Baltimor defuncti, in partes eorum qui oppugnabant ep*iscop*um; sed ex se, est indifferens, et potius propendet in Clerum, nam confitetur plerumque sacerdoti seculari. Non cohabitat jam a multis annis cum uxore, quae est Protestans, ob nescio quod dissidium conjugale'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 3, p. 14.

[224] Dr Robert Floyd. See *Letter 3*.

[225] The secular clergy remarked that Sir Henry Neville, 2nd Baron Abergavenny, was not only addicted to worldly recreations but also, since 'pro secundis nuptiis duxit in uxorem sororem Baronis Vauxii' (Catherine Vaux), he tended to favour the Society, 'quamvis alioquin ex se fit satis neutralis et moderatus'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 3, p. 15; Anstruther, *Vaux*, p. 485. In May 1635, via Sir John Simeon, Baron Abergavenny made representations to Gregorio Panzani against the restoration of a Catholic bishop in England; VA, PD, fo. 93r.

[226] Edward Vaux, 4th Baron Vaux. See Anstruther, *Vaux*, p. 458; GEC, XII/ii, pp. 224–226. Vaux was noted for the scandal he caused in 1632 by marrying Elizabeth Knollys (daughter of Thomas Howard, earl of Suffolk), countess of Banbury: 'duxit male etiam

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But I hope his Hol[iness] will not suffer him self to be abused by such tricks, nor differ what he intended to do a whitt the longer for this. Yet M^r^ Fitton wisheth us to gett somewhat from o*u*r freinds <here> to the contrary in writing w*hi*ch we shall never be able to doe, and if o*u*r [*ms torn*] petition com*m*ended by the qu[een] be ~~never~~ <not> sufficient to counterpoise this [*ms torn*] of o*u*r adversaries, it argues that in Ro[me] they have no list to do any thing for us, or els the matter is not well followed and putt home as it might be. I can say no more for that matter.[227]

audiebat dum viveret Comes Banburiensis senex octogenarius ob notoriam familiaritatem quam habuit cum eius uxore, susceptis ex ea duobus liberis de quibus publice constat. Verum quidem est, quod comitissa d*ic*tum baronem amabat, praetendebatq*ue* se ei desponsatam fuisse, antequam comiti nupta esset cum quo contraxit invita, et non nisi rogente eam sua matre. Unde post obitum comitis, statim nupsit baroni, eiusque cognomen induit, facta ex comitissa baronissa, exemplo inusitato.' He was, with his brothers, a patron of the Society, as his mother had been. He was more moderate now that she was dead, and 'a clero [i.e. the secular clergy] haud aversus'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 3, p. 16. See also *Letter 94*. (In 1628, however, the countess of Banbury had been listed as a patron to Richard Smith's secretary, William Harewell; PRO, SP 16/529/94, fo. 146v.)

[227] The 'Protestatio Declaratoria' was shown to Gregorio Panzani in 1635 by Sir Basil Brooke. See Joseph Berington, *The Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani*, T.A. Birrell (ed.) (London, 1970), p. 178. Panzani's 'Relazione' records his opinions, based in part on information given to him by the seculars, about how far the alleged signatories had in fact subscribed to the document. Panzani claimed that John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, was persuaded to sign by Sir Basil Brooke's false information, and subsequently told his brother, George Talbot, that 'he did not mean to impugn the spiritual authority of the bishop'. Henry Somerset, earl of Worcester, though a patron of the Society, told Baron Arundell that he had not, in fact, subscribed the document at all. Nor, allegedly, had the Earl Rivers. The young earl of Castlehaven believed that he had subscribed a document in Smith's favour, not against him. Lord William Howard had signed only because he was told that Smith intended to proceed against him for defending the oath of allegiance. Thomas Somerset, Viscount Cashel, was such a bitter enemy of the seculars that he probably had signed, thought Panzani, but Edward Somerset, Lord Herbert of Raglan, had, in front of one of the queen's chamberlains, denied that he had done so. Baron Windsor had confessed to Baron Arundell that he would never again plot against the bishop. Baron Petre had spoken in such a way to the marquis of Winchester that it was doubtful whether he had subscribed. (Actually, Panzani elicited a confession from him that he had added his signature to the document only in 1634. Panzani visited him at the Earl Rivers's house and elicited a retraction from him.) Baron Brudenell's son was 'a great friend of the bishop'. The earl of St Albans (who was said to have acceded verbally to the 'Protestatio'; see *Letter 14*) and his son denied signing 'and are suprised that a bishop has not been granted'. Baron Morley had 'twice confessed' to Panzani 'that he was many times urged by the Jesuits and their adherents' to sign, or at least to consent, but he refused (though he too had been listed as a verbal supporter of the document). Viscount Savage repented signing 'and sent an archdeacon to testify to this to the bishop'. Baron Vaux had probably subscribed, but this was because he was infuriated when he was admonished by his confessor, a secular priest. It was ridiculous, said Panzani, that the marquis of Winchester and even Baron Arundell should be named at all in the 'Protestatio' as doubtful in any way about Smith's authority since they were both patrons of the bishop; and the same was true of the (now deceased) earl of Rutland and Viscount Montague. Panzani claimed that Baron Eure, who was not named in the 'Protestatio',

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I forgott the last week to tell you that Fa[ther] Blunt[228] tould M^r^ Spiller[229] lately he had receaved a letter from his generall[230] wherin he signifieth that the k[ing] of France his confessor[231] wrote unto him that he had heard a complaint of our English Jes[uits] here, as if the most part of them kept concubines in the houses where they live. What may be the ground of this report I know not, but [*p. 184*] I beleeve F[ather] Blunt hath either some of the clergy or els my l*or*d[232] him self in suspicion for it.

D*oct*or Bossevile[233] and M^r^ Williamson[234] write out of the country that they heare there that the superiours of the Dominicans[235] and Jesuitts[236] have geven com*m*aund to theirs not to oppose my l*or*d but to speak well of him as having donn nothing unbefitting.[237] Moreover the d*oct*or saieth that every man now flieth from publishing the breve,[238] and say that it bindeth not. But here in London we heare nonn of these things any other way [*ms torn*]. Therfor I hardly beleeve them to be true. He addeth also a clause concern*ing* M^ris^ Hanfords br[other], w*hi*ch I send you in his own hand here enclosed.

I have spoken to M^r^ Lab[orne] to send for the holy oiles to Mons*ieu*r Flie, but your letter makes no mention what he is, nor wherabouts he dwelleth in Calais.

was now a supporter of Smith, and so was the young Baron Stafford (whose 'mother and grandmother are great friends of the bishop'). Baron Teynham, however, was under the dominion of the Society; VA, Barberini MS LVI, 136, fos 34v–7v (transcript and translation at ABSJ).

[228] Richard Blount SJ.

[229] Robert Spiller.

[230] Muzio Vitelleschi SJ.

[231] Charles Mailland SJ, confessor to Louis XIII. See Allison, RSGB, III, p. 168.

[232] Richard Smith.

[233] For John Bosvile, see Anstr., I, pp. 44–45; *NAGB*, pp. 86, 96, 101, 176.

[234] Richard Button.

[235] Thomas Middleton OP. In March 1633 Smith understood that a Benedictine had abused Middleton for 'making peace' with the seculars; AAW, A XXVII, no. 22, p. 59.

[236] Richard Blount SJ.

[237] In January 1633 Smith had dinner with the general of the Dominicans in Paris. The general was very courteous and assured him that he was 'wholy for to have b*isho*ps and hath written to his brethren in England that, unles they have [. . .] privileges to the contrarie, they shall shew me their letters of their mission and their faculties and ask my leave for the parochials' (i.e. permission to administer the three parochial sacraments of baptism, matrimony and extreme unction), and none of them would be permitted to oppose Smith's episcopal authority; AAW, B 27, no. 112.

[238] This may be a reference to the papal breve of April 1631, *Super Professionibus per Regulares emissis non facto in locos designatis Novitiatu*; AAW, A XXIV, no. 89; CRS, 1, p. 108. On 9 April 1632 Richard East, in London, wrote to Smith that 'there is noe esteeme made heere of that breve Super Professionib*us*'; AAW, A XXVI, no. 52, p. 158.

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This day I heard of 17^{l} ~~give~~ sent up to London to pay for my cosen Everards[239] soule wherof 10^{l} [is] for the prisons, and the rest to the poor out of prisons and <to> particuler frends wherof 40^{s} is [*word deleted*] <only given> for my l*or*d, w*hi*ch shalbe given to M^{ris} Salsbury. M^{r} Francis Everard the <now heire>[240] brought the mony <up> and the note for the distribution of it in this manner.

Haillers book[241] is not yet come, neither do we know how to inquire for it intelligibly enough, bycause we know not the title of the book.[242]

I heare M^{r} Cunstable, father in law to S*i*r William Roopers daughter,[243] died without help although he had a priest at the same time in his house, and desired help at that time; but the pr[iest] could not be found although he were much sought for, ~~yet~~ and never departed out of his chamber (as he saied him self afterwards) w*hi*ch is imputed to miracle, seeing they opened his chamber door and yet neither saw him nor heard him, nor ~~they~~ he them. This deserves to be further inquired of for an example of Gods judgments against the furtherers of their conversion such as this man was knowen to be from time to time, and against those that presume to[o] much of Gods will.

Thus with woonted duty, I humbly rest. 1^{o} Maii 1632.

Antonino

No address or endorsement.

[*in margin of p. 184*]

I heare [*ms torn*] should say my l*or*d is fallen [*ms torn*] Philip and is [j]oined herewith.

The epito[me] [*ms torn*] the Jes[uits'] faculties, I sent to M^{r} Fitton a fortn[ight ago] or more.

[239] William Everard of Linstead, co. Suffolk, whose nuncupative will was made on 20 March 1632; PRO, PROB 11/162, fo. 334v. See also Anstr., II, pp. 96–97. One or both of the priests James and William Everard may have been his sons. The will leaves William Snr's property in trust to his brother Francis for William Snr's (unnamed) wife and children. In late 1635 Gregorio Panzani recorded a visit from James Everard 'per il vescovo', i.e. on behalf of Richard Smith; VA, PD, fo. 120r.

[240] See PRO, PROB 11/162, fo. 334v.

[241] Hallier, *Defensio Ecclesiasticae Hierarchiae […]*. See *Letter 9*.

[242] On 19/29 March 1632 Smith noted to Biddulph that 'D. Halliers book is now published but it is so big as there is no sending of it but by some that goeth thither'; AAW, B 27, no. 107.

[243] Sir William Roper's daughter Anne had married Sir Philip Constable of Everingham, son of Sir Marmaduke Constable.

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14. Clerk [John Southcot] to Fitton [Peter Biddulph], 11 May 1632

[*AAW, A XXVI, no. 72, pp. 203–206*]

Sir,

The last week I wrote unto you according to custome in answer to yours of the 10th Aprill w*hi*ch was the last we receaved from you. I understand that o*u*r adversaries seek to disgrace you there all they can, and to make you unwelcome to the great on[e]s of that court, but I hope y*ou*r own good comportment and the com*m*endations you have from so many both here and in France will take away creditt from all their endeavours in that kind. I understand also that his Hol[iness] inclines <rather> to settle 3 b*isho*ps here[244] than one, w*hi*ch we also desire so that they may be all clergymen,[245] and therfor if you find any overture made there of any such motion I pray follow it closely for, with that, all differences would be ended.[246] O*u*r adversaries seek to hinder my l*or*d[247] from rettourning all they can but it would be infinitly to the Churches dishonor if they should prevaile therin, and I hope in God they shall not. So many letters w*hi*ch have bin written from hence and from Paris in favour of his person (not only of his authority), togeather with the com*m*on petition com*m*ended by the queen, do shew that it is the com*m*on desire he should rettourne and, were it not that he him self had shewed a desire of the contrary in that unfortunat letter he wrote to his Hol[iness] before Christmasse,[248] I assure my self there would not have bin any thought of disposing of him otherwise [*three words deleted*] than to send him back to his flock againe with sufficient authority. If nothing be donn between this and August, it will then be necessary for my l*or*d [to] go up[249] him self though it be like to proove

[244] See *Letter 5*.

[245] i.e. secular clergy.

[246] On 10/20 May 1632 Smith informed Biddulph that Cardinal Bichi 'hath plainly told me that his Hol[iness] hath granted my request and saieth that he inclineth to give us twoe b*isho*ps', though Smith had made it clear that he 'tooke it ill to be discharged til an other were apointed', and went off to tell Richelieu about it. Richelieu 'semed much offended', and said more than once 'ne vous mette en peine; nous firons vostre affaire'; AAW, B 27, no. 109.

[247] Richard Smith.

[248] See AAW, A XXIV, no. 214 (an autograph duplicate letter, dated 8/18 December 1631, from Richard Smith to Urban VIII, explaining that in his previous letter to the pope he had not intended absolutely to resign his jurisdiction as bishop of Chalcedon). See *Letter 2*.

[249] i.e. to go to Rome.

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a very troublesome and chargeable journy to a man of his yeares and quality.[250]

For occurrences lett me tell you first that <it> is observed much of late that many here do make them selves away, and most by hanging. I heard ~~ther~~ of 3 or 4 within this fortnight[251] <besides others before and since Easter> but I know not their names.[252] It was much debated at [*p. 204*] councell table lately whether the k[ing] should call a parlament or noe. My l*or*d keeper[253] and Secretary Cook[254] did plead earnestly for it. Others did mainly oppose it and these were the stronger and more in number, being, as here they call them, of the Spannish faction.

[250] On 7/17 June 1633 Smith notified Biddulph that 'the Jes[uits] give out in England that I am cited' to Rome 'and if I shold go they wold then brag the more, p*ar*tely becaus when I was there last', in 1609–1610, 'the Jes[uits] sought to cast me into the Inqusicion and de facto cast a booke of mine, w*hi*ch yet came out with honor' (see *NAGB*, pp. 85, 87, 129, 182). Although the nuncio in Paris assured Smith that the pope would assist him financially with his journey to Rome, Smith doubted whether he would ever be allowed back to Paris again; AAW, A XXVII, no. 61, p. 177.

[251] John Pory noted on 21 April 1632 that, on 17 April, 'a divine (and, they say, an excellent preacher) at a drapers house in Watling Street strangled himself with a garter, and the like did another minister lately at Manchester', while 'a third minister [...] of Warwickshire [...] fell upon his owne sword'; JPN, p. 250. Subsequently, Pory related that the last of these suicidal clerics, beneficed in Worcestershire rather than Warwickshire, 'payd out of his benefice 4 skore pound a year to his simoniacal patron'; *ibid.*, p. 253.

[252] For a survey of contemporary opinions of what had caused Henry Butts, vice-chancellor of Cambridge, to commit suicide, see M. McCrum, 'Doctor Henry Butts', *Corpus*, 73 (1994), pp. 42–53 (for which reference I am very grateful to Kenneth Fincham). On 7 April 1632, John Pory, who had heard that Butts had 'on Easter daye in the morning hanged himselfe with a three corner kercher', reported to Viscount Scudamore the speculation that Butts had despaired principally because he had been reproved for allowing, in fact encouraging, an 'obscene [...] and tedious comedy' (Peter Hausted's *The Rivall Friends*) to be performed before the king and queen during their recent visit to Cambridge, and because of the criticism he had received for 'promoting', on the occasion of the royal visit, 'so many ignoble graduates, as 21 doctors of divinity, 8 masters of arte, and 3 or 4 batchelours of lawe'; JPN, p. 241; McCrum, 'Doctor Henry Butts', pp. 49–51. Walter Yonge, who also ascribed Butts's suicide to the public criticism of him for promoting 'unworthy persons' 'contrary to the approbation of the university', described Butts as 'a greate Arminian'; BL, Additional MS 35331, fo. 47r. Cf. B.C., *Puritanisme the Mother, Sinne the Daugther [...]. Heerunto is added [...] a Funerall Discourse touching the late different Deathes of [...] Doctour Price Deane of Hereford, and Doctour Butts Vice-Chancellour of Cambridge* (St Omer, 1633). This Catholic tract, which notes that 'divers [...] ministers' of Butts's 'own coate and profession', 'by offering violence to themselves, have made like shipwracke of their soules, within the compasse of this very yeare, and some few last past', contrasts Butts's suicide with the alleged conversion to Catholicism of Theodore Price; *ibid.*, pp. 143, 139. The tract deals, *inter alia*, with the tendency of Protestant doctrine to drive men to desperation, and comments that 'whether the vice-chancellour had such secret disputes with his soule, God only knowes, though in regard of this fatall heresy of predestination, it may well be conjectured he had'; *ibid.*, p. 150.

[253] Sir Thomas Coventry, 1st Baron Coventry.

[254] Sir John Coke.

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I heard of an odd prodigy that happened uppon the River Twede neer Scotland on Friday in Easter week. This it was. While some country folkes were at plough they saw a black cloud coming down the river and as it approached it appeared blacker and blacker. When it was beside them they saw a great black dogg ~~hangd~~ <hang[e]d> in chaines uppon a gibbett and crowes feeding uppon it, but presently after there came a great bird like an eagle w*hi*ch drave them all away and with that the cloud vanisht having dried up a great deale of water so that men might passe dry foot over the river. How true this is I know not nor what it betokens, but he that related it saied there were a thousand people that saw it. I can enlarge no more at this time being in great hast.

Adieu. 11 Maii 1632.

We intend shortly to write againe to the Inquisit[ion].

I heare my l*or*d of St Albans[255] gave his voice against my l*or*ds ordinariship not in writing but by word of mouth, but it was by importuning of L*or*d Baltimor misinforming him about tribunals etc*eter*a. The like importunity he used with others, being the Jesuitts chief instrument in this buissenesse, but God rewarded him soon after with an untimely death, and his memory is and wilbe hatefull for this action, as it is ridiculous [*p. 205*] for his other impertinences of mariage.[256]

In this last jubily[257] a priest directing his penitent how to gaine it, and ~~the party~~ willing the party to pray for the popes intention, the party replied that they thought it not so secure to pray for his intention having heard that his intentions were not good for the Church and religion.[258] I can not name the parties but this the pr[iest] him self tould me.

[255] Richard Burke, 4th earl of Clanricard and 1st earl of St Albans. The seculars described him as 'prudens, sed timidus'. 'Omnes bonos sacerdotes ex aequo fere complectitur, et olim consuevit sacerdotem secularem et Jesuitam alternis vicibus in domu*m* suam admittere, sed jam a paucis annis Jesuitae sibi residentiam illam penitus appropriarunt excluso clero'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 3, p. 14. In April 1632 Biddulph had been scandalized to heare that 'the earle of St Albans is one of [...] [the Jesuits'] noble men'; AAW, A XXVI, no. 49, p. 149.

[256] See *Letters 4*, *5*, *6*.

[257] See *Letter 5*.

[258] See *Letter 3*. In mid-May 1632 John Pory picked up the news in London that 'some Roman Catholiques here in towne [...] wishe the popes head were in the king of Swedens belly'; JPN, p. 266. On 30 September 1632 Edmund Dutton certified Biddulph that 'a <Catholike> ladie a penitent of the Jes[uits] said yesterday att court before the earle of Suffolke and the l[ord] marquis of Winchester th*a*t the pope and cardinall of France had done much hurt to the Christian world and th*a*t the pope had bred quarrels amongest the Catholikes of England'; AAW, A XXVI, no. 155, p. 439. See also *Letter 44*.

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Hereafter direct y*ou*r letters for me thus, A Mons*ieu*r le Clerc, bycause Antonino[259] is a little to[o] much knowen.

[*on p. 206*]

Addressed: Pour Mons*ieu*r Fitton a Rome.

Endorsed: 11th May. Mr Clerk.
About one who would not pray for the pope his intention.

15. Clerk [John Southcot] to Fitton [Peter Biddulph], 1 June 1632

[*AAW, B 47, no. 58*]

Sir,

We have yours of the 1 of May wherin you signify that y*ou*rs of the 6 of March and ours of the 17 of February miscaried. As for ours I do not remember anything of moment which (according to custome) was not iterated the next week, and bycause with yours was lost the ambassadors answer to the qu[een's] second letter[260] we suppose that you have procured a duplicat of the same by this time, or els a second letter in supply of that w*hi*ch was lost, w*hi*ch would be to great good purpose for us, bycause therby the qu[een] should have a fitt occasion to write againe, and more earnestly than before; wherfor if you have not procured this duplicat I pray gett it as soon as you can. The last week we sent a com*m*on letter[261] to his Hol[iness] in conformity of those points w*hi*ch you touched in y*ou*r memorialls, but some things therof we wish had bin omitted, as that of my l*or*ds ability to live of him self <abundantly> and that nonn of the clergy besides him can do the like, w*hi*ch indeed is not soe, bycause there are divers that have more to live on than my l*or*d hath, as Mr Bennet,[262] Mr Bossevile, Mr William Shelley and others.[263] Likwise that clause is disliked, tota

[259] One of Southcot's aliases.

[260] See *Letter 16*.

[261] This may be a reference to a letter to Urban VIII of 20 May 1632 (AAW, A XXVI, no. 75) signed by John Colleton and George Leyburn. The copy in AAW is marked 'duplicatum'. The words and phrases cited here do not occur in it, and it may have been altered in Rome.

[262] For Edward Bennett's will of 27 March 1635, demonstrating the considerable extent of his financial resources, see AAW, A XXVIII, no. 11.

[263] Antony Allison has discovered evidence of the episcopal chapter's financial position which confirms Southcot's statement here. In 1630 the chapter started a fund, the signatories to which pledged at least £200 each. This money was to be invested to support the donor during his life. Then, after death, the whole sum was to be put at the disposal of the chapter.

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ferme Anglorum Catholicorum spes in gallica natione et*cetera*, and that also dubium est an rex tam aequo erga alterum animo etc. But take all togeather, and the memorialls are very good and to the purpose, and I hope our former letters to the pope and Inquisition, which were sent on the 2 and 9 of March,[264] will help to that good successe which is expected by these memorialls for the speedy obtaining of our cause.

I desire only the 2 last chapters of Barclaies paraenesis[265] which can not be had here, which, if you can procure there, I shall hartely thank you for them, as I do for your offer of Bentivoglios Relations of England,[266] which I shalbe ready to accept in case I cannot gett any other coppy from Paris where they were printed.

My lord is much bound to Card[inal] Balneo[267] for that kind offer he maketh of house, coach and diett but I would not wish my lord to accept it although he went up, for that were the way to loose his freindship, which he may be more assured of, so long as he is not burdensom unto him. If the acceptation hould, I do not see, as you say, what good my lords presence in France can do our cause, and I should rather wish his abode in Rome, supposing his Hol[iness] will give him some preferment there, as in reason, methinkes, he should, even with relation to England by way of some superintendancy of English

By 1637 Edward Bennett had paid in £900. John Bosvile's contributions between 1636 and 1639 came to £937, and William Shelley donated £400 between 1634 and 1638; Allison, RSGB, II, pp. 246–247. In mid-February 1635 a secular priest told Gregorio Panzani that the secular clergy were led 'de facto, non de jure' by John Colleton, George Fisher, John Southcot, George Leyburn, and John Jackson because they were the richest of the secular priests; VA, PD, fos 76r–7r.

[264] Cf. AAW, A XXVI, no. 34 (a letter of 2 March 1632 to the cardinals of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, signed by Colleton and Leyburn, asking for the restoration of Richard Smith as bishop of Chalcedon).

[265] John Barclay, *Ioannis Barclaii Paraenesis ad Sectarios* (Rome, 1617); ARCR, I, nos 46–51. This book repudiated Barclay's earlier gallican opinions as set out in his *Ioannis Barclaii Pietas* (Paris, 1612). In January 1638 Smith was paying John Barclay's son, Robert, to act as his agent at Rome, in place of Biddulph; Allison, RSGB, II, p. 252.

[266] Guido Bentivoglio, *Relationi delle Provincie Unite di Fiandra [. . .]* (Paris, 1631), part II, ch. 3 ('Dello stato della Religione in Inghilterra', which contains a passage on the discord between secular priests and Jesuits).

[267] Cardinal Giovanni Francesco Guido del Bagno. See AAW, A XXIV, no. 4, p. 11; XXVIII, no. 131, p. 448. Until recently, he had been the nuncio in Paris. He also advised Urban VIII on British matters. See Hibbard, *CI*, p. 44. According to Gregorio Panzani, Cardinal del Bagno tended to be pessimistic about Catholicism's prospects in England. He told Panzani in September 1634 that, 'in quanto alla conversione del re' (Charles), he did not expect it, 'poichè il re non è dotto, anzi è ottuso, et però non puo restar convinto da ragioni, et poi è anche timidissimo', while the queen was essentially frivolous and little concerned with promoting Catholics' interests. He opposed the appointment of an English cardinal, but thought that the English should be granted at least one bishop to reside in the country, and perhaps as many as three; VA, PD, fos 23r–4r.

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affaires, els the world will hould him disgraced, and be ready to cast undeserved aspersions uppon him, which were a thing intolerable.

That clause of the Dominicans faculties touching parochialia[268] sheweth his Hol[iness's] intention to restraine reg[ulars'] faculties hereafter and to make them more subordinat than they have bin, w*hi*ch is a thing necessary.[269] I ame sory you expresse not all particulers concerning your audience from [*sic for* with] his Hol[iness], as what his Hol[iness] saied in particuler, and what cou*n*tenance he shewed you, and what particuler points you touched in your speach to him, and in what manner. We desire to be particulerly informed hereafter of all such points, the rather bycause we understand that y*ou*r adversaries have sought to give an ill impression of you to his Hol[iness] and to the cardinals. Neither did you expresse in a former letter you writt hither the manner how y*ou*r adversaries sought to entrap you about the bookes forbidden by the last breve,[270] w*hi*ch we would gladly know.

If you can get our matter to be remitted to those 3 card[inals] you name,[271] it ~~were~~ wilbe well, but I doubt you will never gett it to be remitted to the nonce of France[272] and 4 French b*isho*ps as Philippensis[273] was to those of Flanders, bycause o*u*r cause is much more universal than his was, and will have greater opposition.

[268] See *Letters 1*, *13*.

[269] Cf. *Letter 13*. In a letter of 22 March 1632 [or 1633] John Jackson reported to Biddulph that a 'very vertuous and learned preist, who dare not let his name be knowne for fear the Jes[uits] wold make him loose his place, writeth' that 'since the talke of asking leave for the parochialia', members of religious orders 'have maried and christned under my lo[rd's] [i.e. Richard Smith's] officers noses, more than ever they did before, nay made most strange and unequall matches, taken upo*n* the*m* to decide most strange matrimoniall cases only proper for my lords court to decide of those w*hi*ch promised ech other and upon th*a*t were bedded togither, and yet upo*n* the femalls saing she gave not co*n*sent, for a peice of money given to th*e* man, the case was declared not co*n*tract'; AAW, A XXVI, no. 43, p. 133.

[270] i.e. Urban VIII's breve *Britannia* (29 April/9 May 1631) which, *inter alia*, forbade English Catholics to publish or even write again on the issues disputed between Richard Smith and his opponents. It also ordered that all the books already published on this topic should be destroyed; Allison, RSGB, I, p. 388. See also AAW, A XXV, no. 52 (a paper lamenting the 'great hurt and damage' which would result from this act of censorship).

[271] Cf. AAW, A XXV, no. 89 (a paper advancing reasons for removing the cause of the bishop of Chalcedon from the Holy Office and appointing four cardinals to decide it); AAW, A XXVI, nos 44, 45, 47. One of the cardinals appointed to consider Richard Smith's case was Martio Ginetti; AAW, A XXVI, no. 63, p. 179.

[272] Cardinal Alessandro Bichi.

[273] Philip Rovenius, archbishop of Philippi. The papacy had installed Rovenius as a titular prelate in Holland where he became locked in conflict with the Jesuits. His struggle seemed to be analogous to the pro-episcopal secular clergy's difficulties in England. They had followed his case at Rome very carefully; AAW, A XVI, no. 151, p. 590; no. 175, p. 675. See also J. Israel, *The Dutch Republic* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 377–378, 391; Duffy, 'The English secular clergy', p. 218.

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What Jesuitt is he that wrote ag*ain*st oracula vivae vocis, English or Italian and whether is he in the Inquisition or noe for it?[274]

You do well to advertise of Sig*no*r Georgio[275] his kinsman coming towards us, from [the] Scottish college there. We will be cautious, as you desire, in trusting him.

I understand that the 6 you specified in y*ou*r former letter are arrived in England long since, and have spoken with divers of the Jes[uits'] freinds in London, but as yet not one of them hath presented him self to my l*or*ds vicar nor spoken with any of his officers, w*hi*ch is a thing worthy to be complained of, as shewing the preposterousnesse of their b[r]eeding in that college, w*hi*ch, it seems, tends wholy to make them selves freinds <only> and not true clergy men. In my time the rule was that as soon as any pr[iest] should come over he should present him self to his superiour here and, before he came from thence, he should promise obedience to the archpriest w*hi*ch you may do well to procure to be putt in practise there and cause every pr[iest] that comes from thence to promise obedience to the b*isho*p. This is a point very necessary to be donn. If Fa[ther] Oliver[276] come we will comply with him aswell as we can, and seek to gaine his order by him, as you advise us.[277]

The next week I hope to send you an Italian letter from an Italian pr[iest][278] that lives here to the congreg[ation] of the Holy Office to

[274] On 19/29 March 1632 Smith wrote to Biddulph that the Paris nuncio 'wil print here the bul of revoking oracula vivae vocis', i.e. a spoken papal utterance (with less authority than a papal bull), 'and one said that the Jes[uits] wold give a million of gold that that bul had never bene made, and added that the Sea Ap*osto*lik intendeth to restraine the faculties of reg[ulars]'; AAW, B 27, no. 107. (Southcot's diary for 1632 noted the 'revocatio oraculorum vivae vocis made in December last'; CRS, 1, p. 107.) On 7/17 April 1632 Smith reassured Biddulph that the 'bul oracula doth not take away the faculties' of the secular clergy's college of Douai, 'becaus it mentioneth [not] seminaria or collegia when it taketh away faculties, but onely ordines, congregationes, instituta, societates, which signifie such companies as intend to live continually in some course, as seminaries doe not'; AAW, B 27, no. 108. In March 1632 the Jesuit general, Muzio Vitelleschi, warned Richard Blount not to let any English Jesuit write anything which suggested disobedience 'to the brief shown in France or by the bishop of Chalcedon'; ARSJ, Anglia MS 1/ii, fo. 345v. I am grateful to Thomas McCoog for assistance with this point.

[275] George Con.

[276] Oliver Burke OP. See T.S. Flynn, *The Irish Dominicans 1536–1641* (Dublin, 1993), pp. 110, 225–227. (Biddulph wrote to Southcot on 5/15 August 1636 mentioning one Hugh Burke (of the family of the earl of Clanricard and St Albans) who was a brother of the Dominican 'Fa[ther] Oliverius'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 150, p. 505.)

[277] At the end of August 1632 Smith remarked that 'F[ather] Oliver is now going for England'. He had promised that his order would not oppose Smith's authority; AAW, B 27, no. 127. In September 1632 Smith noted that 'F[ather] Oliver gave me some memorials' written by the Jesuits in France 'against our cause'; AAW, B 27, no. 129.

[278] Giulio Antonelli. See *Letter 16*.

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informe them of the state of things here, but he desires not to be named.

I can write little newes. It is doubtfull whether the qu[een] be with child againe or noe. My L*or*d Marquis Hammilton (as I heare) is come home againe having lost all the men he carried over with him.[279] The single combat w*hi*ch should have bin <fought> between the two Scotts, [the] lord of Machee[280] and Ramsy,[281] is come to nought, yet both are still prisoners in the Tower, and the great martiall court which was erected for that purpose, wherin the earle of Linsie[282] was high cunstable, is now dissolved.[283]

When the French k[ing] was at Calais he sent over Mons*ieu*r Chaumont[284] as ambassador extraordinary to passe a complement with the k[ing] and qu[een] and (as some think) to endeavour to bring the present ambass[ador] Mons*ieu*r de Fontany[285] into grace with the queen and consequently to gett the Capucins to be in Fa[ther] Philips place. But what he hath attempted or effected therin I know not. I heare only that he took his leave of the king privatly, w*hi*ch sheweth that he was not so welcome. With him Fa[ther] Leonard[286] and 3 other Capucins are gonn back into France and 4 others came over with him to remaine here in their places.[287] I imagin if he dealt in any such buissinesse that he was not gratefull to the qu[een] bycause she loves Fa[ther] Philip extraordinarily, and will not part with him by any meanes, and by this occasion she is much averted from the Capucins, and it is likely she will never be gained to them in that manner as they desire, for, if Fa[ther] Phil[ip] should dye, she would rather gett others of the Oratory to supply his place than take in Capucins, w*hi*ch makes the Capucins weary and desirous to be gonn, but the French king will not permitt them.[288]

[279] See *CSPV, 1632–1636*, p. 19.

[280] Donald McKay, Lord Reay.

[281] David Ramsay.

[282] Robert Bertie, 1st earl of Lindsey.

[283] See *Letter 5*.

[284] Melchior Mitte de Miolans, marquis de St Chaumont. See *CSPV, 1629–1632*, pp. 623, 624.

[285] François Duval, marquis de Fontenay Mareuil. See *ibid.*, p. 627.

[286] Provincial of the French Capuchins. See Hibbard, *CI*, p. 44; P. Hughes, 'The conversion of Charles I', *Clergy Review*, 8 (1934), pp. 113–125, at. p. 115; Birch, *CT*, II, pp. 298, 307.

[287] As the text implies, the Capuchins who returned to France had quarrelled with the queen because they wanted to provide her confessor, but she would not dismiss Robert Philip. I am grateful to Caroline Hibbard for assistance with this point.

[288] Later, in September 1634, Cardinal del Bagno told Gregorio Panzani that some of Henrietta Maria's chaplains claimed to be much in her favour, and this had caused differences with Robert Philip, on whom she principally relied. The Father General of the

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The drum*m*e beateth daily up and down the streets to gett soldiars for Sweden, but I do not heare of many that goe. I heard of some that were going to serve the infanta[289] in Flanders, who by order from the counsell were cessed on and shipped for Sweden.

The Muscovits also have gotten leave from the king to leavy two thousand soldiars here under the com*m*and of a Scottish captaine to assist them in their wars against the Polonian,[290] notwithstanding the promise w*hi*ch (as S*i*r Tho[mas] Roe[291] saieth) was made the last summer to the Polonian ambassador[292] here that we would not assist the Muscovit in these warrs. So that, uppon S*i*r Tho[mas] Roe his remonstrance, it may be this order (w*hi*ch it seemes was gott by surreption) wilbe staied.

I can no more, but all woonted remembrances. 1 June 1632.

Is M^{ris} Ward a prisoner or at full liberty there?[293]

Yours

Clerk

Addressed: For M^{r} Fitton.
Rome.

Endorsed: 1 Jun[e]. Clerk.
Points to be corrected in my memoriall for the b*isho*p his continuing.
About the priests that goe from this colledg to England, who never come to their superiors.

Congregation of the Oratory had offered to recall Philip, but the cardinal had dissuaded him; VA, PD, fo. 24r.

[289] Isabella Clara Eugenia.

[290] See *CSPV, 1629–1632*, p. 646.

[291] For Sir Thomas Roe, see Hibbard, *CI*, p. 31.

[292] For the embassy of the Polish envoy John Albert Rakowsky in September 1631, see *CSPV, 1629–1632*, pp. 540, 545, 551; CRS, 1, p. 107; A.J. Loomie (ed.), *Ceremonies of Charles I: The Note Books of John Finet 1628–1641* (New York, 1987), p. 107; JPN, pp. 167–168, 172.

[293] The secular clergy opponents of Mary Ward and her institute believed that the form of religious life which she prescribed was analogous to aspects of the Jesuits' institute. (Her brother was a Jesuit (see *Letter 26*), and the Wright brothers who took part in the gunpowder plot were her uncles.) Her opponents branded her and her followers as a force for disorder in the Church. Her institute had been suppressed by papal decree in January 1631. In April 1632, Richard East wrote to Smith to advise him that Ward had gone to Rome 'with a certaynty of having her order confirmed, revelationibus animata divinitus, but as I heere los padres advise her to lay downe her imaginary pretended mission'. East asked Smith to relay this to Biddulph 'for heere they give it out with great confidence that her order is presently to bee confirmed'; AAW, A XXVI, no. 52, p. 157.

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16. John Clerk [Southcot] to Fitton [Peter Biddulph], 8 June 1632

[*AAW, B 47, no. 57*]

Sir,

I was sory to understand by y*ou*r last of the 10 of May of y*ou*r indisposition, w*hi*ch I hope hath left you long since. I have not much to add this week to what I wrote the last week, only I send you Sig*no*r Giulio Antonelli[294] his letter to the pope enclosed in one to Card*ina*l Bagni w*hi*ch was promised the last week. It is written under the name of Francesco Bonzotti bycause Antonelli is not willing to have his name discovered in that court, least the reg[ulars] come to know it, w*hi*ch might be prejudiciall to him. And writing ~~by letter~~ as he doth, he thinkes it will do <the> more good and seem to be ~~the~~ lesse partiall, as coming from a straunger interested on neither side.[295] Yet, if you deliver the letter to the cardinall y*ou*r self, you may tell him the authors true name, desiring him to keep it secrett. There are many good points touched in his letter to his Hol[iness], but they are not sett down so well as <I> would have them, and therfor I purpose to deale with the author to alter the stile a little in some places adding also some other points that are omitted, and to write it faire over againe ag*ain*st Wednesday next that I may send it to my l*or*d[296] at Paris to be sent unto you that way. Wherfor I should advise you to keep this coppy by you till that come, though perhaps it wilbe a fortnight later, unlesse you see some urgent occasion of delivering it presently wherby to do us the more good, or to prevent some ~~harme~~ imminent harme.

I am sory Mons*ieu*r Brissacs[297] letter to the qu[een] miscaried. In any case gett him to write againe, for it would minister an excellent occasion to the qu[een] of writing ~~againe~~ more effectually than before, w*hi*ch is the best and only way for us to prevaile in o*u*r cause, and without some such occasion we shall hardly desire the qu[een] to write againe for us or for my l*or*d. If you can gett the cause to be taken out of the Holy Office and referred to three or 4 of o*u*r freinds there, I shall have some hope, otherwise I feare o*u*r adversaries will have a stronger party than we, and will hinder all good resolutions for us. My l*or*d writes that he hath no mind to go up, and here we do generally

[294] Giulio Antonelli was a Paduan priest who sent reports to the Roman curia (particularly to Cardinals Barberini and Spada, and to Monsignor Boccabella) in favour of the English secular clergy; VA, PD, fo. 70r; VA, Barberini MS 8633, fo. 246r.

[295] See *Letters 26*, *28*, *29*, *30*.

[296] Richard Smith.

[297] Jean de Gallard, baron de la Rochebeaucourt et de Brassach, French ambassador in Rome. See *Letter 5*.

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think that my l*or*ds presence there would not <do> so much good as it doth where he is, unlesse he were a more practicall man and a better solicitor than he is, and would follow his buissinesse closely and dexterously when he is there, as Philippenses[298] did, w*hi*ch I think is not in my l*or*d to doe.

If his Hol[iness] intend seriously to accept of my l*or*ds supposed resignation, all y*our* endeavour must be 1. That it may be donn without prejudice to us <here> who never consented to it and therfor expect that an other (at least one, if not 3) be installed before his resignation be either published or formally accepted. 2. That it may be donn with his honor by making him an archb*isho*p and giving him some superintendency in matters of the English mission, and with that condition it were not amisse my l*or*d were resident in Rome continually, and had some office in the Congreg*ati*on de Propaganda Fide, as it were, by way of reward for his labours in the com*m*on cause. 3. That we may be provided in this kind before winter, and as much sooner as you can, bycause if it be once knowen that my l*or*d is to be no more the superior here all collections w*hi*ch are made only in his name, and to his use, will cease, as also all authority, even that by w*hi*ch pr[iests] should be kept in order, w*hi*ch will cause an utter confusion, and the ruine of o*ur* body, not being able to mantaine an agent there, or to furnish other necessary charges either at home or abroad. This point must be much inculcated bycause it concerns us mainly.

I send you here an abstract of the k[ing's] graunt by patent under the broad seale to such recusants as do compound, as also such priviledges w*hi*ch are promised but not yet graunted, [and] not comprehended in the generall graunt. The patent it self is of a great length and not fitt to be sent up, as containing a lawiers book of 30 sheets of paper. But as yet there are no patents sealed, and it is doubtfull when any wilbe. I think my fathers wilbe the first if any be at all, wherof many make a question, seeing so many delaies used in the buissenesse. Some think the proceeding depends of [*sic*] the successe of German affaires, which is not unlikly. The pursevants are nothing so buissy as they were, yet they are not without commission still.

The Jes[uits] (as I heare) have printed at S^{t} Omers a libell against the French w*hi*ch is intitled Gesta Gallorum per impios, sive Gesta Impiorum per Gallos,[299] coppies wherof are convaied from hand to hand here amongst their freinds. Therin they bring in all their leagues with Turkes and hereticks, and invaigh bitterly ag*ain*st the Cardinall Richelieu, as one tould me that saw it, though I have not seen it my

[298] Philip Rovenius, archbishop of Philippi.

[299] Ludovicus de Cruzamonte (pseud.?), *Gesta Impiorum per Francos, sive Gesta Francorum per Impios, ex variis auctoribus [. . .] Collecta* (Rhenopoli, 1632).

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self. Perhaps the Fr[ench] ambass[ador] there, if you tell him of it, can find meanes to gett a coppy. The same man spred not long before a certaine supposed (or suppositious rather) declaration of the duke of Bavaria[300] in English pretended to be translated out of the French coppy, w*hi*ch I have seen and read over. Therin many glaunces are given also ag*ain*st the French, and <it> seemes to have bin made chiefly to disgrace them.

My l*or*d treasurer[301] and my L*or*d Wentworth[302] (who is to be <l*or*d> debitee for Ireland) are to be made earles very shortly as I heard yesterday.

That letter w*hi*ch Card[inal] Barberino[303] wrote to the grand aulmonier[304] was only half a dozen lines of complement in answer to his. M[r] Lab[orne] was at the reading of it. My l*or*d and he are well againe. Thus in hast I committ you to God. 8 June 1632.

I will do what I can to procure you those brevets of the presid[ent] of [the] North and Wales.[305]

Yours,

J*ohn*e Clerk

The last week I sent you an attestation from M[r] Case,[306] a notary, touching two noblemens discourse about my l*or*d b*isho*p and the 18 supposed noblemen.

The substance of the graunt, the rent resolved being duly payed.

1. That no sum*m*ons nor seizures go out of th*e* exchequer.
2. That the recusant have power to sett and lett the lands graunted.
3. That the clerks of assize and peace send not processe ag*ain*st him for his wife.
4. That he be freed from spirituall courts and messengers nisi per regem et consilium.
5. That he and his wife be free from informers.

[300] Maximilian of Bavaria.

[301] Sir Richard Weston, 1st Baron Weston, created earl of Portland in February 1633.

[302] Sir Thomas Wentworth, 1st Viscount Wentworth.

[303] Francesco Barberini, cardinal protector of the English nation.

[304] Jacques le Noël Du Perron. He had arrived in England in May 1631; *CSPV, 1629–1632*, p. 503. He was a cousin of Cardinal Jacques Davy Du Perron. Smith noted in March 1632 that 'the grand almoner hath complained of me' to Richelieu 'that I sent him not a copy of the jubile[e]', though Smith thought that to have sent it would have made it appear 'that I took him for my official or minister'. The bishop of Mende (Daniel La Motte-Houdancourt), who had been in England in 1625, 'would not receive a jubile[e] from me w*hi*ch I sent to him'; AAW, B 27, no. 107.

[305] See *Letter 5*.

[306] See *Letter 13*; AAW, A XXVI, no. 103.

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6. That he be bound once for all to the good behaviour in his own county.
7. That he be not indicted de novo.

The intended priviledges by decree.

That paying his rent duly, he be not forced to xii[d] a Sunday.
That he be not prosecuted for keeping meniall and ordinary servants.
That he be freed of such servants as compound for them selves.
That conviction be not pleaded in barr to any such recusant.

Addressed: For M[r] Fitton. Rome.

Endorsed: Clerk. 8 Jun[e].
The conditions of the composition with Catholikes.

17. Clerk [John Southcot] to [Peter Biddulph], 22 June 1632

[*AAW, A XXVI, no. 86, pp. 235–238*]

Sir,

The last week Antonin[o][307] wrote not unto you bycause he heard of no letter that came from you after that of the 8 of May wherin you certified y*our* sicknesse, fearing least his letters might miscary in the meane time. But now having seen yours of the 22 of the same month, and understanding therby that you wrote not the week before to any body by reason of y*our* absence from town, he entreated me to write these in his name and to certify you of the receyt of the last breve, Declaratio quod Constitutiones Ap*osto*licae[308] etc., by w*hi*ch it seemes the reg[ulars] are restrained more and more in their pretended exemptions and priviledges. How cometh it to passe that being dated in Novemb[er] 1631 it was sent up no sooner? Neither is it authenticated, as all breves should be before you send them, although they concerne the reg[ulars] only, and indeed much more when they concerne them, bycause they do oftentimes deny them unlesse they come authenticated as they did <that> of Revocatio Omnium

[307] i.e. John Southcot. See *Letter 14*.

[308] For a printed copy of Urban VIII's breve of 26 October/5 November 1631, *Declaratio quod Constitutiones Apostolicae in concernentibus Fidem Catholicam, & Sanctae Inquisitionis Officium hactenus editae, & in posterum etiam super quacumque alia re edendae, omnes Regulares quomodolibet privilegiatos compraehendant, nisi illi in edendis specialiter excipiantur* (Rome, 1632), see AAW, A XXIV, no. 201.

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Indultorum etc,[309] and oracula vivae vocis[310] w*hi*ch the Jes[uits] here say includeth not them, though it ~~be~~ <were> a true breve as they are assured from their own superiour. This one Altam, a Jes[uit],[311] tould one M^r^ Jennings,[312] a lay gentleman, within this fortnight, and therfor notwithstanding this breve they proceed as before w*hi*ch deserves to be certified there in the court among y*ou*r other complaints of them and their proceedings. Antonin[o] is glad that you have all M^r^ Blacklos[313] papers, and wisheth you to look carefully to them and <to> all others, especially in time of absence, sicknesse or any other such occasion and to provide that they may be safe and forthcoming. It is feared that o*u*r adversaries have gotten a coppy of one thing w*hi*ch was sent from hence to Paris the 28 February to be sent afterwards to you. The title of it, as I take it, was Humillima Narratio[314] etc., made by some pr[iests] in the West and other parts of England uppon the grief they had of my l*or*ds[315] departure, expressing many greevances of the clergy, and in the end desiring his Hol[iness] either to call the Jes[uits] out of Engl[and] or to subject them to ordinary authority. The whole narration consisted of some 4 sheets of paper, and as yet we never heard that you receaved it, w*hi*ch makes us feare that it was intercepted, or that they bribed some of y*ou*r scribes (as it is usuall there) to gett a coppy of it, for certainly they have gotten some such thing, as one tould me that saw it and read it (as he saied) in a lay mans hand, and came to one of the clergy afterward, to know whether any such supplication had bin given up to his Hol[iness] in the clergies name, and in the name of some of the laity also, for so he saied was the tenor of it. This was one Haughton[316] <a young> pr[iest] that came from Valiodolid[317] about some two or 3 yeares agoe. Here he goes by the name of Pinninton, and in Lancashire by the name of Traver, ~~but~~ and he seemed to be

[309] For a printed copy of Urban VIII's breve of 2/12 September 1628, *Revocatio Omnium Indultorum Quibusvis Religionibus Societatibus, &c Quomodolibet Concessorum Audien. Secularium Confessiones Absque Ordinarii Examine & Approbatione* (Rome, 1629), see AAW, A XXII, no. 135 (now catalogued as AAW, SEC 16/1/6).

[310] See *Letter 15*.

[311] John Grosvenor SJ. In November 1633 he sailed from the Isle of Wight, with Andrew White SJ and Thomas Gervase SJ, for Maryland, in order to found a mission there; Codignola, *CHL*, p. 188; Hughes, *HSJ*, pp. 244–347.

[312] Identity uncertain, but possibly Anthony Jennings of Great Dunmow, Essex, who was named in a list of complaints, drawn up by Thomas Green, against the Jesuits; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 15, p. 67; Anstr., II, pp. 170–171, 172. Jennings had married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Robert Brooke of Barkway, Hertfordshire, who was cited as a victim of the Jesuit John Grosvenor's meddling. See *Letter 44*.

[313] Thomas White. See Anstr., II, pp. 349–354.

[314] See *Letters 6*, *7*, *29*.

[315] Richard Smith.

[316] Edward Haughton. See Anstr., II, p. 151.

[317] The English college (St Alban's) at Valladolid.

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much troubled at the matter, and professed him self to be a sec[ular] pr[iest] though I beleeve he be a concealed Jes[uit] for he hath little or no acquaintance with any of the clergy. I pray therfor certify by *you*r next letter whether you ~~have~~ receaved this Narratio or [*p. 236*] noe and whether you made any coppye be taken of it by any scribe, and what use you made of it there. For it was sent you not to be presented whole as it lay but to give you matter <of information> to use as you should see cause.

I ame glad to understand by *you*r letter that the Congreg*ac*ion[318] will never leave England w*i*thout some b*isho*p and that you perceave they intend to make 2 or 3 which indeed were the best and only way, though it be fitt also that my l*or*d be not quite discharged but have some superintendancy at least over the rest whether he reside at Paris or at Ro[me], and I wish he were at Ro[me], in case he come no more hither, to assist in the Congreg*ac*ion de P*ro*pag*an*da as I wrote to you before. The persons that ~~have ben~~ <cheefly> are in election have bin formerly proposed at Rome, namely D[octor] Kellison, Champney, Ed[ward] Bennet, Jo[hn] Bossevile, ~~D[octor] Maylard that had~~. You may propose also if you think good those two you named in *you*r former letter: Maylard;[319] Stratford.[320] I have bin labouring long to gett those patents you desired of the two presidents, North and Walles, but I understand they are very longe and therfor I desire only to have an abstract of their power and the names of the shires of their district, w*hi*ch when I have gotten I will send you.[321]

I have used also diligence to gett the beginnings and endings of those bookes you wrote for long since from Oxford and Cambridg, but as yet I cannot effect it.

There was an Oxford scholler of great name, an Arminian in sect, held <to be> the best preacher there, who desired his grace to passe doctor, and having demaunded it once, twice, thrice, as the fashion is, and still opposed by the puritans, in the end having a thousand pounds in his purse and 80^{l} per annum he went away secretly from

[318] The Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith.

[319] Henry Mayler. See Anstr., I, pp. 223–224; Allison, RSGB, I, pp. 361–362. In Smith's list of 10/20 May 1632 of those he thought suitable to be made a bishop he also listed Mayler, but Smith thought that 'the Jes[uits] will oppose the fighting which was betwene him and an other in Spayne', i.e. presumably in 1623 when Mayler took part in the negotiations for the proposed Anglo-Spanish dynastic treaty. But 'otherwise he were most fit becaus he is knowne to the king' (Charles I) and 'was loved of him'; AAW, B 27, no. 109.

[320] Edmund Lechmere, who was one of Richard Smith's propagandists. See Anstr., II, p. 187. See Edmund Lechmere, *The Conference mentioned by Doctour Featly [. . .]* (Douai, 1632); ARCR, II, no. 489 [incorporated in L.I., *The Relection of a Conference [. . .]* (Douai, 1635); ARCR II, no. 461], a work which demonstrates Smith's willingness and ability to dispute with Protestants.

[321] See *Letter 5*.

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the university, and what is become of him we do not yet heare, but it is thought he is gonn over and wilbecome a Catholick as one M^r^ Chillingworth[322] did before, wherof I certified you some two months since.

A grave and prudent priest[323] who is placed with the prime nobleman[324] [*in margin*: Morgan – marquis] of England wrote lately hither that there are two Benedictins in Hantshire who give leave to Catholickes to have their children christned at the Protestant churches by ministers wherat (as he writes) his patron is greatly scandalized seeing that in his own case it was not permitted. This is worth the information there.

There was an Arminian minister in Hantshire who going the procession in Rogation week (as the custome yet is amongst Protestants) and, coming to a crosse way where he found no crosse, would not go forward till he caused a crosse of bowes to be putt up, and then kneeling down before it he saied his praiers and so went on the procession. This the puritants there storm at mightily.

S*i*r Will[iam] Tresham who is coronell of an English regiment under the infanta[325] [*p. 237*] was com*m*aunded not long since to go with his men into the Palatinat but he rather chose to give up his patent to the infanta than he would goe thither, fearing to displease the king as he saied, contrary to whose liking he came not thither to serve. He did it in a good fashion and with many good speaches, so that the Spanniards were content to excuse him from that service, and the king here took it very gratiously, and gave him thankes for it.[326]

The Arminians here do multiply a pace, and the bishop of London[327] who is very gratious with the king, and dispacheth all things belonging to matters of religion, intendeth to do his best for the suppressing of the new separists (as here we call them) who will not conforme them selves to the religion of England, saying it is altogeather papisticall,

[322] William Chillingworth. See R.R. Orr, *Reason and Authority* (London, 1964).

[323] William Case, alias Morgan.

[324] John Paulet, 5th marquis of Winchester. On 3 January 1632 William Case put Richard Smith 'in minde of your most true frend my patron' who 'dailie wisheth, endevoreth and enquireth after your good succease in your affayres'. When the marquis was 'last tearme in London the whole crew of Coreists sett uppon him; and he like an other Phineus, stood up most stoutlie amongst them, resisted them with great zeale and remaines confident of their confusion'; AAW, A XXVI, no. 17, p. 57. In October 1631 the marquis had declared that even if there were 'speciall lawes made against ordinary jurisdiction in a bishop (as there are not) he would bee burnt in the fire and chopt in peeces before he would resist it or speake against it'; AAW, A XXV, no. 194, p. 709.

[325] Isabella Clara Eugenia.

[326] Sir William Tresham was a friend of the English secular clergy leadership, and had, on 24 August 1632, signed an affidavit (AAW, A XXVI, no. 125) against the 'Protestatio Declaratoria' (see *Letter 13*).

[327] William Laud.

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but runn in a new straine of most damnable pride and presumption thinking nonn but them selves shalbe saved and that no minister that is not elect hath any power to preach or can do any good by his preaching. Shortly we expect to have that new sect also to passe over to us from Holland, whom there they stile the Assurers, going to sick men (especially the richer sort) to assure them of their salvation by such and such markes. O tempora, O mores!

The fishing goeth on mainly, and, the better to assure it hereafter, all the nobility shalbe engaged in it and the king will depute ten of his great shipps to preserve it and to keep of[f] the Hollander from hindring us,[328] and now, hearing of their so happy progresse in the Low Countries and their straight union with the French, we beginn to feare them more than heretofore, and this wilbe the cause to make us joine the more firmely with Spaine, w*hi*ch doubtlesse my l*or*d treasurer[329] will further all he can, and my L*or*d Cottington with him, who are the duumviri of this state and [those] that beare most up in the kings favour. The treasurer is to be made earle of Sussex after the death of the ould earle[330] yet living, there being no more left of his name and race to enjoy the earldom. It was reported that he was to be created earle of Chenceford[331] uppon the late mariage of his sonn[332] by this wife[333] (who is le Clercks[334] cosen german) with the dutchesse of Lennox second daughter.[335] But that report ~~was~~ prooved not true for the mariage was solemnized on Munday last, being the 18 of this month, at Rohampton, his house in Surrey within 5 miles of London, the k[ing] and queen being presente and the king giving the bride him self.[336] It is also saied (but how truly I know not) that the first man [*p. 238*] child shalbe a marquis as being of the kings blood. The marquis of Hamilton is not yet come home though most of his men that were left alive are come away.[337]

There are two waies much spoken of to gett the k[ing] mony without a parlament and yet legally, videlicet by taking the forfeiture of the statute made ag*ain*st eating flesh on forbidden daies, or els

[328] See *CSPV*, *1629–1632*, p. 612.

[329] Sir Richard Weston, 1st Baron Weston, created earl of Portland in February 1633.

[330] Edward Radcliffe, 6th earl of Sussex.

[331] Chelmsford. See *CSPV*, *1629–1632*, p. 633.

[332] Jerome Weston.

[333] Frances Waldegrave of Borley, Essex, who was Sir Richard Weston's second wife. See Alexander, *CLT*, pp. 29–30.

[334] John Southcot. Southcot's mother was Magdalen Waldegrave, daughter of Sir Edward Waldegrave.

[335] Lady Frances Stuart, a sister of the 4th duke of Lennox.

[336] See Alexander, *CLT*, pp. 170–171.

[337] For the marquis of Hamilton's attempt to render military assistance to Gustavus Adolphus, see *CSPV*, *1629–1632*, *passim*; Sharpe, *PR*, p. 166.

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compounding with such as will eat, for licences, and by taking the forfeiture lickwise of cottages w*hi*ch by the statute are ~~lickwise~~ forbidden to be made but where they may have 4 acres of land belonging to them, and yet are infinitly multiplied throuought [*sic*] England.[338] These two forfeitures if they be pursued will raise the king a mighty summe of mony.

There is a new secretary lately sworne in Dorchesters[339] place, whose name is Winnebanke.[340] He was clark of the signett before, and is held a temperat man. His promotion to this place came chiefly by my l*or*d of Londons[341] meanes togeather with the l*or*d treasurer and Cottington. This is all the newes I have to write.

And so with my own kind remembr[ances] added to Antoninos, whose com*m*and I thinke I have hereby sufficiently discharged, I rest as ever.

22 June 1632.

I could not get the relation w*hi*ch was sent you from hence, with a letter to Card[inal] Bagni a fortnight agoe by Sig*no*r Bonzotti,[342] to be mended, and therfor you may deliver that coppy if you think good.

It were good to learne the speciall cause that mooved his Hol[iness] to sett out this last Declaratio w*hi*ch now you sent us, and so of other breves also hereafter w*hi*ch, if you can learne, I pray informe us.

No address.

Endorsed: Clerk. 22 Jun[e].
About my l[ord] to have some authoryty etc.
About the Jesuitts neglecting the breve of oracula.
About the 2 monkes who give leave to be baptized by hereticks.

18. Clerk [John Southcot] to [Peter Biddulph], 6 July 1632

[*AAW, A XXVI, no. 92, pp. 253–254*]

Sir,

The last week I wrote not to you, being otherwaies hindered, leaving to M^r^ Lab[orne] the answering of y*ou*r last of May the 29^th^, and

[338] See JPN, p. 332; Birch, *CT*, II, p. 170.
[339] Sir Dudley Carleton, 1st Baron Dorchester.
[340] Sir Francis Windebanck.
[341] William Laud.
[342] See *Letter 16*.

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the certifying of all other occurrences from hence. Your brother Worthington[343] saieth that his uncle John,[344] who liveth with your father, standeth for him, and is ready to shew him self if occasion be offered, but hitherto he hath not donn it openly. The pr[iest][345] whom M^r^ Worthington caused to be apprehended [*word deleted*] hath bin sett at liberty againe uppon baile long since with Worthingtons consent but, if he bring not the gentlewoman back by Bartlemetide or ~~thereabouts~~ Michelmas, he is to rettourne back to his prison as M^r^ Worthington saieth.

Our brethren here are much discomforted bycause they heare no good newes from you concerning my lords[346] buissenesse, and wonder that neither their attestations nor the qu[een's] two letters, nor so many other helps which we have had, are able to effect any thing. My lord writes that it is necessary for two or 3 of the gravest to go to Rome as some did in time of the appeale,[347] but how this will be effected I know not, partly for waunt of meanes, and partly for waunt of disposition in the men, for every man is out of hart uppon the newes of my lords resignation, and think that ~~they~~ we are now in worse case by much than we were before we had a bishop. You may do well to inculcat there that[348] if it be knowen once here that his Hol[iness] is resolved to have my lord discharged, the whole clergy is in a manner overthrowen, all offices and orders,[349] and collections of monies and whatsoever els hath relation to the subsistence of my lords authority will cease, and so we shall not be able to maintaine <any> agents neither in Rome nor else where. The Fr[ench] ambass[ador's][350] answer to our qu[een's] letter is now come hither, but not yet delivered to her Majesty. I am sory you gott not a coppy of it to send us, that we might know how

[343] William Worthington.

[344] John Worthington SJ. See CRS, 75, pp. 338–339.

[345] John Wakeman. See *Letters 9*, *10*, *11*.

[346] Richard Smith.

[347] i.e. the appellant (or archpriest) dispute of 1598–1602. On 13/23 September 1632 Smith advised Biddulph that he should write to the secular clergy in England advising them that 'twoe or three of the gravest of them' should 'goe to Rome', and that he wished he had done so himself when he left England in 1631; AAW, B 27, no. 129. On 7/17 June 1633 Smith emphasized to Biddulph that he himself had 'written to our brethren in England that unles 3 or 4 of the gravest of them goe to Rome as there did in time of [the] appellants they will get litle'; AAW, A XXVII, no. 61, p. 178. In December 1631 Smith and his friends had made a conscious effort to revive the memory of the appellants at Rome; *Letter 1*.

[348] The following words are interlined here: 'ut alias [*two words illegible*] ille confirmatus declaratus, capiat [?] [*word illegible*] per Angliam divulgari re itum est, [word illegible] sacerdotes incipiunt [*word illegible*] si durem [*or* ducem ?] [*word illegible*], etc'.

[349] The following words are interlined: 'dignitatus quibus conservunt disciplina inter sacerdotes seculares, deinde omnia subsidia et collectionis pecunia, etc'.

[350] Jean de Gallard, baron de la Rochebeaucourt et de Brassach, French ambassador in Rome. See *Letters 5*, *24*.

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to proceed uppon it here. You may do well to write sometimes to M^r^ Hammond[351] bycause it will give him occasion to write back to you againe, and informe you of many particulers w*hi*ch he knoweth and observeth here of divers things. You know he is a man that must be complied withall punctually in his owne way.

I pray certify us how D. Hallier and Aurelius bookes are liked there in that court.[352] Here all indifferent men that read them like them passing well but the Jes[uits'] followers will not read them, pretending that it is not lawfull to do it by reason of the breve of prohibition.[353] All o*ur* brethren here do wonder that the <clergies> supplication in reply to the breve was not delivered there by you,[354] and still they presse to have it delivered up. What newes of [*word deleted*] Mary Ward there?[355] And of Fa[ther] Fitzherbert and the English college? In y*our* letters you make no mention of them. We desire you would write more at large and more particulers of all such things as may concerne us to know and especially we desire to know what card[inals] and prelates be o*ur* freinds in every congreg*aci*on and who be those with whom you are most confident [*p. 254*] there and the like. When you write to

[351] John Jackson.

[352] The tracts referred to here are: Hallier, *Defensio Ecclesiasticae Hierarchiae [. . .]* (see *Letter 9*), and Jean Duvergier de Hauranne (the Abbé de Saint-Cyran, who published under the name of Petrus Aurelius), *Vindiciae Censurae Facultatis Theologiae Parisiensis seu, Responsio Dispunctoria ad Libellum cui Titulus Hermanii Loemelii [. . .] Spongia [. . .] Auctore Petro Aurelio Theologia* (Paris, 1632); ARCR, I, no. 498. See Allison, RSGB, II, pp. 166–169. These works, which came out in March/April 1632, were replies to John Floyd SJ's tract, published under the pseudonym of Hermannus Loemelius, entitled *Hermanni Loemelii [. . .] Spongia, qua Diluuntur Calumniae Nomine Facultatis Parisiensis Impositae Libro qui Inscribitur, Apologia Sanctae Sedis Apostolicae* (St Omer, 1631); ARCR, I, no. 489. The seculars saw in Hallier's and Duvergier's work essential support for their case against their opponents in England. On 2/12 December 1636 Smith enthused that 'Mr Hallier told me he wold write about confir*mation*', a crucial element of a bishop's sacramental duties, and that 'he hath a great booke readie to come forth after Christmas, and secondly Aurelius wil replie to Sirmond' (the French Jesuit Jacques Sirmond, who entered into dispute with Duvergier over the issue of the sacrament of confirmation); AAW, A XXVIII, no. 206, p. 643; Allison, RSGB, III, pp. 191–198. Hallier took the line, as did Matthew Kellison in his *Treatise of the Hierarchie* of 1629, that the pope should not trespass on the 'rights of particular churches and their bishops'. He argued the case, which was particularly apposite to the English secular clergy, that 'as universal pastor' the pope 'is bound to provide particular churches with local pastors at all times and he cannot limit the powers inherent in their charge'. Also, religious orders should not be exempt from episcopal discipline; Allison, RSGB, II, p. 166. Antony Allison points out that, following the death of the seculars' friend, Pierre de Bérulle, Duvergier was 'the acknowledged leader of the *parti dévot* with its ideal of a spiritual renewal centred upon the priesthood and the sacraments'; *ibid.*, p. 167.

[353] Urban VIII's breve *Britannia* (29 April/9 May 1631).

[354] On 1 March 1632, John Jackson wrote to Biddulph that 'we can not hear that you have given upp [i.e. in Rome] our Humilima Supplic*atio*', i.e. against the breve *Britannia*; AAW, A XXVI, no. 33, p. 107.

[355] See *Letter 15*.

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M[r] Ed[ward] Skinner, send his letters to me open (unlesse there be any secrett not fitt to be knowen by me) bycause he hath wished me to peruse them before I send them down to him in the country where he liveth altogeather now for his health, being deep [*word deleted*] in a consumption.

With these I send you coppies of the districts of the two presidents, taken out of the rowles. My l*or*d writes that the Jes[uits] now labour to have a b*isho*p of their own, but in any case you must seek to hinder that.[356] He writes also that the nonce there[357] tould a freind of his that the pope feared a schisme in case ep*iscop*al authority were setled here, but that is so great a paradox that on the contrary side a schisme and utter confusion may justly be feared unlesse that authority be quickly setled, and surely there is no better way than to make 3 b*isho*ps according to the three districts of the south parts of England, North and Walles.[358]

We have litle newes here stirring. The k[ing] by his proclamation hath com*m*aunded all the gentry that have houses in the country to repaire thither, and to keep their families there resident hereafter, and not to ly in London as ~~they~~ many have used to doe, therby to avoide much riott and excesse both in apparell and otherwise as you will see by the proclamation it self w*hi*ch here I send you.[359] There are other proclamations also to keep fasting daies and Lent according to the statutes, and to avoide the excesses in coaches etc.[360] And it is thought the king will have them strictly observed, or els take forfeitures, and make starr ~~cases~~ chamber cases of them to his own profitt.[361] The fishing is like to go on.

[356] On 3/13 September 1632, Smith wrote to Biddulph that the Jesuits in England 'brag that they shal have a b*isho*p', which would 'make matters worse', since 'Jes[uits] make a vow that if they be called to anie ec*clesiastic*al dignitie they shal take the advise of their g*ener*al so that we shal be subject to the g*ener*al of [the] Jesuits'. The Jesuits would then oppress the secular clergy, for 'already they seek to put us out of the best residences'. Secular priests would 'be forced to leave England'. Smith recited Clement VIII's ruling in October 1602 that the archpriest should not consult with the Society about the regulation of the secular clergy, and Paul V's confirmation of that decision in 1609 when Smith was the secular clergy's agent in Rome. Should this be rescinded, 'the clergy will plainly refuse to obey'; AAW, B 27, no. 128.

[357] Cardinal Alessandro Bichi.

[358] See *Letter 5*.

[359] Larkin, *SRP*, no. 159 (20 June 1632).

[360] *Ibid*., no. 160 (24 June 1632); JPN, p. 332. See also F. Heal, 'The crown, the gentry and London: the enforcement of proclamation, 1596–1640', in C. Cross, D. Loades, and J.J. Scarisbrick (eds), *Law and Government under the Tudors* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 211–226.

[361] In November 1632 Walter Yonge recorded in his diary that many had been fined in the star chamber for not leaving London as the proclamation required; BL, Additional MS 35331, fo. 51r. See also Heal, 'The crown, the gentry and London', pp. 221–223.

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Thus with my woonted salutes and good wishes, 6 July 1632.

Yours,

Clerk

I pray inquire diligently whether the breve w*hi*ch was directed to my l*or*d and the pr[iests] and Catholickes of England forbidding all bookes and writings on both sides etc. were ever published there in Rome.[362] For I understand that Fa[ther] Knott[363] tould a gentlem[an] here that it was published there and affixed ad [*two words illegible*] in acie campi Florae.

No address.

Endorsed: 6 Julye. Clerk.
About the clergye undone, if my l*or*d be deposed.
About feare of schisme by reg[ulars].

19. Clerk [John Southcot] to [Peter Biddulph], 13 July 1632

[*AAW, B 47, no. 65*]

Sir,

This week we receaved two of y*ou*rs togeather of the 5 and 12 of June. Concerning the first, M[r] Ham*m*on[364] will deale with y*ou*r brother Worth[ington][365] and see if he can draw him to write such a letter as you desire to the congreg*ati*on.[366] Those seaven Jes[uits] putt out of their order here in England within the space of 3 yeares my l*or*d[367] can best name unto you; three or 4 I remember, videlicet Rob[ert] Rookhood,[368] Anthony Smith, John Dukes,[369] Ferdinando Pulton.[370] I

[362] See *Letter 15*.
[363] Matthew Wilson SJ.
[364] John Jackson. Endorsed in margin in Biddulph's hand: 'To write to M[r] Ha*m*on'.
[365] William Worthington.
[366] The Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith.
[367] Richard Smith.
[368] Robert Rookwood, brother of the gunpowder plotter Ambrose Rookwood, was dismissed from the Society in 1622; CRS, 75, p. 284.
[369] John Jukes (dismissed from the Society in 1625); CRS, 75, p. 219.
[370] There is no record of either of the two contemporary Jesuits named Ferdinand Poulton having been permanently excluded from the Society. However, Thomas Poulton (formerly a steward to the Vaux family) who had entered the Society in 1617, was dismissed in 1630 only to be readmitted in September 1632; CRS, 74, p. 127; CRS, 75, pp. 257–258, 271; Anstr., II, p. 251. On 13/23 September 1632 Smith remarked in a letter to Biddulph that, 'for anie thing that I know', their mutual friend Thomas White 'exceded in the number of

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thank you for sending me those two chapters of Barklay.[371] I suppose they are come safe to Paris, but as yet I have not receaved them from thence. Card[inal] Bentivoglios Relation I have caused to be bought at Paris.[372] The bookes w*hi*ch were written in [the] time of the Appeale you may have from Doway as I suppose. If not, we will procure coppies of them to be sent from hence, and you may do well to write a particuler letter about them to M^r^ Bennet who hath all such papers in his custody, desiring him to take order that they may be sent up to you for B[a]ronius, as also any other paper that he hath concerning our history, and therfor I pray write such a letter to him by the next opportunity.

Y*our* second letter did not a little trouble us with the newes of those ill offices donn to us there by the Cap[uchins] and we are thinking of a course how to strengthen o*ur* selves against them by the qu[een's] meanes wherof you shall heare more when it is donn. The grand aulmner[373] was mooved to write to Rome in my l*or*ds behalf and he seemed not unwilling at the first, but after he had considered of it and (as we imagin) consulted with the Capucins he excused him self, yet he had a coppy of the qu[een's] second letter, ~~which~~ <the sight wherof> we thought would have encouraged him to write in conformity therunto; but seeing he drawes back I ame sory he had that letter, and I pray God he make no ill use of it, or procure us the qu[een's] or the ambassadors displeasure by it. My l*or*d writes that it is necessary for us to send two or 3 of the gravest of the clergy <to Rome> els we shall never obtaine our desires.[374] But we find so much difficulty both in procuring the meanes, and in disposing mens minds to it, that I feare we shall never bring it to passe. There is a com*m*on letter,[375] written from us to the Congreg*at*ion de Propag*an*da, w*hi*ch we intend to send to you on Wednesday next by the way of Paris. I suppose you have written to my l*or*d what you writt to us concerning the Capucins opposition, ~~that~~ and advised him what to do in it. Here we are of opinion that he should complaine of them to the French b*isho*ps and see what help he can have by their meanes

seven Jes[uits] for I remember no more than five'. Smith could not recollect all their names; but he recalled, in addition to those listed by Southcot, James Hargrave, ordained in 1609. Hargrave entered the Society in 1612 and was dismissed in c.1622, but was regarded with suspicion by the seculars, who believed he still supported the Jesuits against Smith; AAW, B 27, no. 129; Anstr., II, pp. 145–146; CRS, 75, p. 201; AAW, B 48, no. 4.

[371] See *Letter 15*.

[372] See *Letter 15*.

[373] Jacques le Noël Du Perron.

[374] See *Letter 18*.

[375] This may be a reference to John Colleton's letter of 1 July 1632 written in the name of the English secular clergy to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith; AAW, A XXVI, no. 90.

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either to withstand them, or to gaine them, though I presume they will not easily be gained, for they have combined them selves (as we understand) with the Jesuitts here, who to engage them the more to them, and by them to strengthen their party ag*ain*st my l*or*d and the clergy, have made divers offers and promises unto them already of procuring them here some residences in gentlemens houses for their young novices, where, when they have learnt the language, they shall rettourne and ~~take the br~~ make their profession in France, and being made priests shall afterward be sent hither in mission. With these conceipts [*word deleted*] the Jes[uits] feed the Capucins here, and oblige them to them and sooth them mightily making all the shewes of love and kindnesse unto them they can desire. Yea, they are thought to animat them also in that course of opposition they are in against Fa[ther] Philip, w*hi*ch in the end doubtlesse will breake their neckes, and <doth> avert the qu[een] from them more and more.[376] Wherof the Jes[uits] cannot be ignorant, but therby perhaps they think to serve their own turns in the end and to putt both out. The Italian Capucin Pad[re] Alessandro,[377] who hath bin here almost this twelmonth, approoveth not the violent proceeding of these French Capucins, and I think hath written to Rome already. We intend to complaine to him, as having understood of the [*word deleted*] <saied> Capucins opposing us at Rome, and will desire him to write for us to Card[inal] S^{t} Onophrio.[378] In our last consult[379] we resolved to write a com*m*on letter to my l*or*d both in o*u*r own names and of our lay freinds, to entreat him to rettourne unto us speedily, and therin to expresse the interest we think o*u*r selves to have in his not resighning the place without our consents. We intend also to send <severall> coppies to every archdeacon of a certaine negative forme of a disclaime to w*hi*ch it can be no daunger for any Cath[olic] to subscribe, desiring them to procure either by them selves or by some fitt person the subscription of every nobleman within their district. The forme shalbe thus. Ego infra*scrip*tus rogatus ab amico an suffragium <meum> dederim adversus Chalced*onen*sem epi*scop*um vel epi*scop*alem authoritatem in Anglia stabiliendam, testor me nunquam eiusmodi suffragium dedisse. To this if we can gett but a dozen or 15 noblemens hands in severall papers, I think it will counterpoise the 18 supposed writers ag*ain*st my l*or*ds authority.[380] M^{r} Plantin[381]

[376] See *Letter 15*.
[377] Alessandro d'Ales.
[378] Cardinal Antonio Barberini, a Capuchin and brother of Urban VIII.
[379] William Bishop, bishop of Chalcedon, had set up a 'consult', i.e. an inner circle of advisers.
[380] See *Letter 13*.
[381] Lawrence Platt.

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is come over about some buissenesse of his own and will rettourne shortly. Also M[r] Blacklo[382] is come hither to settle all agreements for Lisboa college. We expect also D*oct*or Maylard[383] very shortly, whom perhaps we will entreat to go to Rome for us as agent extraordinary for a yeare ~~or soe~~ <at least> to hasten the dispach of our maine buissenesse.

The proclamation[384] I sent you last week is much resented by the gentry of England, in so much that the k[ing], as it is thought, will remitt the intended rigor of putting it in execution bycause it is generally so displeasing to all. The k[ing] and qu[een] are gon to Otelands. My l*or*d treasurer his sonn[385] is still preparing to go ambassador into Savoy. Some say M[r] G[eorge] Gage intendeth to go with him, who, you know, is no freind to us. The mention of card*inal*s in o*u*r com*m*on letter hath reference to him and S*i*r Toby[386] and, if you will, to S*i*r Griph[in] Markam and Sig*no*r Giorgio.[387] Particuler newes I have nonn.

Adieu. 13 July 1632.

No address.

Endorsed: Clerk. 13 Julye.
About the Jesuitts ejects.
About getting bookes from M[r] Bennet.
About those who are excepted for card*inal*ls.

20. Clerk [John Southcot] to Fitton [Peter Biddulph], 20 July 1632

[*AAW, A XXVI, no. 98, pp. 273–274*]

Sir,

The last week I wrote unto you in answer to yours of the 5 and ~~the~~ 12 of June[388] since w*hi*ch time we have an other short one of the 19 of the same month from you, wherin you write little saving only that

[382] Thomas White. See Anstr., II, p. 350; *Letter 20*. White was President of the college of Saints Peter and Paul at Lisbon. He resigned in 1633.
[383] Henry Mayler.
[384] See *Letter 18*.
[385] Jerome Weston. See *Letter 20*.
[386] Sir Tobie Mathew.
[387] George Con.
[388] Endorsed in margin in Biddulph's hand: 'to duplicat mine of the 10th of July'.

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the Jes[uits] have gott [the] qu[een] mother[389] to write for them and ag*ain*st my l*or*d[390] to Borghese,[391] w*hi*ch I wonder at considering that my l*or*d is that qu[een's] aulmner.[392] Perhaps D[octor] Champney can gett a countermaund from her, if he be solicited by you to do it, and that you judg it needfull.

We are now in hand to present a memoriall to o*u*r qu[een] to complaine of the aggreevances donn us by the Capucins here,[393] and to request her Ma*jes*ties new letters in behalf of my l*or*d, w*hi*ch I hope we shall obtaine shortly, but we do this with as much secresy as we can, least we be prevented. M^r^ Lab[orne] mooved the grand aulmner[394] to write for my l*or*d w*hi*ch at first he seemed willing to do, but after he had thought on it, and perhaps consulted with the Capucins (contrary to whose good liking he adventures to do nothing, fearing perhaps to offend Pere Joseph[395] and Mons*ieu*r Bouttelier the secretary[396]), he excused the matter.

This day we receaved letters from my l*or*d with w*hi*ch he sent us a coppy of the Protestatio Declaratoria,[397] subscribed and consented unto by 17 of the nobility, w*hi*ch I imagin my l*or*d had from you, and therfor I send you no coppy of it, not doubting but he him self will send one to you if he had it any other way, whereof he saieth nothing in his letter to us. This Protest[atio] is the very same verbatim in English w*hi*ch I sent long since to my l*or*d and I think to you also. It was composed, as ~~it seemes~~ we understood then, by M^r^ Ploydon[398] and by S*i*r Basil[399] and other their complices as also by the Jesuitts them selves carried up and down all England and obtruded to all Catholickes they could meet withall, whose consents sometimes by persuasions, ~~by~~ sometimes by threatnings, and alwaies by deceipt and cosenage, they extorted from divers as some ~~have~~ <of> them have ~~and~~ witnessed, and as hath bin formerly written unto you from hence.

[389] Marie de Médicis.

[390] Richard Smith.

[391] Cardinal Gasparo Borgia, archbishop of Seville and Toledo.

[392] There had been a parting of the ways between Marie de Médicis and former friends, such as Richard Smith, after she moved into opposition to Cardinal Richelieu.

[393] For Southcot's views on the Capuchins, see also *Letter 38*. For the activities of the Capuchins in London and at the court, see Albion, *CI*, pp. 106–107, 108; 'Memoirs of the mission in England of the Capuchin friars of the province of Paris, from the year 1630 to 1669. By Father Cyprien of Gamache, one of the Capuchins belonging to the household of Henrietta Maria [. . .]', in Birch, *CT*, II, pp. 289–501.

[394] Jacques le Noël Du Perron. See *Letter 19*.

[395] François Joseph le Clerc du Tremblay.

[396] Léon Bouthillier, comte de Chavigny, French secretary of State.

[397] See *Letter 13*. Endorsed in margin in Biddulph's hand: 'I have not received the Protest[atio]'.

[398] Francis Plowden.

[399] Sir Basil Brooke.

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The impostures in this protestation are many and great, as shalbe made manifest, God willing, shortly, wherof you shall heare more by the next.

M^r^ Blaclo[400] (who is now here to treat of making up all matters about Lisboa college),[401] M^r^ Lab[orne] and my self went a week agoe to P[adre] Alessandro[402] to desire his letter in behalf of ep*isco*pall authority to Card[inal] S^t^ Onofrio,[403] w*hi*ch he promised to ~~give~~ write this week at least to the Capucin, one P[adre] Negro[404] (as I take it) their procurator generale in Rome, by whose advise that card[inal] doth wholy governe him self, as Alessandro tould us, and you may do well to acquaint y*ou*r self with that Capucin, as also with P[adre] Valeriano[405] that came out of Bohemia thither this last spring.

Y*ou*r brother Worthington[406] had once written a <Lattin> letter to the Congreg[ation] de P*ro*pag*an*da to informe them of his proceeding in the buissenesse between him and M^r^ Gibbons,[407] but, his lawier telling him that it was daungerous in regard of premunire, he will advise further before he send it, yet I wished him to write unto you particulerly about the buissenesse and to send the letter open to you to be kept or delivered as you should see cause. But I know not what he will do. I wish you had written to him y*ou*r self to know the matter for that would have [*p. 274*] given him occasion to write to you back againe. But, when you write, take no notice of any <usuall> correspondence with Antonino,[408] nor of knowing much by him in this matter, but by M^r^ Laborne only or M^r^ Ham*m*ond.[409]

There is no newes currant here at this time. The court is at Otelands there to remaine yet these 5 or 6 weekes. The l*or*d treasurers sonn is not yet gonn from hence towards Savoy as ambassador extraordinary, but it is sayed that he goeth very shortly.[410] Compositions for recusants are at a stay during this vacation. I heard that two judges were dead of late going their circuitt, but I know not how true it is, nor who they were nor how they died.

[400] Thomas White. Endorsed in margin in Biddulph's hand: 'to send ~~the~~ [*word illegible*] letters to me'.

[401] See Anstr., II, p. 350.

[402] Alessandro d'Ales.

[403] Cardinal Antonio Barberini, a Capuchin and brother of Urban VIII.

[404] See Pastor, *HP*, XXVIII, p. 400.

[405] For Valeriano Magno, see Father Cuthbert, *The Capuchins*, 2 vols (London, 1928), II, pp. 312–320; Pastor, *HP*, XXVIII, pp. 346, 348.

[406] William Worthington.

[407] John Wakeman. See *Letters 9*, *10*, *11*.

[408] i.e. John Southcot.

[409] John Jackson.

[410] For Jerome Weston's appointment and instructions as ambassador extraordinary, see *CSPV*, *1629–1632*, p. 613; PRO, SP 78/91, fos 382r–9r, 390r–405r.

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More I have not to say now and so in hast I end. 20 July 1632.

We have written a round letter to my l*or*d to w*hi*ch we will gett as many hands of pr[iests] as we can, and the consent also of o*u*r lay freindes, testified by a notary. It is to request him, or rather conjure him, to rettourne. The next weeke you shall have a coppy of it.[411] It is not yet subscribed, and goeth not till next Wednesday.

On Wednesday last we sent a com*m*on letter to the Congreg*aci*on de P*ro*pag*an*da open to M[r] Wake[412] to be sent to you that way, and we send no duplicat of it by Bruxelles.[413]

We have sett o*u*r freindes in work in the country to procure the hands of as many of the nobility as they can in severall papers to this negative disclaime wherin there is no daunger. Ego infrascriptus rogatus an suffragium dederim adversus Chalced*onen*sem ep*isco*pum vel authoritatem ep*isco*palem in Anglia stabiliendam testor me eiusmodi suffragium nunquam dedisse. Yet I feare we shalbe able to procure few or nonn to subscribe bycause every one is wary to give his hand, even our best and surest freinds.

Addressed: Pour Mons*ieu*r Fitton a Rome.

Endorsed: July. Clerk.
About the Protestatio Declaratoria.

21. Clerk [John Southcot] to Fitton [Peter Biddulph], 27 July 1632

[*AAW, A XXVI, no. 100, pp. 277–278*]

Sir,

This week we receaved a short letter from you of June the 26 but we expect a longer by the next, and some further resolution about o*u*r buissenesse.

My l*or*d[414] hath sent the coppies of divers memorialls and writings unto us w*hi*ch were given up at Rome and to the nonce[415] (as I suppose) by his adversaries, and particulerly that Protestatio Declaratoria of the nobility and gentry,[416] wherof I certified you by my last letters as also

[411] See AAW, A XXVI, no. 96, p. 265, for the letter of 19 July 1632 from the English secular clergy to Richard Smith, urging him to return to England, and arguing that he ought not to have resigned without their consent.
[412] Michael Merriman, who was then at Paris. See Anstr., II, p. 217.
[413] See *Letter 19*.
[414] Richard Smith.
[415] Cardinal Alessandro Bichi.
[416] See *Letter 13*, and *passim*.

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this quaestio: an reg*ular*es sine gravi praejudicio dependere possint a Chalced*onen*si vel alio quovis delegato in Anglia pro administrat*io*ne parochialium? etc., with 3 or 4 other memorialls in Italian, all shewing the difficulty of reg*ular*s asking approbation, or coming to my l*or*d or his vicars to present them selves, w*hi*ch in my opinion deserved no better answer, to satisfy any indifferent man, than this, that none of these difficulties would be pretended by Jesuitts, if a Jesuitt were made b*isho*p, nor by Benedictines if he were a Benedictine, and the practise of presenting them selves to the b*isho*p or his officialls would soon appeare to be easy enough to any regular, if in lieu of asking approbation it were ordered that the b*isho*p or his vicars should give every regular, at his first coming in, five pounds, but <should> deliver it to nonne but <to> him self in p*er*son. And I wish that you would but mention such an answer as this is to some of the congreg*aci*on[417] there. Yet it will not be amisse to give a further answer also to all particulers of difficulty objected, and of other pretended reasons, w*hi*ch will not be hard to do, if the true state of things here be once made well knowen, and those mists and exaggerations taken away and qualified w*hi*ch o*u*r adversaries seek to cast before strangers eies, by the example of other practises here.

We have gotten the prime nobleman of England[418] and my L*or*d Morly[419] to subscribe their names to that forme of a disclaime[420] w*hi*ch I sent you last week, and we will labour to gett the like from others. I hope also we shall obtaine the qu[een's] letter shortly in behalf of my l*or*d w*hi*ch will much availe us.

We wrote a com*m*on letter this week to my l*or*d inviting him to come back, the coppy whereof I send you here enclosed.[421]

I can no more at this time but refer other occurrences to M^r^ Lab[orne].
27 July 1632.
I have not yet receaved Barclaies 2 chapters.[422]

[*on p. 278*]

Addressed: Pour Mons*ieu*r Fitton. Rome.
Avec un autre papier.

Endorsed: Clerk. July 27.
An answeare to the regulars objection against b*isho*ps.
About the Jesuitts memorialls.

[417] The Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith.
[418] John Paulet, 5th marquis of Winchester. See *Letter 13*.
[419] See *Letters 13*, *22*, *23*.
[420] See *Letters 19*, *20*.
[421] AAW, A XXVI, no. 96 (dated 19 July 1632). See *Letter 20*.
[422] See *Letters 15*, *19*.

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22. Fountyne [George Leyburn][423] to [Richard Smith], 1 August 1632

[*AAW, A XXVI, no. 104, pp. 289–292*]

Most honored sir,

Since I commended unto you my last I have not receaved any from you, but I now heare th*a*t the post is arrived soe th*a*t I expect yours this afternoone. All the daye yesterdaye I was at Otlands with good Fa[ther] Ph[ilip] who now assisteth us w*i*th all his forces. I have drone a petition for her Majesty and I hope th*a*t I shall obtayne from her two letters, one in answere to Mons*ieu*r Brissac,[424] the other to his Holynes. I hope alsoe th*a*t many of o*u*r nobility will be wonne to exclame from the late protestation.[425] I have my lord marquis[426] hand and my Lord Morlys alreadie and I have write[n] unto M[r] Martyn[427] for my Lord Sturtons,[428] unto my cosen Broughton[429] for his

[423] The AAW, A series catalogue erroneously cites John Southcot as the author of this letter.

[424] Jean de Gallard, baron de la Rochebeaucourt et de Brassach, French ambassador in Rome.

[425] See *Letter 13*, and *passim*.

[426] John Paulet, 5th marquis of Winchester.

[427] This may be a reference to the secular priest Thomas Martin; Anstr., I, pp. 221–222; *NAGB*, pp. 4, 125. In September 1631 he was in the diocese of Bath and Wells, i.e. where he may have served as Lord Stourton's chaplain; AAW, A XXIV, no. 161, p. 621. Subsequently, in 1635, we find him listed as chaplain to Roger Widdrington in Northumberland; AAW, A XXVI, no. 68, p. 285.

[428] Edward Stourton, 10th Baron Stourton. The secular clergy noted that Stourton's heir, Sir William, 'favet monachis Benedictinis' but 'est etiam amicus cleri', and he had had his eldest son educated at the secular clergy's college at Douai; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 3, p. 16. On 20 March 1632 Thomas Longueville reported to Biddulph that 'divers, as you knoe, have theare been given up by our adversaries as to have subscribed against our maister my l[ord] b[ishop] [Richard Smith], wherof one <was> my Lord Stourtons eldest sonne and heyre S*i*r William Stourton. As for my Lord Stourton himself I conceive you knoe how they urged him hard yet could not prevaile, whome they knoe farwel to be a Catholicke, [and] as for S*i*r William Stourton his sonne and heire, true it is he did subscribe, but you must knoe that now he hath cast of[f] the monke whoe then lived in his house, by name Don David [Codner], whose continual table talk was against my lord bis[hop], and now he hath taken a sec[ular] pr[iest] wholy depending upon him. And by manie discourses which I have had with S*i*r William Stourton concerning this busines he hath sufficiently manifested how he wisheth he had never subscribed, and divers and sundrie times he hath told me how with all his hart he desireth a bishop in England, yea both S*i*r William and his brother in law S*i*r Edward Suilliard, whoe alsoe subscribed against our bishop, have told me that the regulars their ghostly fathers, whereof the formers was a monke, th*e* others was and yet is a Jesuit, secur*e*d their conscience in the busines, otherwise they never would have done what they did'; AAW, A XXVI, no. 41, p. 129.

[429] Richard Broughton. See Anstr., I, pp. 54–56.

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lord,[430] unto Mr Rogers[431] for his lord, unto Mr Trolop[432] for the Lord Euers,[433] and here we shall have my Lord Arundells[434] assuredly and my Lord Mountegues,[435] and Mr Muskett[436] undertaketh for Casle Haven.[437] Here is noe danger to subscribe to such a forme as here I doe send unto you. And giving hands in this nature will doe as much as if they had soe given to desire episcopall authority. We

[430] i.e. Francis Manners, 6th earl of Rutland, at Belvoir, where Broughton was chaplain to the countess of Rutland. (The earl died in December 1632.)

[431] Identity uncertain. This man may be the 'Rogers' named in *Letter 34* as a priest in Sussex.

[432] Cuthbert Trollop. See Anstr., I, pp. 363–364. He was Richard Smith's vicar-general in the North from 1 June 1625.

[433] William Eure, 4th Baron Eure. In January 1635 the leading secular clergy noted of him that 'ob debita quae contraxit cum Barone Arundellio (cuius filiam primogenitus illius duxerat in uxorem) est hodie magna lis inter utrumque, sed vicit causam Arundellius; et quia Eure non obedit judicum decreto, detinetur in turre Londinensi'. (See also *CSPD, 1631–1633*, pp. 425, 441.) Although it was distressing to see the secular clergy's patrons, Eure and Arundell, locked in conflict in this way, nevertheless Eure 'favet clero seculari prae ceteris ordinibus'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 3, p. 16.

[434] Thomas Arundell, 1st Baron Arundell. The secular clergy's January 1635 survey of the Catholic nobility described him, in admiration, as 'vir ingeniosus, prudens et magnanimus, versatissimus, si quis alius laicus, in controversiis fidei saepeque rationando cum Protestantibus, eorum errores aperte redarguit. Est amicissimus clero prae reliquis ordinibus, quamvis etiam aliorum ordinum sacerdotes humaniter excipiat'. He led a virtuous life, had been active on behalf of English Catholics, and had co-operated closely with the count of Gondomar while the Spanish match was in negotiation in the early 1620s. And 'quare cum primum coepit oppositio contra episcopum Chalcedonense*m* nihil magis solicitos habuit ep*iscop*i adversarios quam ut illu*m* in suas partes attraherent, quod nunquam facere potuerunt, nec p*er*suasionibus nec minis, na*m* fortiter se semp*er* opposuit, et per celebrem epistolam quam ad Vicecomitem Montis Acuti [Montague] scripsit, clare ostendit, oppositionem adversus ep*iscop*um ex intra factione procedere'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 3, p. 17. See Allison, Q J, p. 124. A note in the state papers, conjecturally dated to December 1632, records that the secular priest, George Fisher, was resident with Arundell; *CSPD, 1631–1633*, p. 470. Arundell informed Gregorio Panzani in December 1634 that the return of Richard Smith was essential for the restoration of order in the Catholic community. Arundell said he would advise Smith to come back to London and present himself to the king; and Arundell personally guaranteed that he would stand surety for him; VA, PD, fo. 43r.

[435] Francis Browne, 3rd Viscount Montague. He was the son of the secular clergy's great patron, Anthony Maria Browne, 2nd Viscount Montague (d. 1629). Although the 3rd viscount never enjoyed his father's influence in the Catholic community, the secular clergy's January 1635 survey of Catholic nobles said that, after a pleasure-filled youth, Francis Browne 'nunc a nonnullis annis studet parsimoniae et pecunias modis omnibus accumulare nititur'. Though he was 'ingenioisus et callidus', nevertheless he was 'in religionis exercitiis tepidus', but, all the same, 'favet clero saeculari prae aliis omnibus ordinibus'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 3, p. 15.

[436] George Fisher.

[437] James Touchet, Baron Audley, 3rd earl of Castlehaven. The leading secular clergy claimed that 'nulli ordini partialiter addictus quin potius favet clero prae reliquis et sacerdotem secularem alit domi', but he was dedicated to the pursuit of pleasure; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 3, p. 14.

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may now thanke our adversaryes for th*a*t they have (through ther late protestation) put us into this waye, into w*hi*ch we could never have putt our selves. Agayne I have writte to all places to obtayne the cheef gentrys hands to this forme.[438] And by Fa[ther] Ph[ilip's] meanes I have imployed a very powerfull friend to my Lord Harbert[439] to see if it be possible to make him disclame. I shall be able to signifye more unto you by the next. This art[icle] [?] practised by the Jesuists I did droe my selfe and I thinke it convenient th*a*t it should be sent presently unto Ro[me] and M[r] Fitton[440] may translate it and showe [it] unto the cardinalls or [*sic for* of] [*p. 290*] Propaganda Fide and assure them th*a*t ther is coming after this a generall disclame w*i*th the true handes of nobility and gentry.[441] I was yesterdaye alsoe a great while w*i*th the grand almynier.[442] I doe assure you faithfully th*a*t he is a true clergie man and truly loveth you. And if herafter a good ambassador come who is not too partial as this, he will showe him selfe more. He did imparte unto me some pasages in w*hi*ch he did tye me to secrecy w*hi*ch you will knowe hereafter. He desired me to remember unto you his kinde respects. Speaking yesterdaye w*i*th Fa[ther] Ph[ilip] about Mother Magdalyne of the Carmalytes[443] he wisheth th*a*t you will visit her often. She haith great friends in France by w*hi*ch she may doe you much good. Agayne she writeth often to our queen and if in some letter she give a toutch of you it will be to good purpose. I have wished Fa[ther] Ph[ilip] to desire her Maj*es*ty when she writeth unto her to thanke her for her love towards English pr[i]ests. You may tell her th*a*t her last letter Mons*ieu*r le grand alminier did deliver yesterdaye unto her Majesty. There are not many occurrences. And I am in great hast

[438] See e.g. AAW, A XXVI, nos 122, 123; *Letter 24*.

[439] Edward Somerset, Lord Herbert of Raglan, heir to the 5th earl of Worcester. He was mentioned in Edward Bennett's will of 27 March 1635; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 11. Although the Somersets were patrons of the Jesuits, Edward had married, in c.1628, Elizabeth, the sister of Robert Dormer, 1st earl of Caernarvon, and granddaughter of Elizabeth (Browne), Baroness Dormer (d. 1631), to whom Edward Bennett had been chaplain. (See *NAGB*, pp. 35, 41, 66, 114, 152.) This may explain why the seculars thought it was worth approaching him, even though he was believed to be among the ranks of Richard Smith's opponents. (On 1 March 1632 John Jackson had written to Biddulph that 'I am told th*a*t 2 noblemen, which I think are the Lo[rd] Somerset [Edward Somerset, Lord Herbert of Raglan] and the L[ord] Baltimore', were among those who had 'written some months since to th*e* p[ope] against th*e* b[ishop] and his authority and protested that thowgh his Hol[iness] shold give it to him they cold not admit him'; AAW, A XXVI, no. 33, p. 107.)

[440] Peter Biddulph.

[441] See AAW, B 27, no. 127, for Smith's assurance of 20/30 August 1632 to Southcot that Leyburn was organizing the dispatch of the 'disclame of the nobilitie and gentrie from that infamous pr*otestati*on made in their names against my authoritie'.

[442] Jacques le Noël Du Perron.

[443] Magdalen Palmes, who was professed in 1630 in the Carmelite convent at Antwerp. I am grateful to Caroline Bowden for this reference.

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readie to returne againe to the court about our busines. They remove to morrowe to Nonesuch.

Sweet Jesus blesse all y*our* endevours.

Your obedient servant,

Fontyne

Excuse my hastie writing.

Aug[ust] 1th 1632.

[*in margin of p. 290*]

All friends are in the country. Mris Gage, y*our* nece,[444] Mr Lovell[445] alsoe, he and his lady[446] are at Chelsey.[447]

[*on p. 292*]

Addressed: For my maister.

Endorsed: Lords agains[t] the Protestat[i]on.

23. [John Southcot] to [an English secular priest at Paris],[448] 7 August 1632

[*AAW, A XXVI, no. 107, pp. 299–300*]

Most hon[oured] sir,

The last week I wrote not to you being newly gonn to Chelsey[449] from whence I had then no com*m*odity to send. But now being there better

[444] Mary Gildon. See *Letter 66*.

[445] John Southcot.

[446] From Southcot's diary it would appear that the patroness referred to here was Lady Mary Aston, with whom he 'came to dwell [. . .] at Whitewebb's the 23 of September 1626', and with whom he lived at 'London, Greenwich &c'. She 'began to dwell [. . .] in Drury Lane the first day of February 1628', and had been 'confirmed by the bishop of Chalcedon the first of April 1627', CRS, 1, p. 98. She was the wife of Sir Arthur Aston of Enfield (d. 1627), a friend of Lord Baltimore, who had gone out to Newfoundland as governor of the colony of Avalon; Codignola, *CHL*, pp. 17–18, 163 and *passim*; *CSPD, 1627–1628*, p. 525.

[447] The location in Chelsea is not certain, but, as Luca Codignola notes, the Roper family of Canterbury and Eltham had a house in Chelsea inherited from Sir Thomas More, and Thomas Dawson ODC (whose name in religion was Simon Stock), the Ropers' chaplain, resided there from time to time; Codignola, *CHL*, pp. 89, 180. Southcot and his friends would have been welcome there as well.

[448] See *Letter 43*; Allison, RSGB, I, p. 396.

[449] See *Letter 22*.

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setled I must not omit my custome of writing, being to acknowledg the receipt of two of yours, videlicet of the 26 July and 2 of August the former wherof was in answer to my sorrowfull letter of June the 26 w*hi*ch sorrow hath bin ~~more~~ <somwhat> allaied since by the hopefull newes of M^r^ Fittons[450] last to you w*hi*ch was very gratefull to us to read, and the rather bycause we have receaved nonn from him this fortnight and more, w*hi*ch makes us doubt that some of his <to us> miscarry. And for that reason we dare not send the enclosed by the way of Flanders but desire you to send it by Lions and, to the end it may go the more securely, it were not amisse to send y*ou*r next packett for M^r^ Fitton with this enclosed in it by Mons*ieu*r Chateauneuf[451] his meanes or els by the nonce[452] or some other <such> sure way as you think best. And it will not be amisse also to shew a coppy of the queens letter to the pope both to the nonce there and to the French b*isho*ps also <in confidence and secretly> the more to encourage them and to hasten the sending away of their com*m*on letter in my l*or*ds[453] behalf wherof we will desire here to have a coppy. I assure my self this of the qu[een] to the pope (God send it may go safe) will do more good than anything that hath bin donn yet and therfor it is wished to be sent away with all speed but I pray lett John[454] write out coppies of both letters for M^r^ Fitton that he may know what the qu[een] ~~letter~~ writes both to the pope and the ambass[ador] and that he may shew a coppy of the qu[een's] letter to the pope to the ambassador in case the popes come sealed to his hands from the queen.[455] We are much behoulding to o*u*r freind at court here <and> my l*or*d can do no lesse than write here a thankfull letter for his paines and care herein.

I ame glad you sent us coppies of those memorialls given up at Rome. I suppose they came to you from Rome though you write not so much to me. But, if they do not, it is M^r^ Fitton [who] should have coppies of them all, who hath instructions enough to answer them. Yet we will do o*u*r best to assist him further therin from hence also hereafter. But for the present we can do little bycause we are now so dispersed. M^r^ Hare is gonn into the country, I know not whither, not

[450] Peter Biddulph.

[451] Charles de l'Aubespine, marquis de Chateauneuf, former French ambassador in England.

[452] Cardinal Alessandro Bichi.

[453] Richard Smith.

[454] Presumably either John Galmarch or John Legat, both of whom are mentioned in *Letters 81*, *82*.

[455] See AAW, A XXVI, no. 115 (a copy of the letters, dated 17 August 1632, from Henrietta Maria to Urban VIII and to Jean de Gallard, baron de la Rochebeaucourt et de Brassach, the French ambassador in Rome). See also *Letter 24*; and, for the originals, VA, Barberini MS CVII/2 (for transcripts of which see PRO, 31/3/126, p. 250). Robert Philip informed Gregorio Panzani in December 1634 that the queen believed that the absence of an English Catholic bishop in the realm injured her reputation; VA, PD, fo. 41r.

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to rettourne till Michelmas. M^r^ Ham*m*on[456] is also abroad, and others. But his best help and instruction for answer to all the saied memorialls wilbe from my l*or*d him self who can best and most readily do it. The last week Mr Fountaine[457] certified you, as [*p. 300*] I suppose, of my L*or*d Morleis disclaime[458] and of the motives used to him to incense him ag*ain*st my l*or*ds authority and person, wherof it were good the nonce were informed and M^r^ Fitton also. The motives were these. 1. That the b*isho*p would tyrannize. 2. Excom*m*unicat lightly. 3. Exact tythes. 4. Place and displace pr[iests] ad libitum. 5. Erect a publick tribunall etc*ete*ra. And this art they used with the rest also, as may probably be presumed and as some do also witnesse, [*word deleted*] whose testimonies we will seeke to gett. My l*or*d marquis is netled, and so is my L*or*d Arundell also. And I hope they will both do somwhat to vindicat them selves.[459] M^r^ Dorington[460] tould Fa[ther] Philip that my L*or*d Herbert[461] assured him he gave not his hand to any paper, but only that he went to the Fr[ench] ambassador to tell him of the difficulties of the practise of the authority here in these times etc*ete*ra. There is a forme also of a disclaime framed w*hi*ch is sent into all parts to gett hands and voices to it. M^r^ Lab[orne] sent it also to you the last week as he tells me, who is now out of town.

We have another <com*m*on> letter ready for his Hol[iness] to be subscribed by M^r^ Colleton and those of his district, w*hi*ch shalbe sent when hands are gotten to it.[462] I rather wish than hope that the <vicars> will do the like, yet they shalbe admonished of it.

The Jes[uits] and their adherents were afraid when M^r^ Plantin[463] came hither that he had brought some ill newes [*word deleted*] for them of subjection to the b*isho*p and still they feare some order will come, w*hi*ch they will seek to prevent if they can, and, the better to prepare Cath[olic] minds, Rob[ert] Winter[464] goeth up and down as I

[456] John Jackson.

[457] George Leyburn.

[458] See *Letters 21*, *22*.

[459] See *Letter 13*.

[460] Identity uncertain. A Francis Dorrington and a Robert Dorrington were both ordained as Catholic priests in 1638 but there is no evidence that either were in England at this time; Anstr., II, pp. 86–87.

[461] Edward Somerset, Lord Herbert of Raglan. See *Letter 13*.

[462] See AAW, A XXVI, no. 109, for the letter of 13 August 1632 to Urban VIII, subscribed by John Colleton and thirty secular priests. It states that for nearly five years, but especially since Smith's exile, the secular clergy have petitioned the pope to reform the English Church. And the clergy of the eastern shires and London now add their voices. Scandals abound, and the sacraments, particularly of marriage, are profaned. The only remedy is the return of the bishop.

[463] Lawrence Platt.

[464] Brother of Sir John Winter. See H. Peters, *Mary Ward* (Leominster, 1994), pp. 56, 62–65.

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heare and speaketh openly ag*ain*st obaying. M^r^ Longvile[465] tould M^r^ Lane[466] that, being at S*i*r William Sturtons table in Surrey (where M^r^ Longvile is now placed), he saied <openly> the Catholickes might be secure in conscience not to obay the b*isho*p though the pope should give sentence for him.

Aurelius[467] is come, but without a preface and yet M^r^ Plantin did putt us in hope that the preface would also be out before this <time>. My packett is not yet come, neither doth John certify <what or> to whom I must pay the mony I ow[e] for those bookes.

I heare M^r^ Charnock[468] is dead, but know not the particulers, how or when, only that he died in London in a Protestantes house.

By M^r^ Cheekes[469] note w*hi*ch I here send you, it appeares that they dispens their bookes still under hand. Don David[470] is sworne the qu[een's] servant.

I have no more newes now but, duty remembred, rest. 7 August 1632.

No address or endorsement.

24. Clerk [John Southcot] to [Peter Biddulph], 10 August 1632

[*AAW, A XXVI, no. 108, pp. 301–302*]

Sir,

The last week I wrote not to you being newly gonn out of town and being not yet rettourned I cannot write much now <out of the country> but only thought good to advertise you that we sent two letters from the qu[een] by the last post to my l*or*d,[471] the one to the ambassador[472] and the other within it to the pope, the coppies wherof we will venture to send <now> by this way, though we thought it more

[465] Thomas Longueville, who had been expelled, with Biddulph, from the English college in Rome in 1623. See Anstr., II, pp. 202–203. He accompanied Lord Baltimore to Newfoundland in June 1627; Codignola, *CHL*, pp. 43–5, 47, 163, 184. When he returned he showed himself thoroughly hostile to the Jesuits and Benedictines. See *Letter 22*.

[466] Richard Lane. See Anstr., II, p. 183.

[467] i.e. Duvergier de Hauranne, *Vindiciae Censurae Facultatis Theologiae Parisiensis [. . .]*.

[468] Robert Charnock. See Anstr., I, pp. 73–74.

[469] Anthony Whitehair. See Anstr., II, p. 354. Whitehair's father, Christopher, had been a retainer of the 2nd Viscount Montague; BL, Harleian MS 7042, fo. 153r, and Montague had paid for Anthony to be educated at St Omers.

[470] David Codner OSB.

[471] Richard Smith.

[472] Jean de Gallard, baron de la Rochebeaucourt et de Brassach, French ambassador in Rome. See *Letters 22*, *23*.

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secure to send the letters them selves by the way of France. I hope these letters (God send them to come safe) will do more good than anything hath yet donn, and we hope shortly after to send you some discoveries of the imposture used in getting hands to the Protest*ati*o Declaratoria,[473] having gotten already the l*or*d marquis of Winchester, my L*or*d Morley, and my L*or*d Arundell also (as I think by this time) to disclaime under their handes in that forme w*hi*ch I sent you a fortnight since.[474] My L*or*d Morley confesseth that the motives w*hi*ch were used with him to incense him ag*ain*st the b*isho*p (but not ~~as he intended~~ to give his hand or consent to any writing <which he never intended>) were these. 1. that the b*isho*p would tyrannize. 2. Excommunicat uppon small occasions. 3. Exact tythes. 4. Chang[e] priests pro arbitrio. 5. Erect a publick tribunall ~~etc*etera*~~ and the like.[475] Now how honest men these were that dealt in this manner, notwithstanding they knew the b*isho*p neither had, nor would, nor could do any of these things as [*word deleted*] they had bin severall waies assured before, even under the b*isho*ps own hand and by many protestations of word of mouth, and by an expresse writinge called ~~manifestatio~~ A generall manifestation for the establishing of ep*isco*pall authority over the Catholickes[476] etc*ete*ra, wherof I suppose you have a coppy to shew there, if need be, the better to convince these men of willfull malice ag*ain*st the b*isho*p bycause this manifestation was tendered to my L*or*d Baltimor and others with

[473] See *Letters 13*, *17*, *20*, *21*, *22*. See also AAW, A XXVI, no. 114, for the declaration, of 15 August 1632, of the sons of Baron Brudenell and Baron Morley and Monteagle (Robert Brudenell and William Parker) that they never agreed to the 'Protestatio'. (In 1632, Robert Brudenell had married Mary, daughter of Henry Constable, 1st Viscount Dunbar, who was one of Richard Smith's leading aristocratic supporters. In January 1635 Brudenell came with George Leyburn to visit Gregorio Panzani and offer support for Smith; VA, PD, fo. 68r.) See also AAW, A XXVI, no. 125 (a similar declaration by Sir William Tresham); *ibid.*, no. 122 (an attestation dated 22 August 1632 from the Catholics of Norfolk against the 'Protestatio Declaratoria'); *ibid.*, no. 123 (a list, dated 22 August 1632, from East Anglia, of gentlemen who allege that they never consented that their names should be appended to the 'Protestatio Declaratoria', and deny that they consented to the impugning of Richard Smith's authority).

[474] See *Letter 22*.

[475] For an account in Southcot's hand of the 'the motives used by the Jesuitts and their chief instruments to incense the lay Catholicks of England against the b*isho*p of Chalcedon, and to enforce divers of the nobility to give their hands ~~and~~ <or> voices against his ordinary authority', see AAW, A XXV, no. 14, pp. 25–26. Here Southcot gives more detail about Lord Morley's 'disclaim'.

[476] See AAW, A XXV, no. 94 ('A Generall Manifestation for establishing of episcopall authoritie over the Catholikes of this kingdome of England allowed and approoved b[y] all Catholikes of the sayde kingdome, aswell by those who doe adhere unto regulars as by those who doe serve them selfes of secular priestes').

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assurance that the b*isho*p would exact no more ~~than~~ nor pretended any other ordinariship than was therin expressed, and yet neither he nor his associats would desist from their seditious practises, or take any satisfaction therby, although they had nothing to except ag*ain*st that forme, how honest men, I say, these were ~~may~~ lett others judg. Now as touching those particular noblemen that subscribed, or consented, besides the ~~deceipt~~ imposture that was used to persuade them, by w*hi*ch a man may directly say (and some have saied it them selves) that they were directly circumvented and cheated, this may be added to abase the creditt of this foule protestation with strangers, first touching the eearle [*sic*] of Shrewsbury[477] that he was particulerly laboured by S*i*r Basil Brook and M^r^ Foster[478] to go to the French ambass[ador][479] to joine him self with the declarers, these two men being his interpreters, w*hi*ch <as> it seemes he did by their importunity, but when he was chalenged of it by a freind, who rectified [*two words deleted*] his judgment with a true information touching my l*or*d b*isho*p, he sent his brother presently to the ambassador (him self being then out of town) to tell him that he no waies was ag*ain*st my l*or*ds spirituall authority, but only temporall, if any were pretended. Againe this earle gives an yearly exhibition to my l*or*d, by w*hi*ch it appeares that he is no way averse from my l*or*ds person or authority. The 3 Som*m*ersetts are

[477] In the secular clergy's survey (dated January 1635) of the Catholic nobility, it was noted that John Talbot, 10th earl of Shrewsbury 'ex se non magis propendet in regulares quam in clerum secularem, sed pari fere affectu omnes amplectitur'. Also 'ab ep*iscop*o adeo non abhorret, ut pensionem annuam adhuc hodie illi secreto largiatur. Attamen ob conjugis suae propensionem in Jesuitas, reputatur ex eorum numero, qui stant a partibus Jesuitar*um* contra ep*iscop*um. Nihil in eo deprehenditur singulare vel quoad pietatem et zelum, vel quoad prudentiam aut literaturam imo literas nequaquam callet', and in fact he was addicted to pleasure; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 3, pp. 13–14. Gregorio Panzani's 'Relazione' claimed that Shrewsbury had probably not subscribed willingly to the 'Protestatio Declaratoria' against Richard Smith; VA, Barberini MS LVI, 136, fo. 35v (transcript and translation at ABSJ).

[478] Richard Forster (knighted in September 1649). According to the secular clergy (AAW, A XXVIII, no. 58, p. 225) Forster (aged about fifty and 'vocatur com*m*uniter Fosterus Gallicus') had, soon after Henrietta Maria's arrival in England, moved from Yorkshire to avoid harassment for recusancy. He came with his wife and children to London, and 'coepit in agendo Catholicorum Angliae causam apud Gallos', and 'ab eisque dictus est agens Catholicorum Angliae'. Furthermore, 'paulatim vero ita se insinuavit in gratiam Card*ina*lis de Richelieu, ut pensione annua eius mediatione, donatus sit a rege Galliae'. At the same time 'se addixit obsequio magni Angliae thesaurii [Sir Richard Weston]'. Neither the queen nor Robert Philip liked or trusted him. Despite his attachment to Richelieu, Forster was also one of Smith's leading opponents. See M. Foster, 'Sir Richard Forster (?1585–1661)', *RH*, 14 (1978), pp. 163–174.

[479] François Duval, marquis de Fontenay Mareuil. See *Letter 3*.

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the father,[480] the sonn[481] and a brother,[482] to whom you may add the L*or*d Peter[483] a brother in law, all but one family, wholy and blindly lead by the Jes[uits]; L*or*d William Howard,[484] a worldly man, and in respect of the world afraide of his own shadow; Baltimor (now dead), contracted to an other meane woman, his daughters maide, not being sure of his former wifes death, and having gotten her with child as now is commonly knowen[485] (a fitt man to have his voice in these buissenesses); as also my L*or*d Vaux who kept an other mans wife so publickly even to the scandall of o*u*r religion.[486] These two last had reason to oppose a b*isho*p, for surely if his authority had bin setled they had reason to feare a publick excom*m*unication ag*ain*st them. For the earle of S[t] Albans[487] and his sonn,[488] D[r] Bosvile can and will depose that the earle, in his discourse with him, did much condemne o*u*r neglect of b*isho*ps so long time. [*p. 302*] The like exceptions might be taken to [*word deleted*] <the> rest of the subscribers, but this perhaps will be sufficient to shew that it was a forc*e*d thing, and donn uppon desighne and by instigation only of others.

M[r] Plantin[489] came lately over from Paris and the Jes[uits] and their adherents were much afraide that he brought some order from the pope or popes nonce in favor of my l*or*d. But, to prevent the fruict of any such order when it shall come, M[r] Rob[ert] Winter, the nunns

[480] Henry Somerset, 5th earl of Worcester, was said by the seculars to be 'timidus et cautus in pr*o*fitenda fide Catholica'; but this may in part have been because they knew him to be 'Jesuitis unice addictus, quamvis non nisi occulte cum eis agat, et plerumq*ue* sive omni teste. Alterius generis sacerdotes nunquam admittit in suam domum'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 3, p. 14. His sister, Blanche, had married Thomas Arundell, the future 2nd Baron Arundell, and stepson of Smith's patron, Anne Arundell; and his brother, Sir John, married Mary, Anne Arundell's daughter; J.L. Vivian (ed.), *The Visitations of Cornwall* (Exeter, 1887), p. 7; *NAGB*, pp. 164, 210.

[481] Edward Somerset, Lord Herbert of Raglan.

[482] Probably Sir Charles Somerset. In July 1629 Sir John Coke noted that George Fisher, who had recently been released from prison, was going to reside in London with Sir Charles (who gave him a pension of £40 p.a.); PRO, SP 16/147/12, fo. 22r. In late December 1634 Gregorio Panzani visited Sir Charles to consult him on the controversy among Catholics over Richard Smith, and Sir Charles alleged that he was in favour of the restoration of a bishop, but one whose power was essentially spiritual; VA, PD, fos 47r–8r. In May 1636, however, Panzani described Sir Charles as 'amicissimo del vescovo'; PRO, 31/9/17B (transcript of Panzani's letter to Cardinal Francesco Barberini of 4/14 May 1636).

[483] See *Letter 9*. William Petre, 2nd Baron Petre, had married Catherine, daughter of Edward Somerset, 4th earl of Worcester.

[484] Lord William Howard of Naworth.

[485] See *Letters 4*, *5*, *6*.

[486] See *Letter 13*.

[487] Richard Burke, 4th earl of Clanricard, 1st earl of St Albans.

[488] Ulick Burke.

[489] Lawrence Platt.

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champion[490] and the Jesuitts broker, and as some say a Jesuitt him self, goeth up and down to Cath[olic] houses, and there assureth them that, although the pope should confirme the b*isho*p in his authority, yet they were not bound to obay him. To this effect he spoke at S*i*r William Sturtons ~~table~~ <house> in Surrey before much compaghny at the table openly, M^r^ Tho[mas] Longvile being then present and hearing it.[491]

By occasion of this protestation D^r^ Bossevile sent ~~me~~ up out of [*word deleted*] his district the subscriptions of divers gentlemen[492] <there> w*hi*ch were made when the declaration came forth and amongst others there is one from my L*or*d Vicount Mountgaret,[493] who dwells in Warwickshire, w*hi*ch here I send you.

We have receaved no letters from you [for] a long time, and the last ~~of~~ was a short one of June the 26 wherin you make no mention of the receipt of mine of 11 May,[494] notwithstanding you say the post was then come. I pray God some of ours have not miscaried. But, if you find that the way of Flanders be dangerous, I pray write ordinarily hereafter by France.

The last time I wrote to you w*hi*ch was the 27 of July[495] I sent you a coppy of o*ur* com*m*on letter to my l*or*d desiring his rettourne,[496] and at the same time you were to receave a letter also from M^r^ Worthington[497] to informe you truly of his buissenesse.[498] God send all come safe.

Thus with my woonted love and respects I rest. 10 August 1632.

We are now in hand to write severall letters from the vicars generalls ~~<to his Hol[iness]>~~ and the pr[iests] in their districts <to his Hol[iness]>. That from M^r^ Colleton and the <pr[iests] of the> easterne parts is already made but not yet subscribed.[499]

No address.

Endorsed: Clerk. 10 Aug[ust].
About the imposture in getting the Catholikes subscriptions.
About those noble men in particular who subscribed.

[490] See Peters, *Mary Ward*, pp. 56, 62–5; Lunn, *EB*, p. 200; *CSPD, 1631–1633*, p. 537 (a note, dated 14 February 1633, that Robert Winter had made two journeys to Rome concerning the schism in the convent of the Glorious Assumption at Brussels).

[491] See *Letter 23*.

[492] See *Letter 38* for John Bosvile's letter of 20 August 1632 to Urban VIII, denouncing the 'Protestatio Declaratoria'.

[493] Richard Butler, 3rd Viscount Mountgarret.

[494] *Letter 14*.

[495] *Letter 21*.

[496] See *Letter 19*.

[497] William Worthington.

[498] See *Letters 9*, *10*, *11* (for details of Worthington's suit concerning Penelope Parkins).

[499] See *Letter 23*; AAW, A XXVI, no. 109.

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25. [John] Southcot to [an English secular priest at Paris],[500] 21 August 1632

[*AAW, A XXVI, no. 120, pp. 333–334*]

[Sir,]

The post of these parts not being yet come, by reason of the contrary winds w*hi*ch have held these ten daies and more, we have nonn from you since that of the 9 of August, <to> w*hi*ch I briefly answered the last week, and sent you one at the same time from M^r^ East with a little note from M^r^ Morgan[501] to whom I sent y*our*s for his patron,[502] w*hi*ch wilbe very welcome to him when he rettourneth out of Suffolk and Essex where it is saied that he is to meet with the dutchesse of Buckingham[503] and her freinds, <and> to treat of a match between them two. M^r^ East is gonn with him this journey, and purposeth also to rettourne with him about the end of this month.

I expect this day to have M^r^ Colletons Latin letter[504] to his Hol[iness] subscribed with the names of his pr[iests] w*hi*ch, if it come in time, I will send to you by this post. I have advertised the other vicar generals of this course, but I know not what effect my advertisement will take with some of them, who will do little unlesse my l*or*d[505] him self write to them, as I signified in my last. Mons*ieu*r Fontaine[506] is out of town. He went this day sennight to Wardour to see what he can gett that l*or*d[507] to do in the disclaime.

With these I send you the coppies of what I sent a month agoe and more to M^r^ Fitton[508] about the two districts of Walles and the North.[509]

Even now I have receaved M^r^ Colletons letter with the names of 30 pr[iests] w*hi*ch here I send enclosed with an open seale to be read by y*our* self and M^r^ F[i]tton, to whom you may please to send it by some safe way with as much speed as may be.

[500] See *Letter 43*; Allison, RSGB, I, p. 396. This letter, however, appears to have been endorsed in Richard Smith's hand.
[501] William Case.
[502] John Paulet, 5th marquis of Winchester.
[503] Katherine (Manners), widow of George Villiers, 1st duke of Buckingham.
[504] AAW, A XXVI, no. 109. See *Letters 23, 24*.
[505] Richard Smith.
[506] George Leyburn.
[507] Thomas Arundell, 1st Baron Arundell.
[508] Peter Biddulph.
[509] See *Letter 5*.

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M^r^ Hill[510] hath bought 20 coppies of Aurelius,[511] and sent them into divers parts of England to our brethren, hoping to recover his money from them againe.

Thus nothing els occurring for the present I humbly rest as ever. 21 Aug[ust] 1632.

You may please to send an ~~other~~ coppy of the two districts to M^r^ Fitton for feare the other first coppy miscaried.

M^r^ Chambers the Scottish pr[iest] hath had 40^li^ as other pr[iests] use to have. Fa[ther] Oliver[512] is not yet come that I can heare.

The packett of bookes w*hi*ch John[513] sent by Fetherstons[514] factor is not yet come.

No address.

[*on p. 334*]

Endorsed: D[octor] Southcote.

26. Clerk [John Southcot] to [Peter Biddulph], 23 August 1632

[*AAW, A XXVI, no. 124, pp. 343–344*]

Sir,

I wrote nothing to you the last week, nor M^r^ Fountaine[515] being out of town. Since I wrote last, we have receaved 3 of y*our*s, videlicet of the 3, 17 and 24 of July. But nonn of the 10^th^ and yet you do not say that you omitted to write that week, w*hi*ch we should be ever glad to know. M^r^ Webster[516] writes that ours of the 8 of June is miscaried, and it should seem to be so by what you write in y*our* last of the 24^th^ of July, where you say that you have nothing by that weekes post either from M^r^ Webster or us, notwithstanding the post brought divers letters the

[510] Identity uncertain. If a priest, this man could be either Thomas Hill OSB, a friend of the secular clergy (Anstr., I, pp. 167–168), or William Hill, a secular priest who was a supporter of Richard Smith (Anstr., II, p. 372).

[511] Duvergier de Hauranne, *Vindiciae Censurae Facultatis Theologiae Parisiensis [. . .]*.

[512] Oliver Burke OP.

[513] Presumably either John Galmarch or John Legat, both of whom are mentioned in *Letters 81, 82*.

[514] This may be a reference to the priest John Featherstone; Anstr., II, p. 372.

[515] George Leyburn.

[516] Anthony Champney.

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same week to others. Yet we sent a great packett that week <which was receaved by M^r^ Webster> wherin there was a long narration in Italian written with a letter to Card[inal] Bagni from Sig*no*r Giulio Antonelli by the name of Francesco Bonzotti[517] wherof I advertised you also in my next letters of the 22 of the same month[518] (for I wrote nothing on the 15). This ~~letter~~ <writing> was to informe his Hol[iness] by Card[inal] Bagni his meanes of the state of things here, w*hi*ch perhaps would have don <us> good if it had come safe. I feare there is some foule play, and that some of y*ou*r adversaries do intercept y*ou*r letters there, w*hi*ch you may do well to prevent by changing the addresse. This is the third packett w*hi*ch hath bin missing this yeare, of those which we sent <to you> from hence. The first was of the 17 of Febr[uary], the second of the 11 of May, and now this of the 8 of June. Hereafter what is of moment we will send by the way of Paris, as we did a fortnight since the qu[een's] two letters to his Hol[iness] and the French ambass[ador][519] there w*hi*ch I pray God may come safe in the end. Perhaps also some of these packetts w*hi*ch we think to be lost will come in the end to y*ou*r hands, if you make some enquiry after them. Howsoever, to be sure, good it were that you chaunged the addresse, and advertised M^r^ Webster and M^r^ Strong[520] therof.

Now for answer to these three, there is not much to be saied, seeing y*ou*r later destroies those hopes w*hi*ch you gave in y*ou*r former about the assessor, who you say is changed, and an other putt in his place whom you know not. My l*or*d[521] writes unto us that there he is tould, by such as best know his Hol[iness's] mind, that we shall have 3 b*isho*ps and not with titles in partibus infidelium, but he thinkes withall that one if not two of the 3 are intended to be regulars. M^r^ Samford[522] writes also ~~that~~ <from thence> in secrett to us that the nonce[523] there tould a French b*isho*p (who is o*u*r special freind) that his Hol[iness] would rather give 3 or 4 b*isho*ps yea ordinaries for England than him[524] whom we have already. Yet o*u*r chief care must be to preserve him we have at least till more be made, and no lesse must we stand for o*u*r own priests to be made when new on[e]s are graunted, and to exclude all regulars, but especially the Jes[uits], both bycause, as my l*or*d noteth well, they are suspect to the State, and ennemies to the clergy, and bycause they

[517] See *Letter 16*.
[518] *Letter 17*.
[519] Jean de Gallard, baron de la Rochebeaucourt et de Brassach, French ambassador in Rome. See *Letter 24*.
[520] Matthew Kellison.
[521] Richard Smith.
[522] Robert Ducket, alias Francis Samford. See Anstr., II, pp. 90–91.
[523] Cardinal Alessandro Bichi.
[524] Richard Smith.

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have a vow after they are chosen to be advised by their own order in all things, w*hi*ch you know was directly forbidden to o*ur* superiour [*p. 344*] by Pope Clement the 8 in his breve w*hi*ch beginns Venerunt nuper ad nos.[525] I sent you up coppies of the ~~two~~ districts of the two presidents of the North and Walles[526] uppon the 6 of July, and I sent the same againe the last week to my l*or*d in case the former should have miscaried. If 3 b*isho*ps be made according to that division, perhaps his Hol[iness] will not be so much ag*ain*st my l*or*d that now is, who may be made the chief of those three ~~and jud[ge]~~ and of the southerne parts, and judg in appeales to the other two. At least we must be sure to provide, whensoever 3 b*isho*ps are made, if we can not hinder one or two of them from being regulars, that the chief (who is to be of the southerne parts) be of ~~secular~~ the clergy. As for the subjects that are now chiefly in election, although I can determine nothing without the consent of the rest, yet these are the persons of greater note amongst us: M^r^ Ed[ward] Bennett (who would do well to be b*isho*p in Walles and the westerne parts), M^r^ D[octor] Bossevile, M^r^ D[octor] Champney and D[octor] Kellison, [and] <D[octor] Southcoat>.[527] These are all primae classis. Secundae classis may be these: D[octor] Maylard,[528] M^r^ Stratford,[529] M^r^ Blackloe,[530] [and] M^r^ Will[iam] Shelley.

We are now in hand to gett every vicar generall to write a distinct letter to his Hol[iness] subscribed with the names of most of the priests of his district. M^r^ Colleton hath sent his[531] already this week to my l*or*d, w*hi*ch you shall receave open, God send it come safe. These distinct letters, togeather with the qu[een's] letter and the b*isho*ps of France, will do somwhat no doubt in the end. I send you now a coppy of M^r^ Colletons saied letter by the way of Bruxelles; and the next week I will send you also a coppy of D[octor] Bosseviles[532] w*hi*ch is not yett subscribed.

You desire to heare more particulers of such inconveniences as happen here for waunt of authority. But I have little to say more than what I have saied already. Concerning matrimony two things occurr w*hi*ch I know not whether you have heard: the one is that of Fa[ther]

[525] See *NAGB*, pp. 5, 16, 46, 47, 76, 81.
[526] See *Letter 5*.
[527] Inserted in Peter Biddulph's hand.
[528] Henry Mayler.
[529] Edmund Lechmere.
[530] Thomas White.
[531] See AAW, A XXVI, no. 109; *Letters 23*, *24*.
[532] See AAW, A XXVI, no. 117, p. 327; *Letter 24*. This letter, like Colleton's, was forwarded via Richard Smith in Paris; AAW, B 27, no. 132.

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Blunt, who gave my cosen Kircham[533] counsaile ~~to~~ (as she her self tould my l*or*d b*isho*p and others) to speake the words of mariage between M[r] Francis Ploydon the younger and her self, and yet to reserve her intention not to marry.[534] The other is ~~of~~ that of my cosen White[535] (Mr Blacklows brother) his daughter[536] and young Brett[537] whom one Ward[538] (Mary Wards brother), a young Jesuitt, (as I was tould) married by joyning their hands togeather and saying, even thus, be married. More I have not at this time to write. Only I thought good to lett you know that I heare nothing yet of Barklaies two chapters, w*hi*ch you saied you sent to Paris but not by whom nor when.[539] I pray advertise me of both by y*ou*r next.

Adieu. 23 August 1632.

No address.

[*on p. 343*]

Endorsed: Clerk. 23 Aug[ust].
About those who are to be b*isho*ps.
About Ward that married two together saying only, be married.

[533] According to AAW, A XXVII, no. 111, p. 321 ('Scandalous cases', 1633), Mrs Kirkham was 'then [a] widdow'. See *Letter 44*.

[534] Francis Plowden married, first, Elizabeth, daughter of Alban Butler of Aston-le-Walls, Northamptonshire, and, secondly, Katherine, the widow of Richard Butler of Callan, co. Kilkenny; Foley, IV (pedigree of Plowden of Plowden, Shropshire, and Shiplake, Oxfordshire); Allison, Q.J, p. 142. On 22 March 1632 John Jackson notified Biddulph that 'I thincke [in] M[rs] Kirkhams case and M[r] Ploydens that a monke and Fa[ther] Blunt was [*sic*] to decide', and that this kind of decision 'was proper for my lords court and as clear a co*n*tract de praesenti as any can be made, yet now it is reported she is maried to an other. (Fa[ther] Blunt gave her such advise therin as he can not justifie, if it were urged against him, and surely it is scandalous.) I make noe dowbt but many such cases are strangely shuffled up in this kind'; AAW, A XXVI, no. 43, p. 133.

[535] Richard White of Hutton, Essex. See Metcalfe, *The Visitations of Essex*, I, p. 521. Richard was a brother of the priests Jerome and Thomas White. Their mother, Mary, was a daughter of the lawyer Edmund Plowden. The White brothers were thus cousins of Smith's leading opponent, Francis Plowden. See Anstr., II, pp. 348–349, 349–354; G. de C. Parmiter, *Edmund Plowden* (London, 1987), p. 145. Richard's second wife was Katherine, a daughter of Sir Richard Weston, the lord treasurer; Alexander, *CLT*, pp. 32, 171. In the second week of January 1635 Richard White (accompanied by David Codner OSB) visited Gregorio Panzani and intimated that he was favourable to a restored episcopal authority in England 'ma con giurisdittione limitata'; VA, PD, fo. 64r.

[536] Mary, daughter of Richard White by his first marriage to Anne, daughter of Andrew Gray of Hinxworth; Metcalfe, *The Visitations of Essex*, I, p. 521; J.B. Calnan, 'County society and local government in the county of Hertfordshire, c.1580–c.1630, with special reference to the commission of the peace' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 1979), p. 52.

[537] Robert Brett of Whitestaunton, Somerset.

[538] George Ward SJ. See Peters, *Mary Ward*, pp. 40, 355.

[539] See *Letter 15*.

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27. Laborn [George Leyburn] to Fitton [Peter Biddulph], 31 August 1632

[*AAW, A XXVI, no. 129, pp. 355–356*]

Worthie deare sir,

My absence hath caused my silence, for since I procured her Majestyes letters[540] I have not been in the towne, notwithstanding M^r^ Lovell[541] haith signifyed unto you all our affayres to whom I doe referre you now for I am onely newly arrived. Concerning bishops, if divers will be granted I could wish with many more that they may be chosen out of thes vid[elicet] D[octor] Kellison, D[octor] Champney, M^r^ Bennett, M^r^ Lovell, M^r^ William Shelley [and] M^r^ Stratford.[542] Many others here deserveth the dignity but they are very old.[543] I protest unto you that I doe not thinke that our State is soe much against episcopall authority as the Jesuists. In that Protestatio Declaratoria the Jesuists did abuse many of our Catholike nobility as will herafter appeare.[544] Divers alreadie have subscribed against it, and one of the queens gentlemen told me and Fa[ther] Ph[ilip], being wish[e]d of me to speake unto my Lord Herbert,[545] that he never did subscribe to any writing whatsoever, and the Lord Vaux protesteth as much as for my Lord Arundell of Wardor, my Lord Viscount Mountegue, my Lord Morley,[546] [the] earle of Rutland,[547] my Lord Viscount Dunbar,[548] [and] the marquis of Winchester. They desire nothing more than the

[540] See *Letter 24*.

[541] John Southcot.

[542] Edmund Lechmere.

[543] See *Letter 26* for John Southcot's own nominations. In March 1633 Richard Smith wrote to Biddulph that he had given to the Paris nuncio the names of five men he thought suitable, 'as M^r^ Southcot [. . .] and M^r^ Musket [George Fisher] for the Southe, D[octor] Champney and M^r^ Trolop for the Northe, and M^r^ Benett for Wales'; AAW, A XXVII, no. 22, p. 59.

[544] See *Letter 13*, and *passim*.

[545] Edward Somerset, Lord Herbert of Raglan.

[546] See *Letters 21*, *22*.

[547] Francis Manners, 6th earl of Rutland.

[548] Henry Constable, 1st Viscount Dunbar. The secular clergy's 1635 survey of the Catholic peers noted that he was 'prudens et intrepidus, necnon mediocriter doctus. In clerum secularem singulariter afficitur'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 3, p. 15. See also AAW, A XXVIII, no. 24, pp. 109–110 (May 1635?), which contains (p. 109) a declaration in favour of the bishop by Viscount Dunbar. He asserts that the king is disposed to tolerate the presence of a bishop in England for the Catholics, exercising spiritual not temporal power, just as the king tolerates priests and Jesuits. For a declaration, written in Southcot's hand, by the marquis of Winchester which endorses the bishop's claims and denies that any serious temporal inconvenience might arise for Catholics from them, see *ibid.*, p. 110.

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returne of our bish[op],[549] and my Lord Rivers Viscount Colchester is much offended th*a*t it should be sayd th*a*t he did subscribe. I cannot furnish you w*i*th any occurrences. This is a barran tyme of newes here unlesse I would imparte foraine occurrences w*hi*ch doth not a litle afflict us, they are soe unpleasing. I beseech you to remember my humble service unto S*ig*nor Georgio.[550] His brother[551] now is to be sworne her Majestyes servant. I was with him yesterdaye and w*i*th his nephew. And tell him th*a*t I wish from my hart th*a*t it were in my power to serve him. This is all, onely my best wishes for your happie successe in y*ou*r affayres.

Yours ever.

Aug[ust] 31 1632.

[*on p. 356*]

Addressed: A Mons*ieu*r Monsieur [*sic*] Fitton. Rome.

Endorsed: Laborn. 31 Aug[ust].
About the l*or*ds that refused to subscrib[e] to the Protestatio.

28. Clerk [John Southcot] to [Peter Biddulph], 31 August 1632

[*AAW, A XXVI, no. 130, pp. 357–358*]

Sir,

We heare by M[r] Webster[552] that you have bin lately sick and therfor have omitted to write to us. The last we receaved from you was of the 24 July. But he wrote withall that you were uppon recovery, which did comfort us exceedingly, and we expect every day to heare the same confirmed by new letters.

My l*or*d[553] writes that his Hol[iness] is inclined to make 3 b*isho*ps wherof one at least (if not two) [are] to be regulars. No doubt this

[549] In July 1633 Smith passed on a story he had received from William Case, the Paulet family chaplain, that Winchester, 'the chefest noble man that is Catholik in England, hearing of the smal assistance I have of his Hol[iness] brooke into thes words': 'wil not the p[ope] mainteyne the auth*orit*ie w*hi*ch he hath given? Wil he suffer him self to be thus constrained and limited? Beleve it, this wil p*ro*ve the most p*er*nitious president that hath bene in the Church of God, and let him looke unto it, for men hereafter wil reject whome and what they please w*hi*ch shal come fro*m* that [. . .] sea'; AAW, B 27, no. 122.

[550] George Con.

[551] Francis Con. See Hibbard, *CI*, pp. 200, 201.

[552] Anthony Champney.

[553] Richard Smith.

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would stopp the present tumults in some sort by giving ~~contempt~~ content to the regulars hindring them from joyning any way with the State ag*ain*st ep*iscop*all authority. But God knowes what inconveniences it might draw herafter uppo*n* the clergy by opening such a gapp to the promotion of regulars who would look perhaps to have it a custom ever after to have nonn of the clergy made b*isho*ps unlesse some of theirs also be made togeather and so bread a stronger emulation than before. Yet the inconveniences that may be feared this way will in some sort be prevented if the chief of these three b*isho*ps be a secular and made judg in appeales from the reg[ular] b*isho*ps, and that all their vicars and officers be of the clergy only. Yet we must do what we can to withstand the making of any reg*ula*r and seek only to have seculars, and for that end you may do well to give up particuler memorialls with such reasons as occurr unto you for the present, and we will here also think of the like reasons and send them up to you as soon as we can conclude anything by com*m*on consent. But in case you see his Hol[iness] resolved to make a reg[ular] b*isho*p ~~first~~ let us endeavour that only one reg*ula*r be made, and that the other two be seculers. And if he will make two reg*ula*rs then lett us, as I saied before, be sure to gett the chief to be a seculer and the other two subordinat to him. Then you must procure that the clergy may have an exclusive voice to any particular reg*ula*r order man that nonn be made ag*ain*st the good liking of the clergy, or without their consents. Thirdly we must wholy except ag*ain*st the Jes[uits] bycause they are suspected to the State, ennemies to the clergy, and tyed by vow to do nothing without their generalls approbation, after their promotion, w*hi*ch are three strong reasons to exclude them. The last week by the way of Paris we sent you the first vic[ar] gen*erall*s letter subscribed with 30 pr[iests'] names, and a coppy of the same by the way of Bruxelles. Shortly you shall have other two [*sic for* two other] vicars letters to the same purpose, videlicet D[octor] Bosseviles and M^{r} Nortons, and I hope the rest will do the like from other parts of the kingdom.[554] And we cannot but hope well if these and all other letters w*hi*ch have bin lately written in my l*or*ds behalf come safe to Ro[me]. I heard that o*ur* ambassador,[555] my l*or*d treasurers sonn, was wished by the king to take no Catholick in his compaghny ~~yet~~ and yet that Si*r* Tob[ie] Mat[hew] and M^{r} Gage[556] have wrought under hand to gett S*ir* Kenelm Digbyes younger brother, John Digby, to be one of his followers in this journy, and that he hath order (when the ambassador is at Florence) to go from thence to Rome, where it is likely they intend to make use of

[554] For Benjamin Norton, see Anstr., I, pp. 257–258. See *Letters 24*, *25*, *26*, *27*.
[555] Jerome Weston. For his embassy, see *CSPV*, *1632–1636*, *passim*.
[556] George Gage. See *Letter 19*.

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him for their own ends, w*hi*ch therfor you must endeavor to prevent what you can both by informing his Hol[iness] and the card[inals] privatly before he cometh and by meeting <him> and talking with him when he comes to Ro[me] ~~and~~ to try what you can learne of his intentions, and to make <what> use you can there of him to o*u*r advantage. It is probable that he will serve the Jes[uits] all he can, bycause he hopeth by their meanes to gett all his mothers lands setled uppon him, who is wholy their creature.[557] In any case visitt the generall of the Dominicans[558] and M^r^ Barklay, the popes cameriero, at their rettourne to Rome from Paris. For my l*or*d writes that they are both desirous to see you, and promise to do good offices for my l*or*d when they come thither, and particulerly M^r^ Barcklay tould my l*or*d that he would procure you audience of his Hol[iness] when you would. The same man, as my l*or*d writes, would have M^r^ Rob[ert] Duckett (whom I think you know) come to Rome and live there with him, w*hi*ch would be honorable for him and good for o*u*r clergy, if you think he intend it really, and that M^r^ Duckett be a fitt man for such a purpose. My l*or*d saieth he hath left mony for him at Paris to defray his journy when he cometh. But I would gladly heare y*ou*r opinion before he adventure uppon this course, for he is in a good residence, and being very sound and true to the clergy he doeth us good offices where he is. [*p. 358*] I hope you will remember also to visit Fa[ther] Valeriano the Capuchin <as> I wrote to you long since.[559] He is a great man in Bohemia with Card[inal] Pazzamen[560] and powerfull also in the court of Ro[me] and a freind to the clergy, as his compaghnion here, Fa[ther] Alessandro,[561] tells me. If a reg[ular] b*isho*p be made for the present we can think of no fitter man amongst the reg[ulars] of England than Fa[ther] Simon Stock.[562] I heare many of ours except

[557] Smith's letter to Biddulph of 13/23 September 1632 recited this information about 'Digbie sonne to the powder traitor', and stated that Digby's estates were currently held by his 'elder brother'; AAW, B 27, no. 129.

[558] Nicholas Ridolfi OP. See Flynn, *The Irish Dominicans 1536–1641*, p. 174.

[559] See *Letter 20*.

[560] For Cardinal Peter Pázmány, a supporter of Habsburg political interests, see Pastor, *HP*, XXVIII, pp. 156–159, 294–304, 306–308.

[561] Alessandro d'Ales.

[562] For Thomas Dawson (Simon Stock) ODC, see *NAGB*, pp. 37, 133, 156; Codignola, *CHL*, *passim*; Hughes, *HSJ*, pp. 181–191. Ironically, Dawson had been closely involved with the colonial project, in Newfoundland, of Richard Smith's enemy Sir George Calvert, 1st Baron Baltimore. Codignola suggests that the association of Calvert with Dawson (and indeed the secular priest Thomas Longueville and the ex-Jesuit Anthony Smith) indicates that until Baltimore returned from Newfoundland he did not 'take a clear stand in the quarrel between Bishop Smith and the regulars'; *ibid.*, pp. 44, 54. On 25 October/4 November 1632 Smith wrote to Biddulph that 'I send not the names of such reg*ula*rs as I think fittest to be b*isho*ps becaus I know not manie of the*m*, and I feare if I shold name anie that my brethren like not

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by name ag*ain*st Fa[ther] Rudesind,[563] Fa[ther] Leander,[564] Fa[ther] Price[565] and some other Benedictines. The next week we intend to send you an instrument under a notaries hand of my l*or*d marquis[566] his protestation both concerning him self and the earle of Rivers to shew how much they hould them selves abused by the Protestatio Declaratoria to w*hi*ch there were 18 noble mens subscriptions. My l*or*d marquis is very zealous for my l*or*d and you may do well to give him that com*m*endation in that court w*hi*ch his vertue and good parts deserve, and the rather bycause the Jes[uits], seeing him so constant to my l*or*d, go about to take from him all they can, according to their custom. This enclosed note will shew you how stoutly he carried him self in the parlament court heretofore. We are in a course to gett as many <as we can> of our chief freinds of the laity here to disclaime from the Protestation. Some have donn it already, who are of no small note, as you may see by these papers enclosed.

I heare now from M^r^ Webster that you have receaved that letter and information to Card[inal] Bagni from Bonzotto here w*hi*ch I mencioned in my former,[567] and w*hi*ch you intimated to be lost by y*our* last letters to M^r^ Lab[orne]. I shalbe glad to know what good it doth. We have no newes here stirring. Recusants compositions stay ~~at~~ <in> the l*or*d keepers hands. They have passed my l*or*d treasurer and the attorney with the privy signett but have not yet the great seale.

Yesterday M^r^ Tho[mas] Taylor, brother to the infantas agent[568] and his chaplaine, was arrested by seargeants for certaine monies <that were in his hand of one deceased> by the instigation of one who lived heretofore in S^t^ Omers and is saied to be a Catholick. You may putt this into the number of other abuses for waunt of authority here. The Spanish resident[569] took up the matter presently as I heare.

it wold displease the*m*. Yet the fittest I can think on are F[ather] Simon Stock a Carmelite discalced, and F[ather] Bonaventura Jac[k]son a cord[e]l[i]er and Dom Mauro Tailer a Benedictin of Italie'; AAW, B 27, no. 133. Bonaventure Jackson was the secular priest John Jackson's brother; Dockery, *CD*, pp. 22, 26, 27, 29, 41, 117. For Taylor, see *NAGB*, pp. 95, 160. The list of those suitable for episcopal office, presented by Southcot to Panzani in March 1635, included Jackson, Taylor and Dawson; VA, PD, fo. 83r.

[563] William (Rudesind) Barlow OSB.

[564] John (Leander) Jones OSB.

[565] William (Benedict) Jones OSB.

[566] John Paulet, 5th marquis of Winchester.

[567] See *Letter 26*.

[568] Henry Taylor, agent in London for the infanta, Isabella Clara Eugenia. See A.J. Loomie, 'Olivares, the English Catholics and the peace of 1630', *Revue Belge de Philologie d'Histoire*, 47 (1969), pp. 1154–1166, at p. 1165. See also Anstr., II, pp. 314–315; A.J. Loomie, 'Sir Robert Cecil and the Spanish Embassy', *BIHR*, 42 (1969), pp. 30–57, at pp. 35–36, 38–42, 44.

[569] Juan de Necolalde.

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Thus with all wonted good wishes I rest. 31 August 1632.

I heare nothing yet of those two chapters of Barklay.[570]

Perhaps if we made a peace with the Benedictines and Dominicans before any order were taken for more b*isho*ps we might obtaine by their help (notwithstanding the Jes[uits'] opposition) to have more b*isho*ps of clergy men, especially if such were proposed as are pleasing to them, as M^r^ Bennet for one.

Out of the North M^r^ Cuthbert Trollop vicar generall of those parts writeth thus 16^th^ August. Urbans [*word obscured*: deniall ?] and o*ur* catching of nothing all this time but labor and expences terrifieth and weakneth some of ours.

No address.

Endorsed: Clerk. 31 Aug[ust].
About haveing no regular b*isho*ps.
About M^r^ Digbye with my l*or*d treasurers sonn.

29. [John Southcot] to [an English secular priest at Paris],[571] 5 September 1632

[*AAW, A XXVI, no. 132, pp. 361–362*]

[Sir,]

I acknowledged the last week the receipt of y*our* two last letters of the 16^th^ and 30 of August since w*hi*ch time we have receaved nonn from you, the post not being as yet come, as I suppose. I forgott to tell you in my last that I heare nothing in particuler of M^r^ Charnocks death.[572] M^r^ Warmington[573] assisted him, but I feare he never mooved him to recant his opinion concerning that point wherin you desire to be informed, and M^r^ Colleton saieth [*word deleted*] that he feareth he died in that opinion without any shew of recantation.[574] I ame

[570] See *Letter 21*.

[571] See *Letter 43*; Allison, RSGB, I, p. 396.

[572] See *Letter 23*.

[573] William Warmington. See Anstr., I, pp. 370–371. A series of notes (dated 1635) on clergy who allowed the oath of allegiance and/or led loose lives cites Warmington (now aged seventy) as 'capellanus ordinarius legatorum Venetum' in London. Noting his book on the oath of allegiance (*A Moderate Defence of the Oath of Allegiance* (London, 1612)), it is claimed 'quamvis coram ep*isco*po Chalcedonensi postea revocaverit suam sententiam tamen adhuc eam tueri dicitur suisque paenitentibus instillare'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 68, p. 285.

[574] For Robert Charnock's opinions concerning the Jacobean oath of allegiance, see *NAGB*, *passim*.

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now 3 or 4 miles out of London, where I remaine for a time to take the aier. Before I came last from thence one tould me that he heard the Venetian ambassador[575] had putt away his chaplaine,[576] but I had no time to inquire whether it were true or noe, and uppon what cause, wherof by the next rettourne I hope to informe you. My l*or*ds[577] letter was delivered unto him, wherat he was not a little netled; and saied that he would not make an answer till he were gone from the ambassador. What he meant therby I do not know. He stormed mightily against Sig*no*r Giulio,[578] saying that he had betraied him bycause he spake those words (as he saieth) no where but in the ambass[ador's] chamber in the presence of Giulio. He that procured the qu[een's] letters desires to be secret, and would not have you make knowen his name to any there, and when I tould him that his generall was made acquainted with it he seemed to me to be somwhat troubled at first, though afterward he ~~was~~ passed it over againe, and would seem only to have bin troubled for feare that <the> b*isho*p should also have knowen it, to whom (<as> you wrote to me) you shewed the saied letters of the qu[een] w*hi*ch I also tould this party. I have an attestation[579] made by M*r* Hare of some passages ~~between~~ concerning M*r* Morgans patron[580] and his <ladies> grandfather[581] w*hi*ch I propose to send you by this post. I expect such an other concerning the other lord of whom I wrote to you before to whom M*r* Lab[orne] is of kinn.[582] Two daies agoe M*r* Lab[orne] and the French ambass[ador][583] had a long and hoat expostulation togeather, wherof he tould me that he would advertise you him self at large, as I suppose he doth by this post. M*r* Lab[orne] tells me that he is resolved to go over for a while, partly to satisfy the lady o*ur* great friend, and partly to avoide <for a time> the displeasure of the Theatines[584] <from> whom he feareth, as he saieth, some mischief ~~another~~ if he stay and follow buissenesse as he hath donn, but I answer him to that, that M*r* Lov[ell][585] ~~as~~ hath as much cause and perhaps more to fly than he hath. Yet he saieth he wilbe advised, and do as my l*or*d and <other> freinds shall advise

[575] Vicenzo Gussoni.
[576] i.e. Warmington.
[577] Richard Smith.
[578] Giulio Antonelli. See *Letter 16*.
[579] Endorsed in margin: 'Of this instrument good use may be made there before it be sent to Rome, and therfor a coppy should be taken of it'.
[580] John Paulet, 5th marquis of Winchester, patron of William Case, alias Morgan.
[581] Thomas Darcy, Earl Rivers, the grandfather of Jane Savage, the marquis of Winchester's recently deceased first wife; GEC, XII/ii, p. 768.
[582] For Leyburn, and his relationship to various peerage families, see Anstr., II, p. 192.
[583] François Duval, marquis de Fontenay Mareuil.
[584] The Jesuits.
[585] i.e. John Southcot.

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him, and therfor I would wish my l*or*d to write particulerly unto him for that purpose. I tould him what I heard one say, videlicet that the lady, uppon whose entreaty he goeth, hath bin wrought by o*ur* adversaries to take him of[f] in this manner from following the the com*m*on buissenesse.[586] Fa[ther] Phil[ip] tells me that Fa[ther] Bertin[587] hath written unto him to know how matters may be accom*m*odated between the b*isho*p and the regulars, as also between him and the lay Cath[olics] and he saied to me that in case my l*or*d would not exact approbation of the regulars he did not see why he and they might not agree, and, if he would not claime to prove wills and displace priests in Cath[olic] houses, why he and the lay Cath[olics] might not also well agree togeather. And he intended to write thus to Fa[ther] Bertin. I tould him that my l*or*d was willing to remit approbation so <he> might have the 3 parochialls,[588] and that for wills and displacing of priests he had severall times given it under his hand that he would practise neither of them, and that the latter belonged not to him as [*p. 362*] b*isho*p but as archpriest <yet not to be practised> and that the former he never yet claimed, or intended to claime. He would gladly have seen somwhat under my l*or*ds hand to this effect that he might write back with more assurance, and, bycause I have nothing to shew in this kind, I desire that you will procure some certificat of this nature from my l*or*d under his hand and seale that Fa[ther] Phil[ip] may shew it either at home or abroad as occasion shall serve. And I think he were a fitt man to make a peace between my l*or*d and the monkes w*hi*ch, if it were once made, and the Dominicans also taken of[f], we should have no difficulty to have more b*isho*ps of o*ur* own, especially if M*r* Bennet were to be one, whom the monkes would not oppose. I heare M*r* Richard Foster is gonn with o*ur* ambassador, and it is feared the Jes[uits] have some project by him when he cometh into Italy, wherof I wish M*r* Fitton were betimes advertised. I heare also John Digby, brother to S*i*r Kellam,[589] is gonn with the ambass[ador].[590] By him also the Jes[uits] are likely to desighne some things in Rome. I could also tell you somwhat more of the ambass[ador] him self, but I ame tied to secresy yet a while.[591] And perhaps you may heare the same ~~els where~~ <by other meanes>. But I pray you lett not this clause of my letter be

[586] A letter to Biddulph of 26 October 1632, from Edward Ireland, informed him that, since Leyburn had 'gone ov*er*', 'wee want one to labo*ur* amongest the nobles here'; AAW, A XXVI, no. 142, p. 385.

[587] Claude Bertin, superior of the French branch of the Congregation of the Oratory.

[588] See *Letter 13*.

[589] Sir Kenelm Digby.

[590] See *Letter 28*.

[591] Against this passage in this paragraph, and against the next paragraph, Southcot has written in the margin, 'Soli, Soli'.

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seen to [*sic*] any. And I feare it would displease the party from whome I had the secrett to know that I had written thus much, although he be one that wisheth well to o*u*r cause, but he feareth to be blamed if the matter should come forth. Yet I will see if I can gett his leave to communicat it to you to the end you may informe the nonce[592] of it privatly, if perhaps he should not know it already, as like enough he doth.

You may do well also, if you please, to inquire of the noncio whether his Ho[liness] had no intention to make the grand aulmner[593] superiour or superintendent of the mission here. But I pray do this as seeming rather to heare it from Rome than from hence, bycause it is a matter of great secresy, and must not seem to have come from any here, if it be any way taken notice of <at> all. Yet I think the aulmner hath refused to undertake it, chiefly for feare of offending the king who is better pleased, as he thinketh, with o*u*r divisions.

M^r^ Nortons com*m*on letter, as also D[octor] Bosseviles,[594] wilbe shortly ready for to send and they expect nothing but subscription of hands.

Thus with all woonted duty. 5 September 1632.

M^r^ Fitton[595] writes thus: 'the Humillima Narratio[596] w*hi*ch was framed by some priests in the West and sent to my l*or*d to Paris in February last was sent unto him by one Allen a priest,[597] who came to Rome in compaghny of an English Jesuitt and, as he thinketh, com*m*unicated that writing unto him, by w*hi*ch meanes it comes to be knowen here to the Jes[uits]. For, he saieth, he never shewed it to any there. But I wonder that M^r^ Plantin[598] would venture to send such a thing by no surer messenger, and (as it seemes) send it open also by him, a Jesuitt being his compaghnion all the way. This may do us here a great displeasure.'

The pack of books is not yet come, and therfor I have not yet paied Johns[599] wife the mony.

No address or endorsement.

[592] Cardinal Alessandro Bichi.
[593] Jacques le Noël Du Perron.
[594] See *Letters 24*, *26*, *28*.
[595] Peter Biddulph.
[596] See *Letters 6*, *17*.
[597] Gilbert Leek, alias Francis Allen, who was living in Cornwall in 1631; Anstr., II, p. 189.
[598] Lawrence Platt.
[599] Presumably either John Galmarch or John Legat, both of whom are mentioned in *Letters 81*, *82*.

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30. Clerk [John Southcot] to Fitton [Peter Biddulph], 7 September 1632

[AAW, A XXVI, no. 134, pp. 365–366][600]

Sir,

I was glad to understand by yours of the 14th of August of your recovery againe, as also of the receipt of that packett of the 8 of June, which we feared ~~was~~ <to have bin> lost. I hope Bonzottos information[601] will do good, although it be not couched so well as I could have wished, and you did very well to entreat C[ardinal] Bagni to send it to Ginetti. It was a great oversight to send Humillima Narratio by such a messenger[602] unto you, and a much greater if it were sent <by him> open and unsealed, as it seemes by your letter it was, else I hardly think either he or his compaghnion would have bin so bould as to have opened it, and then send it [to] you.

With what face can any urge to have Hallier forbidden,[603] and not the Spongia[604] which gave the occasion of writing it? Though Hallier be more prolix in dilating him self uppon matters, yet Aurelius[605] is solid and judicious also, and answers very aptly ad hominem though briefly.

You doe much comfort us with that assurance which you say was given you by Card[inal] Ginetti, and we hope, uppon the arrival of the qu[eens] letters and the bishops of France, it will not be long ere that be donn which they intend to do, whatsoever it be. I hope also those common letters[606] which my lords vicars generall intend to write (Mr Colleton having begunn and sent his already subscribed by 30 priests) will make some impression as also our common letter to my lord, which he saieth he hath sent unto you to shew unto his Hol[iness] and to know of him what answer he shall make unto it.[607]

[600] This letter consists of four pages, the second and third of which are numbered '378' and '379', i.e. as they were numbered before they were bound in this present volume.

[601] See *Letter 16*.

[602] Gilbert Leek. See *Letter 29*.

[603] Hallier, *Defensio Ecclesiasticae Hierarchiae [. . .]*.

[604] Floyd, *Hermanni Loemelii [. . .] Spongia [. . .]*.

[605] Duvergier de Hauranne, *Vindiciae Censurae Facultatis Theologiae Parisiensis [. . .]*.

[606] See *Letter 23*; AAW, A XXVI, no. 109.

[607] See e.g. AAW, A XXVI, no. 146 (a memorandum of 1 October 1632 by Edward Bennett and the clergy of Wales to pope Urban VIII, claiming that in Wales and neighbouring areas there were at least forty priests and 2,000 Catholics, and declaring that the bishop should return with a grant of ordinary jurisdiction); AAW, A XXVI, no. 139 (John Colleton's and the Midlands priests' letter of 12 September 1632 to Urban VIII); AAW, A XXVI, no. 140 (another letter, of 18 September 1632, from Colleton to the pope); AAW, A XXVI, no. 143 (a letter of September 1632 from the clergy of the southern shires to Urban VIII, but without

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Wheras you wish us to write a com*m*on letter to P*ro*pag*an*da we have done so on the 18th of July, and we sent a duplicat of the same by Mr Websters[608] meanes.

Thus much to y*our* letter of the 14th of August w*hi*ch is as much as I can well do at this time, having bin much distempered all the last night and this morning with a fitt of the stonn. Yet I must add one thing, w*hi*ch is a secrett, videlicet, that it was mooved not long since from thence by order from his Hol[iness] to the grand aulmner[609] <here> to take uppon him the superintendency over pr[iests] and Catholickes,[610] but I understand that he refused it chiefly uppon a temporall feare of loosing the kings ~~faith~~ favour, whom he thinkes to be better pleased with o*ur* divisions. He that dealt with him about [*p. 378 sic*] this matter is one that was Card[inal] Peron his secretary, and liveth now in Rome. His name I have forgotten. ~~But~~ It were not amisse that you sought him out, and made acquaintance with him, but in no case take notice of this matter either to him or any other French there, bycause it is a great secrett. Only you may please dexterously to make use of the knowledg of it there with the p[ope] and card[inals] in seeking to prevent any such thing hereafter. I should have advertised you of this a month agoe but I forgott it. Another secrett I will also impart unto you w*hi*ch one tould me since I wrote ~~last~~ unto you the last week with condition to impart it to nonn but y*our* self, not so much as to my l*or*d at Paris, fearing to be blamed (if it should come abroad) by a great person who tould it him. It is that my l*or*d treasurers sonn,[611] who is gonn ambass[ador] to France, Savoy, Venice <and> Florence, hath a privat instruction ~~to either~~ to go to Rome also, w*hi*ch though it seemes a hard matter to be beleeved, yet the party who tould it me did assure me that it was soe. Of this you may do well in some dexterous manner to make that use as may gaine you creditt with his Hol[iness] and with some <one> speciall card[inal] y*our* freind, not avouching it directly to be true (least perhaps it prove otherwize) but insinuating the matter handsomly as a thing either resolved uppon, or at least deliberated here, and not unlikely to proove soe. But I pray write back of this to nonn but my self alone. I have not a particuler list of his followers names, but I heare that Mr Rich[ard] Foster, al*ia*s

signatures, requesting the pope to send Smith back not just with ordinary authority but with metropolitan jurisdiction over other appointed bishops); AAW, A XXVI, no. 144 (a similar petition, also of September 1632, from the clergy of the northern shires); AAW, A XXVI, no. 160 (a copy of a letter of December 1632, from the priests of the Midlands shires to the pope).

[608] Anthony Champney.

[609] Jacques le Noël Du Perron.

[610] See *Letters 28*, *29*.

[611] Jerome Weston.

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French Foster, whom you knew in Paris, is one of them, and John Digby an other, as I wrote to you the last week,[612] by whom no doubt the Theatines[613] have some desighne which you may prepare as well as you can before hand to prevent.

This day I was tould by ~~a pr[iest]~~ <a grave priest> of ours, of two notable apostatas, or rather one apostata, and another counterfeit lately discovered here. [*p. 379 sic*] The apostata was a Franciscan friar that came out of Holland almost two yeares since, and brought a trull with him, with whom he was found to have bin in bed all night by a ~~Dutch~~ Duch mans wife a Catholick and an [En]glish pr[iest] that went with her one morning to his lodging to speake with him uppon some buissenesse, and thinking him ~~to have~~ before to have bin a good religious man as he bore shew outwardly to them, having preached also once before the queen in French. But when he saw him self discovered he presently fled from London, and whither he is gonn I do not heare. The counterfeict is a French man discovered not passing ten daies or a fortnight agoe, who pretended to be a priest and an abbot of the Camaldulenses,[614] and as such was enterteined by a certaine priest that is in the New prison who procured some almes for him and for the compaghny with whom he came over w*hi*ch (as I heare) are two women, the mother and the daughter, the mother being English, but married to one Mons*ieu*r Subize (as I take it) in France, and a notorious strumpet. They pretended to this priest, who mett them in their way from Canterbury to London, that they had bin robbed and had lost above 300[li] and the abbot shewed him a Latin book ~~of~~ written in forme of a history of the Camaldulensian order, wherof he pretended to be the author. And for a time the good priest beleeved him, and so procured him some almes, but now, uppon further inquiry, he is found to be a counterfeict.[615] This you may add to y*ou*r information of abuses w*hi*ch are like to grow here for waunt of authority. But if I cann I will gett the pr[iest] [*p. 368*] to sett down the whole story under his hand.

[612] See *Letter 29*.

[613] Jesuits.

[614] The Camaldolese were hermits living within the framework of the Benedictine Rule. See Bellenger, *EWP*, p. 12.

[615] For Richard Smith's account of these events, see AAW, B 27, no. 132. See also AAW, A XXV, no. 99 (Biddulph's memorandum to Cardinal Spada concerning these two individuals, though he does not name them). In early 1636 Gregorio Panzani mentioned in his diary, and in correspondence with Cardinal Barberini, a French Franciscan apostate called Jacomo Salvadori, and an impostor, 'il falsar[io]', 'Antonio della Valle', who had been arrested; VA, PD, fos 120r, 126r; PRO, 31/9/17B (transcript of Panzani's letter to Cardinal Francesco Barberini of 2/12 March 1636).

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And now I ame weary indeed of writing and so I rest as ever.

7 Septemb[er] 1632.

Addressed: Pour Mons*ieu*r Fitton a Rome.

Endorsed: Clerk. 7 Sept[ember].
About Peron his secretary. About 2 apostats lately discovered.

31. Lab[orn] [George Leyburn] to [an English secular priest at Paris], 9 September 1632

[*AAW, A XXVI, no. 137, pp. 371–372*]

Honored sir,

At Otlands I did commend unto Fa[ther] Ph[ilip] a remembrance of y*ou*r respects. I perceave by him th*a*t a cheef man of the Society haith been w*i*th him. He did not tell me his name, and I would not be inquisitive. Howsoever I doe imagine th*a*t it was Fa[ther] Blunt. I doe assure my selfe th*a*t he haith had notice from R[ome] and some litle tinkling here th*a*t her Majesty is much for the bishop and his authority; wherfore the reason of his comming to Fa[ther] Ph[ilip] was to manifest unto him th*a*t he and his did much honour the bishop <(yea desireth two or three more)> and did greatlie desire the establishing of his authority, in soe much th*a*t he and the rest are most willing to embrace an accord uppon any indifferent conditions and haith wish[e]d Fa[ther] Ph[ilip] to deale in the busines; imparting unto him in what poynts he and the rest would yeeld unto the bishop, and in what poynts he and the rest ~~rest~~ did expect th*a*t the bishop should condescend unto them. And when Fa[ther] Ph[ilip] told him th*a*t the bishop did not desire to erect a <publik> tribunall, place and displace priests et[c]., or to exercise his authoritie any waye to [the] prejudice of the flock committed unto his charge, to w*hi*ch [*sic for* this] he replyed saying, then an accord may easilie be obtayned. For my part I told Fa[ther] Ph[ilip] th*a*t this was but a florish to persuade him th*a*t they did not sticke at episcopall authority but certaynely they did intend noe thing lesse than an accord. Howsoever it behouveth us to showe a willingnes to make peace. Wherfore I thought good to signifie thus much unto you th*a*t you may advise w*i*th our friends and droe some articles and deliver them unto Fa[ther] Ph[ilip]. I am sorrie th*a*t I am not furnish[e]d w*i*th leasure to be soe exact in this relation as I could wish. Howsoever raptim[616] I have form[e]d some

[616] i.e. hastily.

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conditions w*hi*ch I doe assure my selfe Fa[ther] Ph[ilip] will judge most reasonable. You may change and adde as you please. These are they.

9° Septemb[e]r 1632.

I have not read[617] a word of what I have written.

Quantum ad regulares

Episcopus non aegre feret si summus pontifex velit eximire regulares ab eius approbatione. Nihilominus ut bono [*word obscured*: regularium (?)] debitum expedire existimat, ut missionarii ac non missionariis apostol[ic]e ac non apostatis dignoscantur. Quare ut justum petit superiores regularium episcopum admoveant [*word illegible*] om[nes] et singulis missionariis tum [*word illegible*] illis qui jam in hac vinea animarum lucrandarum gratia operacitur tum etiam de aliis quotiescumq*ue* visum suerit superioribus aliis ad tum jam tum messem transmittere. Si aliquis regularium <grave> scandalum aut alium errorem apprehensione dignum perpetret, a superiore sue non deprehendatur, poenis erit episcopum procedere contra dictum regularium juxta ordinationes sacrorum canonorum.

Quantum ad laicos

Episcopus habebit potestatem in laicos quam habent ordinarii in suis diaraesibus, utpote laici omnes episcopum debita reverentia et obedientia prosequentur eumq*ue* suum pastorem superiorem et judicem [*word illegible*] et quandoquidem ep*iscop*i officium est regere et pascere gregem non abesse vel perdere. Curabit ep*iscop*us evitare omnem potestatis suis executionem per quam dicti laici in [*word illegible*] aliquod eis [*word illegible*] possint adduci. Quare [*two words illegible*] temporum difficultatibus [n]on eriget publicum tribunal, non exiget deremas non collocabit non dimovebit pro suo arbitrio prostitores e domibus [*word illegible*] aliorumque et[c].

See th*a*t regulars in this proposition of peace doe not [*word obscured*] them selves nor the laity ther penitents w*hi*ch I have reason to suspect.

No address.

[*on p. 372*]

Endorsed: Lab[orn]. 9 Sep[tember]. Conditions of peace.

[617] i.e. read through.

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32. Clerk [John Southcot] to [Peter Biddulph], 18 January 1633

[*AAW, A XXVII, no. 3, pp. 9–10*][618]

Sir,

The last week I wrote not to you bycause I had nothing from you to answer, and little from hence to informe. I have receaved, since, y*ou*rs of the 18 December wherein you mention an other written the week before, w*hi*ch we have not yet receaved, for the last I had from you before this of the 18 was dated the 4th December, and was the first w*hi*ch we receaved from you since the 16 of October. If you remember any particuler worthy [of] o*u*r knowledge written in that middle letter between the 4 and 18th December, w*hi*ch I feare hath miscaried, I pray advertise us by y*ou*r next, as also what particuler papers you sent with it; and you may do well even to specify in the succeeding letter ~~what~~ the sum*m*e of what you wrote in the former when it is matter of importance, and all particuler writings sent therwith.

With these of the 18th I receaved Fa[ther] Phil[ip's] discourse touching o*u*r divisions here, w*hi*ch I like very well and hope that it will do good there. I shalbe glad also to see that compendiu*m* in Italian w*hi*ch you sent to my l*or*d[619] (to whom I have written for a coppy of it) and much more the whole relation it self in Latin partly for my own and others information here, and partly for posterity intending to keep a register therof as we do of all com*m*on letters, supplications, informations and the like for future history. You write nothing in this letter of the effect of her Ma*jes*ties letter to his Hol[iness] w*hi*ch we greedily ~~here~~ expect to heare. You sent also a letter for Mr Duckett, w*hi*ch I have sent unto him, but I feare it wilbe to[o] hard a task for him to bring with him an Irish grayhound or English masty[f] as you desire to present to Card[inal] Antonio;[620] but if any marchant that traficks from hence to Civita Vecchia will undertake to carry one with him in his shipp, I know no better way, and I have already sent to inquire. I hope Mr Duckett will write a few lines to Mr Barklay him self, for so I have entreated him to doe, and to prepare him self for his journy with as much speed as he can. But, bycause he must needs visitt his freinds first in Yorkshire, I beleeve it wilbe after midsomer

[618] This letter consists of four pages. The second and third are numbered '386' and '387', i.e. as they were numbered before they were bound in this present volume.

[619] Richard Smith.

[620] A reference, perhaps, to Urban VIII's brother, the Capuchin cardinal Antonio Barberini. But, since the secular clergy tended to refer to him by his title of St Onophrio, it is more likely to denote Urban VIII's nephew of the same name.

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ere he can stirr from hence. Your letter to M^r^ Skinner I can find no man willing to carry to him. You will know the reason therof ere this by what [I] wrote to you formerly. The good man is gonn to an other world, having left you a legacy of 50^s^[621] w*hi*ch you may take up there as you do y*ou*r other monies, and what extraordinary charge y*ou*r sicknesse hath putt you to I pray advertise by y*ou*r next, and I will cause it to be satisfied, togeather with y*ou*r accustomed half yeares pencion. [*p. 386 sic*] I was very glad to be partaker of those particuler newses of the court there w*hi*ch you wrote unto him weekly, and were it not to put you to too much trouble I would entreat that curtesy of you my self, in a paper apart, when there is any thing worth the knowing. It seems by what you write to him that Card[inal] Ludovisio is dead,[622] w*hi*ch we [*word deleted*] heard <not> of before.

My l*or*d wrote lately hither that the nonce[623] there desired to have an information of the present state of religion here, and by the last post I sent him one of some 5 sheets of paper w*hi*ch is to[o] long now to write out for you but the next week I purpose to send you a coppy of it.[624]

I ame glad those two letters you mention from the clergy were so well liked of. They were penned by severall hands, and both of them now out of town. Indeed the former to the congreg*acio*n was penned by M^r^ East, that to my l*or*d by M^r^ Blacklo,[625] and we are faine to make use of many bycause we have not meanes yet to maintaine one setled and certaine man for a secretary, and unlesse his Hol[iness] determine somwhat quickly concerning my l*or*d we shall not be able to do th*a*t w*hi*ch is more necessary, for many of my l*or*ds freinds fell from him by reason of his absence and will contribute nothing towards his maintenance. I pray informe this point there amongst the rest for it is most true I assure you, and will be o*ur* undoing quickly, if his Hol[iness] do not help the sooner.

I imagin there will be great complaint made there of a certaine <English> comedy supposed to be made by M^r^ Drury,[626] called the Antibishop,[627] wherin some Benedictins, Dominicans and Jesuitts as also the 3 first opposers[628] and S*i*r Toby Mathew and M^r^ G[eorge]

[621] See *Letter 46*.

[622] Luigi Ludovisi, archbishop of Boulogne, and nephew of Cardinal Alessandro Ludovisi. He died at Boulogne.

[623] Cardinal Alessandro Bichi.

[624] This may be AAW, A XXVI, no. 167 ('The cause of the downefall of religion').

[625] Thomas White.

[626] William Drury. See Anstr., II, pp. 87–89.

[627] See S. Gossett (ed.), *Hierarchomachia or the Anti-Bishop* (London, 1982).

[628] Francis Plowden, Sir Basil Brooke, and Sir Thomas Brudenell, authors of the 'letter of the three gentlemen'. See *Letter 3*.

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Gage are brought in uppon the stage, being full of scoffs and taunts ag*ain*st them. I was tould lately that M^r^ Ploydon hath gotten a coppy of it and that he and his complices that are toucht in it have had much consultation about it this Christmasse. If any such complaint be made there, you may answer that the clergy in generall doth not avow any such work, nor hath any knowledg of it, nor that M^r^ Drury is the author but rather [*word deleted*] are persuaded that he could not be the author by reason of his sore arme (his right arme) w*hi*ch hath held him these 6 or 7 yeares, wherby he is altogeather unable to write with that hand.[629] Neither doth my l*or*d b*isho*p know either the work or the author for certaine, but only by hearsay. Nor is it in his power as things stand with him to take any order for the hindering or suppressing of any such writing by reason of the opposition made ag*ain*st him.[630] Nor in fine did any of those who are touched therin ever yet [*p. 387 sic*] complaine to him to that purpose, so that my l*or*d and the clergy must needs be blamelesse herein, whosoever the author were.[631] Besides it was penned and finished above two yeares agoe, and few coppies are to be found, so little com*m*on or publick it is.[632] Finally the plaintiffs (if any shew them selves) have little cause to except against this, considering their own shamfull actions, w*hi*ch were fitter to be derided uppon a stage than answered with reasons, and so they may thank their own folly by w*hi*ch they have made them selves so ridiculous to the world. If you desire a coppy of it, lett me know y*ou*r mind, and I will gett M^r^ Duckett to carry up one with him.

My l*or*d martiall[633] went over in [the] Christmasse holidaies to the Hague in Holland with com*m*ission, as here is com*m*only reported, to invite the Lady Elizabeth[634] into England with her children. But as yet we do not heare what certainty there is of her coming, fearing least the Hollanders hinder her, or some other adverse councells by w*hi*ch she hath hitherto bin though[t] to have bin too much guided.[635]

[629] See Anstr., II, p. 89.

[630] Smith argued to Cardinal Bichi in February 1633 that if the Jesuits 'had not rejected my authoritie over the laitie I had com*m*anded the*m* to suppresse it. Now I can do no more but request the*m*'; AAW, B 27, no. 117.

[631] For a discussion of the authorship of the play, see Gossett, *Hierarchomachia*, introduction, esp. pp. 21–25. Gossett argues that one possible candidate is Biddulph himself, but says that the attribution cannot be made with certainty.

[632] On 18/28 May 1633 Smith responded to Cardinal Bichi's request for a printed copy of the play by telling him that 'it was never printed nor yet made of the author to be either plaied or published, but onely for his owne exercise, and a scrivener getting a copie hath written divers for to get money'; AAW, B 27, no. 118.

[633] Thomas Howard, 2nd earl of Arundel.

[634] Princess Elizabeth, daughter of James I and widow of Frederick V, Elector Palatine.

[635] See *CSPV*, *1632–1636*, pp. 49–70, *passim*.

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The queen [*word deleted*] with divers of her ladies acted a certaine pastorall[636] at her own house in the Strand on Tewsday last was sennight,[637] w*hi*ch was 8 howers long. Of this many speak diversly, and the most do rather wish it had not bin donn, chiefly in regard of the majesty and state w*hi*ch a queen should keep, and some think the k[ing] did not altogeather approve it, and do report also that he caused the book afterward to be burnt, as not willing to have it remembred any more, or acted againe. Yet in fine it is very tolerable in a young queen, whose chief ayme was no doubt to please the king.

Concerning recusants compositions I can say little, only this that it is expected this terme some will have the broad seale, w*hi*ch hitherto hath bin graunted to none, or but to one or two at the most. It is also reported that M^r^ Attorney hath a list of 60 persons and more of quality that are supposed to have broken the proclamation about their residing in London longer than the time appointed.[638] The pursevants have not searched any house, that I heare of, all this Christmasse, [*p. 10*] only they watch to catch such as they know in the streets, and lett them goe againe for a little mony.[639] This is all I have now to write.

One thing I forgott, w*hi*ch is this, that Fa[ther] Simon[640] understands that the court there inclineth to make a stranger b*isho*p here, no French nor Spanniard but an Italian. To this you know what answer to make, for the thing hath many inconveniences with it, besides the impossibility of finding a fitt person truly apostolicall and indifferent. The State will be jealouse of it, the clergy disgraced by it, the laity unsatisfied, and no other good but confirmation etc*eter*a.

So w*i*th hast adieu, for one staies for my letter. 18 Januar[y] 1633.

No address.

Endorsed: Clerk. 18 Jan[uary] 1633.
About the clergye forsaken by the laity.
About M^r^ Druryes comedye.
About an externe to be made b*isho*p.

[636] Walter Montagu, *The Shepheard's Paradise. A Comedy* (1629 [i.e. 1659]). See Birch, *CT*, II, pp. 214, 216; cf. *CSPV*, *1632–1636*, p. 28; JPN, p. 292; K. Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 29–31, 39–44. See also M. Foster, 'Walter Montague, courtier, diplomat and abbot, 1603–77 – I', *Downside Review*, 69 (1978), pp. 85–102, at pp. 93–94.

[637] 10 January 1633.

[638] See Birch, *CT*, II, pp. 189, 195.

[639] On 25 October/4 November 1632 Smith had reported to Rome that Southcot had written to him that 'pursuivants were busie in the streets but entered not much into houses'. The notorious James Wadsworth had 'accosted a priest' and yet the priest 'was not so much as arreigned' at the next sessions; AAW, B 27, no. 133.

[640] Thomas Dawson (Simon Stock) ODC.

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33. R. E. [Richard East] to [Richard Smith], 6 February 1633

[*AAW, A XXVII, no. 6, pp. 15–16*]

My best lord,

I joy much when I heere of your lordship and of your good health, but the compleat joy would be to ly at your feet heere and injoy your holy blessing, soe much desired by your obedient flock which now groweth dayly st[r]onger by the apparent and impudent impiety of your adversaryes. Bitowattus[641] is even cried downe by his owne side and such lords as heer to fore upheald him, they now saying that hee is a bold and impudent fellow, and withall confesse that hee is a Jes[uit] as they verely thinke.[642]

Foster, soe busy there with you, is comming home, his wife having obtayned leave of the threasurour[643] for his returne, by reason of setling his owne meanes in the North, which are sett upon the tenterhookes as shee sayth by the presedent.[644] Whether this bee a trick or noe I know not, but shee pretends that unlesse shee could have gotten leave for her husband to have come over shee would have gon to him. This I understand by a servant of hers who came to M^r^ Hill to aske his advise whether shee should goe with her if she went. I beseech you lett M^r^ Fitton[645] know that ~~the~~ <a> comedy called the Antibishop[646] is now much in the mouth of your adversaryes. Hee must know that hee [*sic for* the] auctor, who soe ever it was, is but gessed at by them, that it nameth noe man, that it was written in the heat of theire bookes and when the Spongia[647] called the bishops of France assembled [*p. 16*] crocitantes ranunculas lacus Lemanuque. Besides, the coppyes which they now disperse are very much corrupted and made to speake many absurdityes which the first manuscript hath not. And they have done this of purpose to procure a censure agaynst it at Rome, which they say they will doe, which will sound heere very ridiculous.

More over hee must know there is a pamphlett going through hands here called Meditations upon the Jesuits which compares them and their actions to the Pharasies, and to the present puritans.

[641] Sir Tobie Mathew. See Gossett, *Hierarchomachia*, p. 17.

[642] Mathew was not, in fact, a Jesuit. He was a secular priest who was sympathetic towards the Society of Jesus.

[643] Sir Richard Weston, 1st Baron Weston, created earl of Portland on 17 February 1633.

[644] Sir Thomas Wentworth, 1st Viscount Wentworth, lord president of the council in the North. For Richard Forster's journey to, and return from, France, see *CSPV, 1632–1636*, pp. 99, 102.

[645] Peter Biddulph.

[646] *Hierarchomachia*. See *Letter 32*.

[647] Floyd, *Hermanni Loemelii [. . .] Spongia [. . .]*.

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It is generally thought this is theire owne doing and sett forth by some follower of theires, and now to make envy they cast it upon the clergy, and some say M^r East made it, w*hi*ch is a most notorious ly invented by them agaynst that servant of yours, whom they hate. Cave et angue peius.

This last weeke a body was found in the Churche of Canterbury. It was wrapped in lead. Being opened there was a bishop in his pontificalibus, mighter, crosier, coape, upon his breast a fayre chalis of gold w*i*th the paten upon it. In the chalis was the bishops hart, intier, but the body was consumed to the boanes. The inscription was Richardus Cantuariensis.[648] This holy bishop is sayd to bee the im*m*ediat successor to St Thomas. The king hath the chalis and the hart in it.

I have tired your lord shipp. Therfore I only aske a blessing and rest, this 6 of Feb[ruary].

Y*ou*r ever most obedient child,

R.E.

No address.

[*on p. 15*]

Endorsed: East. 6 Feb[ruary].
About the Antiepiscopus.[649]

34. Clerk [John Southcot] to [Peter Biddulph], 8 February 1633

[*AAW, A XXVII, no. 7, pp. 17–20*]

Sir,

The last week I sent you the later part of the sum*m*arium[650] and a note[651] of such priests regular and secular as live in <or about> London to w*hi*ch you may add these: 1. Bonham[652] 2. Altham[653] 3. Holland[654]

[648] Richard of Dover, who died on 16 February 1184.

[649] Although this letter is clearly addressed to Richard Smith, this endorsement appears to be in Biddulph's hand.

[650] AAW, A XXVI, no. 161 ('Summarium de Rebus Religionis in Anglia 1632' – in five sections: 'De Persecutione'; 'De Regina aliisq*ue* Catholicis'; 'De Rege et Ministris regiis'; 'De Missionariis'; and, as an appendix, 'Quid sentiendum de necessitate Episcopi in Anglia?').

[651] AAW, A XXVI, no. 164.

[652] John Alexander Evison SJ.

[653] John Grosvenor SJ.

[654] Presumably Guy Holland SJ, who was based in London; CRS, 75, p. 209.

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4. Jennison[655] <5. Wood>,[656] Jesuits; Peter Wilford,[657] Chaundler,[658] Benedictines; Ed[ward] Manning[659] a sec[ular] pr[iest] but suspected to be a Jes[uit], and one Crisp a fallen young priest that came 3 yeares since from Sevile ~~and fell~~ and married <here> within the first yeare he came over.[660] Nowe I send you notes of Sussex and Lincolnshire, having receaved them first, and I shall send you the like of other shires as soon as they are sent to me, having written for them.

I was yesterday with Fa[ther] Phil[ip] and shewed him the sum*m*arium, who hath advised us to shew the king that w*hi*ch toucheth him therin, not doubting but it will do the clergy good, and so we intend to do by a meanes that wilbe found if fitt for that purpose. M[r] Colleton was tould within these two daies that my lord of London[661] saied openly ~~at his table~~ <to some freinds of his> not long since, that if he were as the king he would rather have the Catholickes governed by a b*isho*p than otherwise, or than by the Jesuitts (for I heard it both waies reported), and he gave this reason, bycause, saieth he, if the b*isho*p be a quiett man and a lover of his country, the king may be the securer by his government of all his Catholick subjects. This is a good point to be informed there with the first. You shall receave with these a letter from a good priest[662] that is placed with the best Catholick noble man of England,[663] which you may do well to shew to his Hollinesse or the Congreg*aci*on. The next week perhaps you shall have the same in Latin, if the party have so much leasure, yet I cannot promise it certainly.

This daie a certaine lawier[664] that brake the church windowes at Salisbury in contempt of images is to be censured in the star chamber. Not long since, there was a minister of Essex[665] that, preaching at Cambridg, in the prayer of his sermon praied God either to convert the queen or confound her, for w*hi*ch he hath bin deeply censured in the high com*m*ission court and degraded.[666] The king is so much offended with him for it that he threatneth to hang him. There is also a plea

[655] Presumably Robert Jenison SJ. See CRS, 74, p. 178.
[656] Not identified.
[657] Peter (Boniface) Wilford OSB. Wilford was a prominent opponent of Richard Smith; AAW, A XX, no. 159, p. 602.
[658] Boniface Chandler OSB.
[659] See Anstr., II, p. 373.
[660] See *ibid.*, pp. 75–76; *Letter 7*.
[661] William Laud.
[662] William Case.
[663] John Paulet, 5th marquis of Winchester.
[664] Henry Sherfield. See Sharpe, *PR*, pp. 345–348.
[665] Nathaniel Bernard, 'late lecturer at St Sepulchre's Church', Birch, *CT*, II, p. 225.
[666] For Bernard's sermon, see also *ibid.*; Milton, *CR*, p. 171; PRO, 31/9/127, p. 42. In February 1633 Smith noted that 'from England they write that a minister', i.e. Bernard,

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com*m*enced in the exchequer court against twelve men, 4 ministers, 4 lawiers, and 4 marchants, who had a plott to keep up certaine impropriations of benefices in many places of the land, and therby to sett up the silenced ministers againe, but the plott being discovered all wilbe forfeited to the king, and perhaps the parties also censured in the star chamber.[667] The Lady Wootton, a Catholick baronesse of Kent,[668] is censured in 500^{li} fine by the high com*m*ission, through the malice of some, for putting the word Catholick uppon her husbands tombe and not consenting to take it away againe <her self>, with order to have that word blotted out by the officers.[669] My l*or*d martiall[670] is [*p. 18*] come home without the Lady Elizabeth,[671] and is com*m*ended by the king for the [*word deleted*] good service w*hi*ch he did in Holland in discovering something w*hi*ch the king knew not before. He was but couldly entertained there, his person not being gratefull to that State, nor some of the compaghny that were with him, particulerly S*i*r William Monson, sometimes viceadmirall of the narrow seas of England.[672] Many l*or*ds and others of quality both Protestants and Catholickes are to be sued in the starr chamber for breaking the proclamation about not residing in London out of terme time, and it is thought the king will gett much mony therby, as also by the other proclamation about fasting daies, especially the Lent.[673] Two daies agoe the Polonian ambassador (sonn to Duke Rochevile a Protestant, and the greatest subject in Poland),[674] had audience of the king and made a Latin oration of half an hower long, w*hi*ch was well liked.[675]

'was convented before the high com*m*ission for calling the pope knave in a sermon'; AAW, B 27, no. 116.

[667] For the case brought by the crown against the Feoffees for Impropriations, see R. Ashton, *The City and the Court, 1603–1643* (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 193–194; I.M. Calder (ed.), *The Activities of the Puritan Faction of the Church of England* (London, 1957).

[668] Margaret (Wharton), wife of Edward Wotton, 1st Baron Wotton.

[669] See A.J. Loomie, 'A Jacobean Crypto-Catholic: Lord Wotton', *Catholic Historical Review*, 53 (1967), pp. 328–345, at p. 344; William Laud, *The Works of William Laud*, J. Bliss and W. Scott (eds), 7 vols (Oxford, 1847–1860), V, p. 311.

[670] Thomas Howard, 2nd earl of Arundel. See Birch, *CT*, II, p. 212.

[671] Princess Elizabeth, widow of the Elector Palatine, Frederick V. See *CSPV, 1632–1636*, pp. 75–76, 77.

[672] For Sir William Monson's hostility to the Dutch, see BL, Harleian MS 4113 ('A Discoverie of the Hollanders Trade of Fishinge, and the circumventing us therein [...]. Written by S*i*r William Munson knt, sometyme vice admiral of England, and now in agitation togeather with his Maj*es*t[ie]s Letters Pattents for the Execution of the same, An[no] D*omi*ni 1632').

[673] See *Letter 18*.

[674] Janusz Radziwill, son of Krzysztof Radziwill. See *CSPV, 1632–1636*, pp. 74, 77, 78; Birch, *CT*, II, pp. 167, 168, 226; Loomie, *Ceremonies of Charles I*, pp. 134–137.

[675] The ambassador's principal purpose was to report the demise of King Sigismund III, and the election of his son Vladislaus in his place; *CSPV, 1632–1636*, p. 77; Loomie, *Ceremonies of Charles I*, pp. 134–137.

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I heare that in his privat discourse afterward with the king he complained of the Jesuitts of Poland that would have hindered this kings election, wherat the king was much mooved.

The Jesuits followers invaigh much against two writings that goe about here under hand. The one is a certaine comedy[676] wherin the opposers of the b*isho*p are made ridiculous. The other is called a Meditation of the Jes[uits] proceedings in England to the greate glory of God,[677] wherin they are paralelled with the Pharisees and puritans, plainly but wittily enough. Of the peace between the clergy and the Benedictines I can write noe more bycause I have not heard from the monkes since I wrote therof last unto you.

Thus with all wonted salutes, I rest. 8 February 1633.

M^r^ Laborne is here in office againe, and will correspond weekly with you hereafter.

Since Christmasse at Canterbury there was found an ould tombe of 400 yeares standing wherin an archb*isho*p of Canterbury was buried in his pontificall attire and a silver chali[c]e and paten in his hand (not <of> gould as I was first informed). The chalice is yet extant, but the body and attire went to dust presently being touched. His name was Richard, the second of that name.[678]

I pray do me the kindnesse to procure me the 2^d^ part of Cardinal Bentivoglios Relationi, w*hi*ch I heare is not to be gotten in Paris.[679] [*p. 19*]

Sussex		Sussex	
Benjamin Norton N Rogers[681] Edw[ard] Kenion N Brough[682] N Smith[684]	secul[ar] pr[iests]	N. Smith[680] Andr[ew] White	Jesuits
		N Johnson[683]	Benedictine
		N. Perott[685]	Franciscan

[676] *Hierarchomachia*. See *Letter 32*.
[677] See *Letter 33*.
[678] See *Letter 33*.
[679] See *Letter 15*.
[680] Not identified.
[681] Not identified.
[682] Identity uncertain. This is probably a reference to the priest Richard Burgh who signed AAW, A XXIV, no. 167. See Anstr., II, p. 370. See also *NAGB*, p. 41 (where this priest may be wrongly identified as Richard Broughton).
[683] William Johnson OSB.
[684] This is probably the priest John Smith who, with Richard Burgh, signed AAW, A XXIV, no. 167. See Anstr., II, p. 374.
[685] George Perrott (George of St William) OFM. See Dockery, *CD*, pp. 29, 41.

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N Williams[686]
N Anderton[687]
Geo[rge] Gage[688]
Peter Warnford
Richard Lane
Thomas Fathers
Anto[ny] Shelley
N Hanson[689]
Will[iam] Shelley
} secul[ar] pr[iests]

Lincolnshire

Henry Green
Will[iam] Hedlame[690]
} sec[ular] pr[iests]

N Man[691] Benedictine

Christoph[er] Cancefield[692]
N. Thompson[693]
N. Neale[694]
Joh[n] Albin[695]
N Wentworth[696]
} Jesuitts

No address.

[*on p. 20*]

Endorsed: Clerk. 8 Feb[ruary] 1633.
About the Jesuitts that live in London.
About the bishop of London his speach concerning haveing b*isho*ps.
A catalogue of priests in Sussex and Lincolnshire.

[686] Not identified.
[687] George Gorsuch.
[688] See Anstr., II, pp. 121–124. Gage joined Henrietta Maria's entourage at the same time as George Leyburn was taken into her service.
[689] Thomas Smith, alias Hansom.
[690] John (or William) Headlam. See Anstr., II, p. 154.
[691] Not identified.
[692] Brian Cansfield, alias Christopher Benson. See CRS, 74, pp. 134–135.
[693] Richard Thompson SJ. See CRS, 75, p. 312.
[694] Robert Neale SJ. See *ibid.*, p. 250.
[695] 'Albin' is an alias. This individual cannot be identified with certainty.
[696] No contemporary Jesuit is known to have had either the name or alias of Wentworth. John (Dunstan) Pettinger OSB used the alias of Wentworth.

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35. Clerk [John Southcot] to [Peter Biddulph], 15 February 1633

[*AAW, A XXVII, no. 14, pp. 43–44*]

Sir,

This week I receaved yours of the last of December and I shall be glad to receave that relation from my l*ord*[697] of Sig*no*r Ingoli w*hi*ch you mention, although as yet I have not receaved from <him> the compendium of that information mentioned in y*our* former letters. Concerning an English card[inal], if it could be obtained by the [*six words obliterated*]. We will try that way w*hi*ch you advise as soon [as] we can by the qu[een] and Card[inal] Richel[ieu]. The last week I sent you [a] lett[er], from a priest that live[s] in the country,[698] w*hi*ch you may do well to translate and shew there for it may do much good, we being to heare what is resolved by his Hol[iness] upo*n* the qu[een's] letter.

This day sennight there was a fam[ou]s star chamber cause heard and adjudged ag*ain*st one Charfield,[699] recorder of Salisbury and a justice of peace there, who brake down the painted glasse window of a church in that citty. He was condemned by the court in a fine of 500^{li} and injoined to cry peccavi at the same place <where he offended> and putt from his recordership and justiceship. Many of the l*or*ds and especially the two b*isho*ps of York and London spake much in behalf of images w*hi*ch was much admired at especially by the puritans.

There was a minister of Essex[700] also fined in the high com*mi*ssion court a little before, and degraded for praying in his sermon publickly either to convert or confound the queen, and the king, as I heare, was so offended at it that he threatneth to hang him.[701]

The other buissenesse of the 12 men putt in trust w*i*th 40 thousand pounds to be employed for the releef and setting up of lecturers and silenced ministers is also ended in the exchequer court, but not w*i*th that rigor w*hi*ch was expected. They are only injoyned to ~~spend~~ employ the mony in a legall way to the use of the Church and w*i*th approbation of the b*isho*p or ordinary of the place.[702]

[697] Richard Smith.
[698] See *Letter 34*.
[699] Henry Sherfield. See *Letter 34*.
[700] Nathaniel Bernard.
[701] See *Letter 34*.
[702] For the Feoffees for Impropriations, see *Letter 34*.

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It is expected that my l*or*d treasurer, uppon the rettourne of his sonn home, shall be made an earle. The Jes[uits'] followers give it out that we shall shortly have a persecution, perhaps to terrify only and to hinder his Hol[iness's] resolution about o*ur* b*isho*p whose rettourne they feare. Duke Rachevile his sonn that was a student [*p. 44*] at Leyden in Holland is come over hither from thence as ambassador from the king of Poland, and is not yet gonn.[703] We heare of no other certaine buissenesse he hath but only to advertise the kings election w*hi*ch (as some say) he tould o*ur* king that the Jes[uits] would have hindered [*six lines illegible*] number be known there, and therfor use y*our* discretion therin.

Thus referring the rest to M^r^ Lab[orne], I end. 15 Febr[uary] 1633.

Essex

Th[omas] Gooch Tho[mas] Barker Rob[ert] Ducket James Everard Alban East[704] Thomas Green James Thoro[u]ghgood	secul[ars]
Henry More Henry Coppinger Nicholas Shepeard N. Palmer George Ward Thomas Keel[705] N. Morly[706]	Jesu[its]
George Bacon	Bened[ictine]

[703] See *Letter 34*.
[704] Brother of Richard East. See Anstr., II, p. 92.
[705] See *Letter 78*.
[706] George Morley. See CRS, 75, p. 246.

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Hantshire

D[octor] Tempest[707]
Onuphrius Hide[708]
N. Cole senior[709]
N. Cole junior
Will[iam] Morgan[710]
N. Brown[711]
N. Clinch[712]
Will[iam] Nelstrop[713]
Dr Will[iam] Wright[714]
} secul[ars]

Will[iam] Palmer
Georg Gore
} Benedict[ines]

Edward Walpole
Thomas Burton[715]
Jo[hn] Bamfield[716]
Tho[mas] Shelley
N Bentley[717]
N. Man[718]
} Jesuit[s]

[707] This may be a reference to Robert Tempest SJ, who died in Hampshire in July 1640. See Anstr., I, pp. 349–350. Tempest is listed here as a secular priest, although he had entered the Society in 1624. He was the only English priest named Tempest at this time who is definitely known to have held a doctorate. However, a letter from the Jesuit general, Muzio Vitelleschi, in December 1623 referred to Dr Edward Tempest, apparently the secular priest who had been involved in the anti-Jesuit disturbances in the English college in Rome in 1595–1596 (*ibid.*, pp. 348–349). The man listed here may, in fact, be him; ARSJ, Anglia MS 1/i, fo. 187r.

[708] Humphrey Hyde. See Anstr., II, p. 166.

[709] See *ibid.*, p. 67; Anstr., I, p. 82. At this time there were three priests named Cole (Edward, Edmund, and Thomas).

[710] William Case.

[711] This is probably the priest John Browne who signed AAW, A XXIV, no. 163. See Anstr., II, p. 370.

[712] Presumably either Henry or John Clinch. See Anstr., I, p. 81.

[713] See Anstr., II, pp. 230, 373.

[714] Richard Wright. See *ibid.*, p. 367.

[715] John Baron. He had been ordained in 1630 and had left the English college in Rome in September 1632. He entered the Society in 1633 at Watten; CRS, 74, p. 132; Anstr., II, p. 17; *Letter 40*.

[716] John (or Thomas) Rogers. See CRS, 75, pp. 283–284; Anstr., II, p. 269.

[717] Edward Bentley. See CRS, 74, pp. 117–118.

[718] Not identified.

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The only charge which was given my l*or*d keeper at the end of the terme to the judges was to look to the execution of the two late proclamations about fasting daies and restraint from London.[719] Nothing about recusants at all. Another proclamation is expected to forbid all soldiers to serve forrain princes without speciall leave.

No address.

Endorsed: Clerk. 15 Feb[ruary].
The catalogue [*three words obliterated*].
Essex [*two or three words obliterated*].

36. Clerk [John Southcot] to [Peter Biddulph], 1 March 1633

[*AAW, A XXVII, no. 18, pp. 51–52*]

Sir,

I receaved one this weeke from you of the 15th of January wherin you mention not that you omitted to write the week before, and yet we receaved none of that weekes date, the last we had bearing date the 31 of December, so that I feare one of yours of the 7th or 8 of January is miscaried. We are all glad to heare that the qu[een's] letter hath wrought so good [an] effect in his Hol[iness] and we will do o*ur* best to see whether we can procure an other from her M*aje*sty to the same purpose that may be written with the same hand, w*hi*ch was not her own, but an others, yet the subscription was written with her own hand. I ame sory S*t* Onophrio[720] is one of the 3 for he is much directed by his order, and they are not o*ur* freinds. It falleth out unhappely that Balneo[721] is out of Rome at this time. We shalbe glad to heare the good successe of that information w*hi*ch you gave up, the compendium wherof I have not yet seen, and I feare my l*or*d[722] hath lost it. That letter from the nonce[723] to Ingoli will add much creditt to it. I like well that his Hol[iness] did insinuat a desire of having my l*or*d to come up to assist there with his advise and counsaile touching English affaires, and I wish he were there indeed, if it be only to that end, and not spoken in policy to draw him away from the place where he is. But the chief difficulty wilbe waunt of meanes unlesse the cardinal[724]

[719] See *Letter 18*.
[720] Cardinal Antonio Barberini, a Capuchin and brother of Urban VIII.
[721] Cardinal Giovanni Francesco Guido del Bagno.
[722] Richard Smith.
[723] Cardinal Alessandro Bichi.
[724] Cardinal Richelieu.

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provide some priory or abby for him in France, for I would not have him expect anything in that kind from his Hol[iness] least it be a tye to him and make him the lesse welcome.[725]

I can advertise you of little newes from hence more than what I wrote the last week. My l*or*d martiall[726] hath pleased the king well with the service he did him lately in Holland, and so he is <in> good grace and favour w*i*th his Ma*jes*ty and shalbe presently made l*or*d steward of the k[ing's] househould. I wrote to you last week that my l*or*d treasurer[727] was made earle of Portland upon the 17 of the last month.[728] Some say that S*i*r Toby Mathew is sworne of the k[ing's] privy chamber, but I do not beleeve it, bycause by the ordinary course he must first take the oath of supremacy and alleageance.[729] The fishing buissenesse goeth on amaine.[730] But the <new> sopeboilers are like to break againe as I heare.[731] The L*or*d Baltimor goeth on lickwise with a new plantation in Virginia, and most that goe I think are Catholicks and freinds to the Jes[uits] who send two of theirs to be their ghostly fathers, Fa[ther] Andrew White and Fa[ther] Alexander Baker. I understand for certaine by one that hath many times privat conference with the k[ing] that he is well persuaded of all the Cath[olic] tenets, but when he talketh with any Protest[ant] minister or other [*p. 52*] he is presently drawen of[f] againe, ~~but~~ yet the same party saieth that he is not ag*ain*st b*isho*ps and might be soon persuaded to admitt of them, and to think them convenient for the government of his Cath[olic] subjects. He read also lately that part of the sum*m*arium[732] w*hi*ch concerns persecution and his own person, and was well pleased with it, as the party tould me. We have had no searching of houses by pursevants of late, so that we think their com*m*issions are taken from them or els some restraint is made. True it is they catch now and then some pr[iests] in the street and lett them goe againe for mony. It is reported that my l*or*d keeper,[733] who is a great favorer of the puritans, is like to loose his place shortly, and some think that my l*or*d of London shall

[725] For Richelieu's financial patronage of Smith, see Allison, RSGB, II, pp. 248–251; J. Bergin, *Cardinal Richelieu: Power and the Pursuit of Wealth* (London, 1985), p. 213.

[726] Thomas Howard, 2nd earl of Arundel.

[727] Sir Richard Weston, 1st earl of Portland.

[728] *CSPV*, *1632–1636*, p. 80; Alexander, *CLT*, pp. 33, 39, 105, 119.

[729] There seems to be no evidence that Mathew received any such appointment. But Walter Yonge noted on 30 March 1633 that 'Mathewe who was thought to bee a Jesuite or priest was sworne of the k[ing's] bedchamber'; BL, Additional MS 35331, fo. 51v. See also *Letter 37*.

[730] For rivalry with the Dutch over fishing, see Loomie, 'The Spanish faction at the court of Charles I, 1630–8', pp. 38–39; Sharpe, *PR*, pp. 101–102, 250–251.

[731] See *ibid.*, pp. 121–123, for soap manufacture and patents.

[732] See *Letter 34*.

[733] Sir Thomas Coventry, 1st Baron Coventry.

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succeed him therin.[734] The kings journy to Scotland still houlds, and there is much preparation made for it.

I wrote to you before that a third part of London Bridge to the number of 60 houses was burnt by accident on the 12 day of February last.[735]

Touching the burgesses of the parlament I can not informe you of the certaine number, but those towns that have the priviledge to elect burgesses do com*m*only elect two. The lower house com*m*only consists of 400 persons in all or thereabouts. I sent to buy a table wherin were the names of those that were elected throughout England in the last parlament, but my man could not find any coppy left but in lieu therof I send you a table of those of the upper house with their titles and armes. This is what now occurreth to me. The rest you shall have from Mon*sieu*r Fountaine[736] who is in office againe, and intends to write weekly to you.

1 March 1632.

The dutchesse of Buckingham com*m*enceth a suite ag*ain*st her uncle the now earle of Rutland to recover he[r] fathers land to w*hi*ch she pretends to be heire, being his only daughter and child, and it is thought she will prevaile bycause the king and councell doe favour her.[737]

The Jes[uits] do give out here that <one> Anthony Smith a fallen pr[iest] divulgeth copies of the comedy called the Antib*ish*op,[738] but the truth is he <was> no secular pr[iest] but a Jesuitt and while he was Jes[uit], as I heare, he had children for w*hi*ch cause they putt him out and, since, he hath taken a wench or two, and hath had, I heare, ten children. He was priested among the Jes[uits] and read figures at S^{t} Omers.

[734] The Venetian ambassador, Vicenzo Gussoni, on 15/25 March 1633 observed that William Laud, bishop of London, was seeking to 'obtain the charge of the great seal, to the exclusion and ruin of the lord keeper, who is manoeuvring in opposition'. Gussoni believed his 'fall is near', but Coventry retained his post; *CSPV, 1632–1636*, p. 86. By contrast, Walter Yonge noted that Coventry was 'putt out of his place upon some difference betweene him and Sir Rich[ard] Weston [. . .] but [is] restored againe'; BL, Additional MS 35331, fo. 51r. Subsequently, in July 1633, Yonge wrote in his diary that Coventry was 'like to be putt from his place', apparently because of his support for Henry Sherfield; *ibid.*, fo. 54r.

[735] See *CSPV, 1632–1636*, p. 81; Birch, *CT*, II, p. 167; BL, Additional MS 35331, fo. 51r.

[736] George Leyburn.

[737] George Garrard informed Viscount Wentworth on 3 June 1634 that 'the dutchess of Buckingham and the earl of Rutland are come to an agreement: he hath for his life 7000*l.* a year to live on, legacies and annuities are parted betwixt them: Belvoir and 2000*l.* goes to the heir, Mr. John Manners [. . .] all the rest falls upon the dutchess and her children after her'; Knowler, *ESLD*, I, p. 261.

[738] *Hierarchomachia*. See *Letter 32*.

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No address.

Endorsed: Clerk. 1° Mart[ii].
About one Smith who divulgeth the Antib*ish*op.

37. Fountayne [George Leyburn] to [Peter Biddulph], 1 March 1633

[*AAW, A XXVII, no. 19, pp. 53–54*]

Respected sir,

This inclosed will answere unto yours written the 15 of Jan[uary] w*hi*ch was full of comfort and good hopes. This daye I have imparted unto Mons*ieu*r Ph[ilip] the cheef contents, who will acquainte her Majesty w*i*th as much as concerneth her. And I am confident th*a*t I shall procure new commendations of the affayre both to his Holynes and to Mons*ieu*r Chrichey[739] who is to goe extraordinarie from the king of France.[740] If episcopall authority were once established, this country I doe assure my selfe would be most happie. In my former I did signifie such occurrences as the tymes did yeeld and, since, ther is noe great variety. I was informed by a person of great worth th*a*t Sir Tobie[741] was admitted of the kings ~~bed~~ <privie> chamber wherupon I did repaire unto our two good friends at the court who had not heard any such newes. Moreover they did assure me th*a*t neither the king nor queen maketh any esteeme of him and as often as ther is any speech of him they gyre and mocke at him. They did alsoe relate unto me a very strang[e] conversion of one M^r^ Godbolt, brother unto M^r^ Godbolt whos wife is rocker to our prince, both good Catholikes. This Godbolt was newly arrived from a sea voiage wher he had been rob[be]d pillaged and becom[e]d so w[e]ake w*i*th miserie th*a*t ther were smale hopes of his recovery, w*hi*ch his brother perceaving delt very earnestly w*i*th him about his conversion, but he, an obstinate heretick, would give no eare, and cheefly in regarde he could never persuade him selfe th*a*t the body of our saviour Christ could be truly and really in the sacrament (w*hi*ch he knew to be a

[739] Charles de Blanchefort de Créquy, duke of Créquy. See *CSPV, 1632–1636*, p. 126; Pastor, *HP*, XXVIII, p. 327.

[740] On 1/11 February 1633 Richard Smith reported to Peter Biddulph that Cardinal Richelieu would give instructions to Créquy 'who is shortly to goe extraordinarie embass[ador] to R[ome] to deale for me'; AAW, B 27, no. 116.

[741] Sir Tobie Mathew. See *Letter 36*.

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cheef poynt of the Catho[lic] religion). He could not imagine how soe great a body could be contayned in soe litle a space. His brother seeing his perversnes [and] dispearing of his conversion did leave him and he was noe sooner gone but that the woman who did tend upon him, a peevish heretick, did in her fashion encourage him to remayne constant and, the better to confirme him, she gott one of the 2 ministers of the chappell at St James to come unto him, and he was [*p. 54*] noe sooner entered into his chamber but that he beganne to relate unto him how his brother had delt with him and how he would have persuaded him that the body of Christ was really in the sacrament, to which the minister replyed that it was very true doctrine and that he was bound to believe it, and withall he added that the Catholike religion was a good religion in soe much that he presently sent for his brother, desired a priest, was reconsiled and immediately after departed this life. The great goodnes of God towards this poore creature [*sic*]. I doe assure you unfainedly that I am of opinion that we shall see shortly an other face of religion in this country. And abstracting from some private reasons to move therunto which I dare not committ to writing I doo see evidently that the byshop of London[742] and of Yorke[743] and divers others who run with them (which are many because London haith very great power with our king) doth finde that ther predecessours have been much defective in 3 poynts. The first is that they did abandon confessions,[744] the second that they did reject all ceremonyes without which ther Church is without majesty, and the third is that they did take away all kinde of worship and honour to pictures.

The Jesuists keep a great doe about the comedy[745] and I heare that they have translated it into Italyen but very untruely as many doe imagine. My maister[746] formerly haith instructed you how you are to make your answere and therfor it is not needfull that I saye any more. Onely signifie the tyme when it was composed, in the very heat of the controversie and by an unknowne author, how my lord did suppresse it untill now that the Jesuists gott a copie of it and did divulge it; and you may justly accept [*sic*] against the translation. Here is one Smith[747]

[742] William Laud.
[743] Richard Neile.
[744] For the significance to English 'Arminians' of the practice of confession, see Tyacke, *AC*, pp. 221–222.
[745] *Hierarchomachia*. See *Letter 32*.
[746] Richard Smith.
[747] Anthony Smith.

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a falne Jesuit. Besyds the scandale is like to doe much hurt.[748] This is all, onely my best wishes for your happie successe in all your affayres.

Your obedient servant, Fountayne.

London. March 1th 1632.

No address.

Endorsed: Lab[orne]. 1 March.
About the Antib*ish*op.

38. Clerk [John Southcot] to [Peter Biddulph], 6 March 1633

[*AAW, A XXVII, no. 21, pp. 57–58*]

Sir,

This week I receaved two togeather from you, videlicet of the 8 of January w*hi*ch was missing the last week, as I then wrote unto you, and of the 22 of the same month. Y*ou*r advise touching a French agent there for the qu[een] is very well liked of here, and I hope good use wilbe made of it to hinder any such desighne, by F[ather] Phil[ip's] meanes, who saieth that the qu[een] never wrote yet for Sig*no*r Georgio[749] to that purpose you speake of in y*ou*r letter. Yet I cannot but think that there is some such intention and that the Jes[uit] faction here ~~do~~ have some such practise in hand. The French ambass[ador][750] here and the grand aulmner[751] runn an other course different from Fa[ther] Philips, by occasion of the Capucins whom this ambassador thought to have putt in Fa[ther] Philips place, but Fa[ther] Phil[ip] stands upon to[o] good grounds to be putt out by him, for the king and queen both love him, and so do all the courtiers, and therfor I make account he is sure of the place as long as he liveth, unlesse he come to some other preferment w*hi*ch is likely enough he may ere long, and for my part I could wish he were a cardinall and lived in Rome, where he might do his king and contry and us all much good service. How to deale in this matter about an English card[inall] I do not well know, bycause it is a buissenesse of a high nature, and things are not handsomly prepared

[748] Richard Smith rather shamelessly took up and pursued the story spread by the ex-Jesuit Anthony Smith that John Gerard SJ had been directly involved in the gunpowder plot, digging the, in the end unused, mine under the palace of Westminster. See Allison, JG.
[749] George Con.
[750] François Duval, marquis de Fontenay Mareuil.
[751] Jacques le Noël Du Perron.

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for it. What clergy men to propose, and by what meanes, we cannot resolve without some help and advise. And indeed it is a matter that requires consultation from the chiefest of the clergy, who are not now assembled togeather, nor are like to be till Easter terme at the soonest, and yet the buissenesse requires that secresy that it were better to do it without any great consultation, I meane without com*m*unicating the matter to many, if it were possible. The likeliest way in my opinion is to gett the queen mooved by some letter from the French king to that purpose in behalf of one of those that shalbe named and then leave it to Fa[ther] Phil[ip's] solicitation with her Ma*jes*ty. The fittest man in all respects (if we leave out my l*or*d[752] by reason of his age) is in my opinion M[r] Blacklo,[753] who hath eminent parts for it, and is like to live long, having a healthy and strong body. Only I feare the Spaniards wilbe drawen to oppose him, unlesse it be donn sodainly, by reason of an exception taken here lately by the Spanish resident[754] to some speach of his (falsely related unto him) in behalf of France ag*ain*st Spaine, for w*hi*ch he threatneth to write ag*ain*st him into Spaine, to have him putt from his residentship and although the relation be false, and both M[r] Blacklo and we have sought to satisfy him, he will take no satisfaction. He is wholy for the Jes[uits] and this is supposed to be donn by their instigation.

I pray God Sig*no*r Georgio be not offended with you for getting his card[inal][755] to ~~name~~ appoint you an othe to receave y*ou*r informations of England. If he be [*word illegible*] by this, [*p. 58*] or by any other disgust taken, I feare he will do us much harme there in that court. Lett us therfor seek to preserve him at least from being o*u*r enemy.

We have drawen a French letter from my l*or*d to the queen to entreat her favour for an other letter to Rome in his behalf, and I feare o*u*r buissenesse will not be ended before we gett [*two words deleted*] an other letter from her Ma*jes*ty. Yet I pray solicit what you can to gett a dispatch speedily, and if any new delay grow upon the expectation either of a new letter from the qu[een] or of any agreem*en*t with the monkes, seek what you can to putt it of[f], for although the monkes, as I heare, were lately with M[r] Strong[756] at Do[uai] to offer peace, yet it is feared they do this in policy to stay the sentence at Rome, wherfor lett them be assured there that we shall never have peace here without a sentence there.

[752] Richard Smith.
[753] Thomas White.
[754] Juan de Necolalde.
[755] Cardinal Francesco Barberini, cardinal protector of the English nation, to whom George Con had served as secretary; Hibbard, *CI*, p. 46.
[756] Matthew Kellison.

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I make account the reg[ulars] will know what is determined sooner than we shall, by S[t] Onophrios[757] meanes, who doth nothing without the Capucins advise. It is like Fa[ther] Leonard[758] is by this time come to Rome, who is no freind of ours, no more are the rest of his brethren here.[759] There are some complaints of priests here in London ag*ain*st the Capucins for drawing their penitents from them and for bringing in new customes about confessing (as they do in Italy) by a cathalogue of sinns w*hi*ch the ghostly father readeth to the penitent. This is here much misliked as also the admitting any to come to their house, and <sometimes> into their cells (even women) under colour to be instructed, or the like, and their often marrieng <Catholickes>, and someti[m]es Cath[olics] and heret[ics] togeather, without giving notice or taking any advise from the superiors of the clergy.[760] When you have a fitt opportunity perhaps it were not amisse to lett these things be knowen to the congreg*acio*n that some order may be taken here.

D*oct*or Bossevile desires to know whether his <privat> letter to Urban were delivered or no.[761] I pray let us heare from you of that by the next, as also whether the bishop of Bellay[762] be come to Rome, and what he doeth there, <and> when he rettourneth. The names of <the> missionaries in Warwickshire I send you in a note here enclosed. Other occurrences I referr to M[r] Laborne.

Adieu.

6 March 1633.

[757] Cardinal Antonio Barberini, a Capuchin and brother of Urban VIII.

[758] Provincial of the French Capuchins. See Hibbard, *CI*, p. 44.

[759] On 9 November 1632, however, Richard Worthington had suggested to Biddulph that Father Leonard should be petitioned to intervene in the Worthington–Parkins marriage case on William Worthington's behalf, and against the regulars; AAW, A XXVI, no. 13, p. 49.

[760] Gregorio Panzani recorded that Richard Smith had prohibited mixed marriages but 'li Capuccini congiungevano tutti et vennero scandali'. Charles, by Henrietta Maria's means, had now prohibited the Capuchins from marrying Catholics to Protestants; VA, PD, fo. 56r.

[761] See AAW, A XXVI, no. 117 (John Bosvile's letter of 20 August 1632 to Urban VIII, claiming that Rome had failed to sort out the troubles of the Catholics in England, and that the 'Protestatio Declaratoria' against Smith was a calumny).

[762] This is a reference to Jean-Pierre Camus, bishop of Belley (who had resigned in 1629), rather than to the current holder of that see, Jean de Passelaigue, a Cluniac monk. See Bergin, *The Making of the French Episcopate*, pp. 591, 680. Miles Pinckney had translated a work by Camus, his *Crayon de l'Eternité* (Douai, 1631) as *A Draught of Eternitie* (Douai, 1632), ARCR, II, no. 644. The translation was dedicated to Anne Arundell (wife of Thomas Arundell, 1st Baron Arundell), Smith's patroness. On 19/29 March 1632 Smith reported that 'the mendicants urge much to suppresse a booke of [the] bishop [of] Belley which toucheth their mendicity'; AAW, B 27, no. 107. Pinckney translated and published another book by Camus, his *Lutte Spirituelle*, as *A Spirituall Combat* (Douai, 1632), ARCR, II, no. 645, which he dedicated to Mary Percy, abbess of the English Benedictine convent at Brussels. Another work by Camus, his *Le Directeur Spirituel Désinteressé*, was translated by Lawrence Platt. See *Letter 9*.

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I pray lett us know by y*ou*r next wherfor the generall of the Dominicans[763] is in disgrace there.

I will cause those knives to be bought w*hi*ch you desire, and, if M[r] Duckett go up, I will entreat him to bring them with him. But I doubt he can not bring a dogg.[764]

No address.

Endorsed: Clerk. 8 March.[765]
Complaints against the Capucines.

39. Clerk [John Southcot] to Fitton [Peter Biddulph], 22 March 1633

[*AAW, B 47, no. 63*]

Sir,

This week we have had no letters from you. The last we had was of the 5 of February w*hi*ch I answered the last week. I have little newes to informe you this week. My l*or*d ambassador Weston[766] is rettourned togeather with the duke of Lennox[767] his brother in law. Between Dover and Calais they, being in one of the k[ing's] ships, mett with a fleet of ten ships of the Hollanders who, not vailing bonett to the ki[ng's] ship, as they were bound by the custome of those seas, the k[ing's] ship [*word deleted*] shott of[f] a peec[e] of ordinance to give them warning, but they still went on their course without taking notice of any thing and, being againe warned with an other peece of ordinance, they sent up one of their ships and shot of[f] 4 peeces of ordinance against the k[ing's] ship and 30 muskets, wherupon the k[ing's] ship stered towards them and passing through the middest of them shot of[f] 36 peeces of ordinance, 18 on a side, on both sides of the Hollanders, and made some of their heads ake. The king is much offended with the Hollanders ~~with~~ <for> this affront, and purposeth to be revenged [*word deleted*] shortly.[768] Out of Yorkshire they certify that there are in all 40 missionaries or therabouts wherof 24 are secular, 6 Jes[uits], 6 Benedict[ines], and 2 newtralls that go for seculars. The next week

[763] Nicholas Ridolfi OP.
[764] See *Letters 32*, *41*, *46*.
[765] This letter was dated 6 March by Southcot but endorsed 8 March by Biddulph.
[766] Jerome Weston. *CSPV*, *1632–1636*; p. 91; Birch, *CT*, II, p. 175.
[767] James Stuart, 4th duke of Lennox.
[768] For this incident, see *CSPV*, *1632–1636*, pp. 92–93; Birch, *CT*, II, p. 175.

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I purpose to send you some notes of such things as we desire here touching regulars.

Thus in hast I rest.

22 March 1633.

Addressed: Pour Mons*ieu*r Fitton a Rome.

Endorsed: Clerk. 22 Mar[ch].
The number of missionaries in Yorkshire.

40. Clerk [John Southcot] to [Peter Biddulph], 29 March 1633

[*AAW, B 47, no. 64*]

Sir,

I have yours this week of the 19th of February, and ame sory to heare that nothing wilbe donn in our buissenesse. Our brethren wilbe quite dishartned with this newes. What can we do more from hence than hath bin donn already? If neither the queens letter nor so many com*m*on letters from the clergy can prevaile, I see no other remedy but either my l*or*d[769] must go up him self, or two or 3 of the auncient priests, w*hi*ch will require a better purse than we have, or can make, unlesse my l*or*d can procure something to be settled upon him in France before he goe. We will do our best notwithstanding to procure an other letter from the qu[een] if not to his Hol[iness] at least to Mons*ieu*r Crequy the extraordinary ambassador who, I heare, is on his way already.[770] In the meane time I pray solicit and importune them all you can and make all the freinds you can to that end. For my part, unlesse my l*or*d have health and meanes to go up, I should advise him, with leave of the nonce,[771] to come back againe hither, and possesse him self of his authority via facti, and beginn in things favorable, as for example by declaring the fasts and feasts of the country, and such like. No doubt he would be obaied, and then his Hol[iness] would also confirme him in it. Only I feare my l*or*ds disposition, which is a little to[o] stiff and not so pliable and condescending as were fitting in such a case. And if this can not be donn, we must com*m*end our selves to the mercy of God and give over all <negotiation> and fall to writing bookes to make our cause knowen to the Christian world,

[769] Richard Smith.
[770] See *Letter 37*.
[771] Cardinal Alessandro Bichi.

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as D[octor] Bossevile saied well in his letter to the pope,[772] w*hi*ch he would gladly know whether ever it were ~~receaved~~ <delivered> or noe. I receaved a letter lately from him where he writeth thus: 'I could wish my lord would urge much that the Jesuitts should not send any of ours[773] into England till we send for them, for if so many regulars come in as do, and may have power to send in such a number of ours at their pleasures (be they sufficient or insufficient), many must needs waunt places, and consequently will fall into waunts. If any oppose his motion upon pretence of waunt of priests in the country, or the like, answer may be made that the clergy wilbe content upon this condition, that regulars may take all such places as are voide for waunt of clergy men. I could wish also that regulars might be stinted to a certaine number. But I feare that would be harder to gett, and subject to more opposition, and, were it graunted, yet it would not free us so well as the other, nor make ours beyond the seas to stick to their body, and respect superiours here so well as when they shall know that their coming in depends upon the will of their superiours here. Againe, the reserving the administration of mariage to the clergy is of great importance, and hath great colour of reason for it, aswell bycause reg[ulars] do not do it in any country as also bycause being exempted from the b*isho*p if they com*m*itt any abuse therin, the b*isho*p can take no order.'[774] So he. Which are good points to be proposed togeather with those which I send you in an other Latin paper here enclosed, where you shall have the number of pr[iests] in Suffolk, Norfolk, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Hartfordshire.

Touching that matter wherof M[r] Burton[775] wrote to Fa[ther] Fitzherbert, I suppose you have given a good answer already. The rector should ever advertise the b*isho*p or his vicar either by letter or letters patents of the number, names and quality of those he sends, or at least he should be bound a month or two before to advertise this to the agent in Rome, wherfor I pray you stand hard for this, bycause it is a thing most reasonable. I ame tould that Burton and two more that came with him intend to be Jesuitts, and they keep no correspondence at all with the clergy. Only they came for their 40[s] a peece and took the oath of their obedience to my l*or*d, with what reservation God knoweth. It seemeth that the Jes[uits] do all they can to devide the clergy by sending in such priests, hoping in time to make them the greater number and so to keep the clergy at

[772] See AAW, A XXVI, no. 117; *Letter 38*.

[773] Secular priests.

[774] 'I could wish my lord [. . .] take no order' is underlined in the text.

[775] Presumably John Baron, alias Thomas Burton, cited in the list of Hampshire clergy in *Letter 35*.

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their devotion. This must be in time lookt unto, and prevented by all meanes possible, either by that way D[octor] Bossevile suggested or by getting the seminaries into our hands. And I make no question but they are such striplings as these that give this information to Rome of persecution, upon the instigation perhaps of the Jes[uits] that are their freinds, and for their ends. As for Sig*no*r Giorgio[776] we know not what to say. The clergy will hardly be persuaded to com*m*end him unlesse they see some reall cause of desert on his part towards them. Yet I will speak with Fa[ther] Phil[ip] about him and we will do o*ur* best in that w*hi*ch Fa[ther] Phil[ip] shall advise us.

For newes I can say little. The king would have borrowed mony of the citty, but they refused to lend him any, pretending waunt, especially since the restraint made by proclamation of resort <to London> ~~of compaghny~~. Now I heare it reported that the king will gett mony of the citizens as he did lately of the gentlemen in the country for their knighthoods, which will much trouble the citty. The l*ord*s of the councell have mooved all noblemen to a contribution for mending of Paules church, and every one offereth something: some 90^{l}, some more, some lesse.[777] The kings going to Scotland this summer holdeth still good. The fishing buissenesse goeth on apace.[778] One Coronell Hebron,[779] a Scottish man and a Catholik that served the k[ing] of Sweden at Lipsick,[780] is newly come over out of France to levy a Scottish regiment to serve in France where he hath a great pension.[781] Sir Morris Drum*m*on[782] <a Catholick and> one of the qu[een's] gentlemen ushers is com*m*itted to the Tower for jusling my l*or*d of Carlile, a privy counsellor, in the presence chamber. The king is much offended with the Hollanders for the affront they did our ambassador at sea, as I wrote to you the last week,[783] and I heare some souldiars are

[776] George Con.

[777] For the restoration of St Paul's, see Sharpe, *PR*, pp. 322–328. On 30 September 1632 Edmund Dutton had informed Biddulph that 'the lords are to give 40^{li} or 50^{li} a peece' towards the rebuilding. Charles asked Henrietta Maria 'what shee would bestow', and 'shee answered ten thowsand powndes', whereupon Charles 'gave her great thankes and com*m*endacions for her bountie and said he would cause it to be p*ro*claymed all the kingdome over'. But 'shee replyed th*at* then he must graunt her the next suyt, w*hi*ch was th*at* shee might dayly have two Masses celebrated in it, otherwise shee would not give a peny'; AAW, A XXVI, no. 155, p. 439.

[778] See *Letter 36*.

[779] Sir John Hepburn. See Birch, *CT*, II, p. 175; *CSPV*, *1632–1636*, p. 92; *Letter 44*; PRO, C 115/105/8207.

[780] Leipzig.

[781] See PRO, C 115/105/8207.

[782] Sir Morice Drummond, gentleman usher of Henrietta Maria's privy chamber. See PRO, LR5/57, fo. 3r (for which reference I am grateful to Simon Healy).

[783] See *CSPV*, *1632–1636*, pp. 92–93; *Letter 39*.

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stayed upon it that were going from hence into Holland, and others permitted to go into Flanders with Coronell Thressam.[784] I can no more at this present but, with woonted respects, rest.

29 March 1633.

No address.

Endorsed: Clerk. 29 March.
The points propounded by D[octor] Bossevile.

41. Clerk [John Southcot] to Fitton [Peter Biddulph], 13 April 1633

[*AAW, A XXVII, no. 38, pp. 105–108*]

Sir,

I have yours of the 12 of March, by w*hi*ch we were glad to understand that the first point at least is determined w*hi*ch is to maintaine ep*iscop*all authority, and we hope, this being resolved, it will not be long ere the rest do follow concerning titles, number, persons, etc. But be sure above all things that you stand stiff for ordinary authority, else we shall never be free from brubbles.

As for that report w*hi*ch the Jes[uits] do there give out of persecution, it is false in all particulers, excepting only compositions; w*hi*ch, although they be high racked, yet are not so intolerable as they make them, and Catholickes had rather have them at any rate than loose their lives and liberties, as there they report. And I wish you could find meanes to have Welspoken informed of those reports from thence and of their authors, by some meanes or other. Perhaps it would putt him quite out with them hereafter. Neither is it true that all prisoners or any were delivered upon the k[ing's] recovery from the small pox, only some prisoners that were to be executed at Tyburne were reprived for that time.[785] They do his Ma*jes*ty a great deale of hurt in that court with these reports, and no doubt great wrong withall, and it were pitty but the good and just should know of it and the innocent also.

[784] Sir William Tresham. See *Letter 17*.

[785] For the king's brief (and minor) illness in early December 1632, and for this incident of the reprieve, see *CSPV, 1632–1636*, pp. 47, 49; Birch, *CT*, II, pp. 205, 211–212; Laud, *Works*, III, p. 216; JPN, pp. 337, 340. One rumour had it that the reprieve was granted on news that Gustavus Adolphus was still alive.

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Our friends here are wholly ag*ain*st the making any but an English man the cardinall of our nation, and think that the making of either Scottish or Irish would in time draw great prejudice upon us. If matters be determined there before the end of sum*m*er, it wilbe needlesse for my l*or*d[786] to go up, else we are all here of opinion that he should go up at the beginning of next autumne. We are now in hand with M[r] Anthony Smith a fallen [*p. 106*] priest and Jesuit, that hath lived divers yeares with a Protestant woman, and hath had divers children by her, two wherof do yet live, to go over to do pennance, and reconcile him self againe to God and his Church. He never fell directly from his faith, but only lived in this scandalous manner. What help we shall have from the Jes[uits] or their freinds God knowes, but all the burthen therof to help this poor soule both spiritually and temporally lighteth upon the clergy, and it is a thing worthy to be complained of that we must receave all their outcasts and provide for them, w*hi*ch is both a dishonor and an intolerable burden to the poor clergy, who have not meanes to provide sufficiently for their own, and to maintaine their necessary agents at home and abroad, especially since they have so much decried my l*or*ds authority <here> in whose name we were woont to make our collections, many of his freinds and ours now refusing to contribute bycause they are tould, as they say, that my l*or*d is not their superiour.

M[r] Duckett purposeth to be with you, God willing, before the end of autumne, and I purpose to send by him those knives w*hi*ch you desire, but there is no meanes possible to send the greyhounds or mastives. I referr all domesticall newses to M[r] Lab[orne]. The earle of Holland[787] is served as I heare with a letter from the lord keeper[788] to answer in the star chamber, and so are the two you*n*g l*or*ds, my L*or*d Fielding[789] and my L*or*d Goring his sonn,[790] who fought the last week by occasion of some words touching the same buissenesse, [*p. 107*] my L*or*d Fielding, as you know, having maried my l*or*d treasurers daughter,[791] and the other taking part with Holland. The king would faine have the qu[een] runn with my l*or*d treasurer in his courses, w*hi*ch doubtlesse are most for the kings profitt and for the good of the English nation, seeking to keep out both the Scotts and the French as much as he can, yet the qu[een] will hardly be drawen to joine in that course.[792]

[786] Richard Smith.
[787] Henry Rich, 1st earl of Holland.
[788] Sir Thomas Coventry, 1st Baron Coventry.
[789] Lord Basil Fielding, heir apparent of the earl of Denbigh.
[790] George Goring, son of George Goring, 1st Baron Goring of Hurstpierpoint. See *CSPD, 1633–1634*, pp. 3, 11, 12, 14–15.
[791] Fielding married Anne Weston. See Alexander, *CLT*, p. 171.
[792] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 190.

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We are in good hope the next week to send you the qu[een's] letter in my l*or*ds behalf to Mons*ieu*r Crequy, who by this time I suppose is come to Rome. He hath charge also from the ki[ng][793] and cardinal[794] to solicit my l*or*ds buissenesse, wherfor I ~~pray~~ pray see him as soon as he cometh.

Thus in hast I com*m*itt you to God and rest.

13 Aprill 1633.

[*on p. 108*]

Addressed: Pour Monsieur Fitton a Rome.

Endorsed: Clerk. 13 April.
About Smith the Jesuitt.

42. Clerk [John Southcot] to [Peter Biddulph], 19 April 1633

[*AAW, A XXVII, no. 41, pp. 117–118*]

Sir,

I have yours of the 26 of March with the enclosed occurrences of that court w*hi*ch were very welcome, and although I would not putt you to the paine of writing them weekly yet I should be glad to heare sometimes what passeth in that kind, and if you be at any extraordinary charge for them it shalbe defraied you againe uppon notice given by you what the particulers are. The last I receaved from you was of the 12 of March w*hi*ch I answered the last week, and this bearing date the 26 of March sheweth that there is one weekes letters waunting of the 19 of March, w*hi*ch as yet we have not receaved.

With these you shall receave the qu[een's] letter sealed to Mons*ieu*r Crequy who, being a duke, the qu[een] calls him cosen. You shall have also a coppy of the letter sent a part, that you may see the contents.[795] I conceave the best way to deliver the letter wilbe by M^r^ Barklay his meanes, as if he had receaved it im*m*ediatly from France, for so perhaps the ambassador wilbe sooner mooved to solicit the effect of it, and be the farther of[f] from thinking it to be procured by any importunity of ours. Yet being delivered you may lett the ambass[ador] know that

[793] Louis XIII.
[794] Cardinal Richelieu.
[795] See *Letter 37*; AAW, A XXVII, no. 43 (Southcot's copy of Henrietta Maria's letter of 25 April 1633 to the duke of Créquy).

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you are advertized from hence that the qu[een] hath written unto him, and solicit him for an answer. This is my conceipt, but you will best know what is to be donn that are there, and therfor I leave it to y*our* discretion.

At length my l*or*d[796] hath sent us a coppy of the compendium of your long information, written in Italian, w*hi*ch I like exceeding well, and I doubt not but all may be verified from hence by such instances and examples as I suppose have bin formerly writt unto you, and do here daily occurr. At this present there are divers examples of disorders concerning mariage and particulerly that between M^r^ Henry Wilford and my Lady Suliards daughter,[797] [*p. 118*] wherof my l*or*d will advertise you more at large.[798] Concerning disorderly pr[iests] there are at this

[796] Richard Smith.

[797] Mary Suliard, daughter of Sir John Suliard (d. 9 February 1627), and sister of Sir Edward Suliard. See PRO, PROB 11/151, fo. 146r; *Letter 49*. Sir John Suliard's son, William, married Elizabeth Wilford; Metcalfe, *The Visitations of Essex*, I, p. 523.

[798] An undated memorandum in Peter Biddulph's papers recorded that 'Edward Suliard eques in publico theatro aggressus est nuper D. Henricum Wilford [. . .] et, nisi populus impedivisset, sese invicem vel occidissent vel vulnerassent ob negotium praetensi matrimonii inter d*ic*tum Wilfordum et sororem d*ic*ti Suliard'; AAW, A XXVII, no. 110, p. 319. A letter sent to Biddulph from London related that 'Wilfordus post aliquot menses longioris [. . .] impatiens [. . .] videret nihil Romae determinari, alium faeminam in uxorem duxit illamq*ue* haereticam; et pars adversa litem contra ipsum instituit in curia archiep*iscop*i Cantuariensis, unde procul [. . .] gravia scandala orientur, non sine periculo, ne altera pars et fortassis utraq*ue* a fide deficiat'; AAW, A XXVII, no. 112, p. 323. Since an account of the Wilford–Suliard case appears in a separate list of scandals sent to Rome in April 1635 by the priest and rural dean, Thomas Green, it may be that this information came originally from him; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 15, p. 70. Yet another account of the case alleges that 'Robertus Rookwood eques, Thomas Ruckwood frater, et Gulielmus Syliard frater Edwardi [Rookwood] eques, cum aliis invitant, sollicitant, impellunt Wilfordum ad tabernam, ubi post longam com*m*essationem, tantum vini infunditur Wilfordo, ut plane inebriaretur; tunc ebrio inducitur soror Edwardi Syliard, variis inter illam et Wilfordum com*m*utatis blandimentis, cubile affertur (quid verbis opus est rem sordidam depingere) ibi (ut Robertus Ruckwood eques literis sua manu conscriptis testatus est) illo inspectante concubuere (ut solent conjuges) Wilfordus et soror Edwardi Syliard. Taedis hisce peractis supercalibus, a somno, et crapula rediit ad mentem Wilfordus, quem faemina (ad id docta satis) maritum vocat, respuit ille illam, una et mariti nomen, negat contractum ullum maritalem; im*m*o cum affirmatur illam ab eo cognitam, negat Wilfordus, affirmans se ut res erat, ebrium fuisse, aut si cognovisset, cognovisse tantum aut meritricem'. As a result, 'currit hoc scandalum per ora vulgi, in questionem res ducitur' and two Jesuits (John Alexander Evison and Christopher Greenwood), a Benedictine (David Codner), and one other regular convened an ad hoc tribunal, cited the parties before them, interviewed witnesses and so on. But they could not reach a decision. And in the meantime 'Wilfordus [. . .] matrimonium molitur cum alia faemina, quod Syliard pro sorore sua prohibere contendit, publica obtenta inhibitione ex curia archiepiscopatus Cantuariensis; sed veritus publicam sororis suae infamiam, confugit nunc tandem ad officialis *reverendissi*mi episcopi Chalcedonensis, ut authoritate sua litem dirimans [. . .] hoc flagrans scandalum'; AAW, A XXVII, no. 113, pp. 325–326.

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present in Hantshire two Irish pr[iests] (whether sec[ular] or regular none can tell, or whether pr[iests] at all) who go up and down the cou*n*try there to all Cath[olic] houses to begg, and what they gett they spend in drink, at least one of them, who saieth no other Mass but of requiem even upon the greatest holidaies. Many other great disorders there be, but I have neither time nor health at this present to write them down, and I think you have bin informed already of most of them.

For newes I must refer you to M^r^ Lab[orne]. The earle of Holland is come to court againe, and is made freinds with the treasurer[799] and my L*or*d Weston.[800] The king houldeth his journy for Scotland, and beginneth it on the 11 of the next month, being the 4^th^ day of the terme and, with us, Saterday. The queen is quick with child. I pray God blesse her and graunt her a good delivery. It is saied that M^r^ Foster[801] is gonn over againe into France, though his freinds here give it out he is gonn into the North.

There is a great correspondence between Card[inal] Richelieu and the l*or*d treasurer, w*hi*ch the Spanniards here do not like. Some doubt whether the card[inal] be fallen or falling of[f] from my l*or*d b*isho*p, p*er*haps to comply with the Capucins and Jesuites. Otherwise methinkes my l*or*d might gett the card[inal] to write effectually for him to the treasurer w*hi*ch would do him good with the king.

Thus in hast I bid you hartely adieu being our Good Friday and the 19 of Aprill 1633.

To the little cipher I sent you a fortnight since, add these:
(Jesuitts. The afflicted.)
(Clergy. The rising.)

No address.

[*on p. 117*]

Endorsed: Clerk. 19 April.
About the 2 Irish priests.

[799] Sir Richard Weston, 1st earl of Portland.

[800] Jerome Weston. For the Venetian ambassador Gussoni's report of the quarrel between and reconciliation of the earl of Holland and the Westons, see *CSPV, 1632–1636*, p. 100.

[801] See Foster, 'Sir Richard Forster', p. 165.

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43. [John Southcot] to [an English secular priest at Paris],[802] 24 April 1633

[*AAW, OB I/ii, no. 129, fo. 245r–v*]

[Sir,]

The last week I had a short letter from you of the 19th of this month togeather with the two printed papers[803] in French w*hi*ch we will cause to be divulged here as well and as soon as we can. But how to gett direct proofs to convince them to be the true authors of the bookes, we do not know more than the com*m*on voice and opinion w*hi*ch is generally here such that all that read this declaration presently cry out against the untruth thereof. M^r^ Homes[804] the Bened[ictine] tould me that Fa[ther] Knott[805] gave him one of his bookes[806] and he saieth that he composed it in the Clink. Fa[ther] Faulkener[807] tould M^r^ Beckett,[808] if I be not deceaved, that Fa[ther] Flud[809] ~~was~~ had answered the Sorbon censures, and was the author of the Spongia.[810] That he was the author also of the Apologia[811] both the anagram of his name sheweth, and <was> acknowledged by them selves in divers

[802] R. Stanfield suggests that this letter may have been intended for Richard Smith's secretary; CRS, 22, p. 178. The letter (printed in *ibid*., pp. 178–179) was originally addressed 'pour Monsieur Antoine Penon à Paris'; *ibid*., p. 179. See also Allison, RSGB, I, p. 396.

[803] AAW, A XXVI, no. 148 (*Arrest de la Cour de Parlement de Roüen* (Paris, 1632); cf. ARCR, I, no. 501; a judgement, dated 28 September/8 October 1632, by the parlement of Rouen concerning 150 copies of Floyd, *Hermanni Loemelii [. . .] Spongia* which had been illegally brought to Rouen); AAW, A XXVII, no. 28 (*Declaration et Desadveu des Peres Jesuites* (Paris, 1633)); ARCR I, no. 1408; a statement, dated (in the text) 13/23 March 1633, by the Society of Jesus that various books (ARCR, I, nos 1400, 481, 489, 496) were not written 'par aucuns religieux de nostre compagnie'; to which is added a declaration (of 9/19 February 1633) by representatives of several religious orders acknowledging episcopal rights of approbation). These papers are bound and catalogued in AAW as SEC 16/1/8 and SEC 16/1/9 respectively.

[804] This individual cannot be identified with certainty; Allison, RSGB, I, p. 396. It may conceivably be Hugh (Bede) Helme OSB.

[805] Matthew Wilson SJ.

[806] Antony Allison identifies the book as either Matthew Wilson SJ, *A Modest Briefe Discussion [. . .]*, or *idem*, *A Defence of Nicholas Smith against a Reply to his Discussion of some Pointes taught by Mr. Doctour Kellison in his Treatise of the Ecclesiasticall Hierarchy* (Rouen, 1631); ARCR, II, no. 819; Allison, RSGB, I, p. 345.

[807] John Faulkner SJ. See Anstr., II, p. 99.

[808] Not identified. The priest Thomas Becket, ordained at Seville by 1631, did not receive his viaticum until 1634; *ibid*., p. 20.

[809] John Floyd SJ.

[810] Floyd, *Hermanni Loemelii [. . .] Spongia*.

[811] *Idem*, *Apologia Sanctae Sedis Apostolicae quoad Modum Procedendi circa Regimen Catholicorum Angliae Tempore Persecutionis cum Defensione Religiosi Status* (Rouen, 1631); ARCR, I, nos 481–483, a reference to Floyd's translation of his own *An Apology*.

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parts of the kingdom, though I know not their names in particuler, and M^r^ Gray[812] the Jes[uit] sould them up and down, from whom I procured two or three coppies by Peter Windors meanes.[813] Besides, all their penitents and followers ~~that~~ of the better sort had these bookes in their houses, and carried them sometimes in their pocketts, and they were read generally by them all, who notwithstan[d]ing refused to read any book written ~~of~~ <on> the other side. Moreover they w[ere] read publickly at the table (as I heare) at S^t^ Omers[814] to the s[cho]lars there, and my young nephew[815] that came lately from thence tould me that he had read the Apology him self, being at Gaunt or at Liege as I take it. I beseech you lett us not faile to have some few coppies at least of Aurelius answer to all their exceptions against his bookes, w*hi*ch we will keep secrett, or divulge, as you shall direct us.[816] It is great pitty that there was nothing added in this declaration in dislike of the doctrin. Methinkes <that> should have bin stood uppon much. I cannot yet learne who that Bagadry is mentioned in y*ou*r letter. M^r^ Laborne will inquire. The holy oiles are not yet come. I heare no more of Anth[ony] Smith. God send him to be constant in his purpose.

M^r^ Fitton[817] wrote to us the same w*hi*ch he wrote to my l*or*d[818] and it were good those reports of the Molin[ists][819] <touching persecution> were knowen to the k[ing] and treasurer,[820] but we know not well how to do it, for o*ur* friend at court is fearfull to speak. We sent you the last week a coppy of the qu[een's] letter to Crequy, but desire you not to shew it to the nonce, who will the sooner conceave it was not gotten by importunity, and think there is more in it than perhaps there is, [*fo. 245v*] w*hi*ch it were not amisse he should, that he may informe to Rome according to his own conceipt of it. We all wish there could be a letter procured from the card[inal][821] to the treasurer here in my

[812] Lawrence Anderton SJ.

[813] For Winder, see *Letter 56*; Anstr., II, p. 220. In 1631 Winder had supplied information against some of the leading pursuivants who harassed Catholics; PRO, SP 16/533/74, fo. 137r.

[814] The English Jesuit school founded at St Omer.

[815] John Southcot, aged twenty-one in 1633. See Metcalfe, *The Visitations of Essex*, I, p. 491.

[816] In January 1633 Richard Smith had noted the appearance of Jean Duvergier de Hauranne's *Assertio Epistolae Illustrissimorum ac Reverendissimorum Galliae Antistitum* (Paris, 1632); ARCR, I, no. 496; (a follow-up work to the *Vindiciae Censurae Facultatis Theologiae Parisiensis*). Smith remarked that 'the 2 p*ar*te of Aurelius is not p*er*mitted to be sold publikly by the printer but is sold by Mons*ieu*r [Jean] Filsac [see *Letter 65*] who hath al the copies'; AAW, B 27, no. 115; Allison, RSGB, III, pp. 165, 169. On 1/11 February he recorded that 'the 2 part of Aurelius is sold by the deane of Sorbon [i.e. Filesac]' and that the Jesuits were unsuccessfully trying to hinder the sale of it; AAW, B 27, no. 116.

[817] Peter Biddulph.

[818] Richard Smith.

[819] i.e. Jesuits.

[820] Sir Richard Weston, 1st earl of Portland.

[821] Cardinal Richelieu.

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l*or*ds behalf. Surely it would do much good, and it is wished that the cardinal would write more than once to him about that matter and employ the French ambass[ador] or some other here to [*word deleted*] treat about it with the treasurer, and to seek to allay and answer all difficulties. If he be my l*or*ds freind indeed, and a freind to the cause, he cannot refuse to do this, being desired.

The king beginns his journy towards Scotland upon the 11 day of May. There are 4000 and 500 persons registred to accompaghny his Ma*jes*ty in this journy and the jests are so layed that he intendeth to be here at London back againe by St James tide the 24 of July.

This is what occurreth and so, with duty reme*m*bred to my l*or*d, I rest.

24 Aprill 1633.

We here some flying reports that Fa[ther] Joseph[822] there is in disgrace, but we do not beleeve it.

No address or endorsement.

44. [John Southcot] to [Peter Biddulph], 26 April 1633

[*AAW, A XXVII, no. 44, pp. 121–125*]

Sir,

I answered yours of the 26 of March the last week with many thankes for the avisi that came with it, wherof I hope to make good use and therfor desire you to continew the same now and then, leaving out those things that are not of much moment that y*ou*r paines may be the lesse. The dispensation of the duke of Mantuas mariage[823] is much wondered at here, and disliked ~~by~~ generally by all Protestants and by the k[ing] him self, wherfor signify so much there, that it may not be graunted. As for that report w*hi*ch the Jes[uits] give out there of p*er*secution, it is more than they dare avouch openly, and <the truth is> far otherwise in all respects, having only the compositions, w*hi*ch although they be high in many, yet in others they are reasonable, and in none, that I heare of, so great as to undo them utterly. The king is nothing inclined to use severity, but rather clemency, as all the world knoweth, and the times are now very calme w*hi*ch maketh more freedom than hath bin seen a great while. The k[ing] and currant of the State is wholy now antipuritan, and tends to a moderation both in opinions and practise. I was tould that a certaine preacher in Bredstreet here in London preached much to his paritioners the

[822] François Joseph le Clerc du Tremblay.
[823] See *CSPV, 1632–1636*, pp. 154, 160.

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necessity of satisfaction, and that one of them came to him a little after and brought him a bag of mony of 22[l] sterling desiring him to give it to the maister of the Horne tavern in Fleetstreet, whom he saied he had defrauded of so much heretofore, but wished him to conceale his name, and the minister went presently with the mony and delivered it to the taverner, who wondering much at it took it thankfully [*p. 122*] and gave the bearer a couple of peeces, one for himself and an other to give to the poor of his parish. Upon this there is a talk as if they intended to bring in auricular confession againe, but I know not how true that is. I was tould also that the k[ing] him self, before some of his own domesticall servants, spake very Catholickly both of the use of the Inquisition and of the popes pardons by occasion of a book that was read unto him by a bedchamber man while he ~~was~~ had his picture drawen, wherin were taunts ag*ain*st both. The k[ing] replied <thus>: 'you mistake that matter for the papists do not hould that pardons take away sinn, but the temporall paine dew to sinn, and say that there is such a power in the Church, w*hi*ch the pope assumes to him self'. And of the Inquisition he saied thus: 'it is a good thing, and it were to be wished that it were in all places of Christendom to bridle mens tongues', and then turning to the reader he saied 'you and I might be long enough in Spaine without feare of the Inquisition if we held our peaces and spake nothing in matters of religion etc'. This was related to M[r] Lab[orne] by a Catholick gentleman, ~~the~~ servant to the qu[een] in ordinary, that saieth he was by, and heard the king say thus much.[824] By this it appeareth that the k[ing] hath ben prettily well informed in these matters, and is better disposed to speake well of his Hol[iness] than some buissy Catholickes are. Even now one writt unto me to give you notice of a certaine [*p. 123*] penitent of the Jes[uits] who within these few daies saied in a great assembly that, if it were lawfull to wish any mans death, he would wish the popes as a turbulent spiritt and partaker with hereticks, to the scandall of the hearers. The same frend of mine wished me also to tell you that Sig*no*r Amarigo,[825] secretary here for the duke of Florence, giveth out speeches here very unworthy about th*e* pope as the bringer in of the Swedes.[826] I think it were good to lett this be knowen bycause this man

[824] For Richard Smith's account, in May 1633, of Charles's words, and in particular of his opinion that 'the Inqui*sici*on was good to keep an uniformitie of religion', see AAW, B 27, no. 117. Smith argued that the king's words showed that this 'was the fittest time to send in a bi*sho*p'.

[825] Amerigo Salvetti, ambassador in England of the grand duke of Tuscany.

[826] A letter from Richard East to Biddulph of 6 February 1633 [misdated in the AAW, A series catalogue to 1632] said that he had heard these remarks made by Salvetti in summer 1632, and that Salvetti blamed him for his remarks being reported to Rome. According to East, 'this Americo [...] is the very fierbrand to kendle the coals of faction heere, the

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is saied to to [*sic*] do as much hurt many waies by the creditt he hath abroad, being much addicted to Tob[ie] Math[ew] and his complices. Here is one Fath[er] Francis,[827] a Franciscan friar held in great esteem by those of his order for a great scholler and preacher. I ame tould for certaine that he hath written a book in Latin wherin he undertakes to make a kind of reconciliation between the Roman and Protestant religion of England, perhaps to comply with the State and gett favour. But it is <a> most dangerous subject and like to do much harme if it be published, and to hinder manies conversion to the Cath[olic] religion, wherfor it is here by the best much disliked. I heare he hath shewed it to M^r^ Preston[828] and others to have their allowance of it but I do not heare what their judgment is of it as yet. These friars do multiply here apace and grow almost as politike in some kinds as the Jes[uits] do, in appropriating residences and penitents wholy to them selves by meanes of their gurdles. I heare there came in lately 8 or 9 at a clapp, but [*p. 124*] some of them as I heare were Irish, who perhaps when they find the sweetnesse of this pasture wilbe loath to leave it for Ireland, and there be to[o] many here already, both Irish and Scottish, who might better be spared.

The last S^t^ George his day the Count Palatin[829] was made k*nigh*t of the garter, as also the duke of Lennox,[830] and I think the <yong> earle of Northumberland,[831] earle of Southampton,[832] and earle of Newcastle,[833] but they are not installed till the king come back from Scotland who intendeth to be not passing 6 weekes away, having appointed to be back at London the 24 of July, and he beginns his journy from hence the 11 of May. 4000 and 500 are registred to go with him, some before and some after, to waite upon him this journy, among whom is my l*or*d treasurer,[834] l*or*d chamberlain,[835] duke of Lennox, marquis [of] Hamilton,[836] l*or*d martiall[837] and others. The qu[een] remaines at Greenwich till he come back. Sweet Jesu blesse

cheefe way the Jes[uits] make use of heere [. . .] to wright abroad what they would have him agaynst the bishop and clergy and to sollicite great personages to discard the clergy, and take Jesuits'; AAW, A XXVI, no. 24, p. 78.

[827] Christopher Davenport OFM, whose name in religion was Francis a Sancta Clara.

[828] Roland (Thomas) Preston OSB. The book was Davenport's *Deus, Natura, Gratia* (Lyons, 1634).

[829] Charles Louis, Elector Palatine of the Rhine. See Hibbard, *CI*, pp. 25–27.

[830] James Stuart, 4th duke of Lennox. See *CSPV, 1632–1636*, p. 102.

[831] Algernon Percy, 10th earl of Northumberland.

[832] Thomas Wriothesley, 4th earl of Southampton.

[833] William Cavendish, 1st earl of Newcastle.

[834] Sir Richard Weston, 1st earl of Portland.

[835] Philip Herbert, 4th earl of Pembroke.

[836] James Hamilton, 3rd marquis of Hamilton.

[837] Thomas Howard, 2nd earl of Arundel.

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him and send him safe both going and coming. The earle of Holland[838] although he be come to court againe yet it is thought he is nothing so much as he was in the k[ing's] favour. Newcastle, who is a Candish,[839] being a very proper man and very moderate, is like to be in good grace, and no doubt my l*or*d treasurer will help it on to oppose Holl[and] the more. Coronel Heburne,[840] a Scott and a Catholik, ~~went~~ is gonn into Scotland to leavy a regiment of 2000, and he saied he would gett as many Catholickes as he could. Perhaps there was some intention hereby to p*ro*vide for the k[ing's] security this journy, though the souldiars be for France, w*hic*h the Spanniards <here> are displeased with. [*word deleted*] I heare that o*ur* English monkes who had an abby given them in Westfalia by the emperor are driven out by the [*p. 125*] Swedish forces,[841] and have lost all their moveables. They made 500[l] per annum every yeare, and in time would have doubled the rent. They were in good credit there, and the superior was abbot of the place, and they read divinity there publickly with applause. God knowes whether this be not a punnishment to them for their opposition here.

The duke of Lennox doth give it out that he will not marry these 7 yeares, yet there are good grounds ~~that he~~ to think that ~~he~~ there is a mariage in store for him by the k[ing's] appointment, videlicet one of the Lady Eliz[abeth's] daughters, the k[ing's] neece. But this is a great secrett, and therfor use it soe there.

No more but all woonted good wishes.

26 Aprill 1633.

Herewith you shall receave certaine scandalous cases lately happened.[842]

[838] Henry Rich, 1st earl of Holland.

[839] i.e. Cavendish.

[840] Sir John Hepburn.

[841] The Abbey of Rintelin, tenanted by English monks (Clement Reyner OSB and fifteen others) in 1632, was taken by Gustavus Adolphus. See Lunn, *EB*, p. 171.

[842] This is a reference to AAW, A XXVII, no. 111 (1633), which cites various alleged instances of scandal caused by members of the religious orders:

'1. Between F[ather] Alexander Baker al*ia*s Saunders and Mr Ed[ward] Courtney about jewells and plate imbezeled away from his father S*ir* William Courtney [of Powderham; see F.T. Colby (ed.), *The Visitation of the County of Devon in the Year 1620* (Harleian Society 6, 1872), p. 247] 5 or 6 yeares agoe.

2. Between F[ather] Andrew White and Mr Jo[hn] March, S*ir* Will[iam] Courtneys man about mooving his maister to give ~~all to the~~ <himself wholy to> the Jesuitts direction spiritually and temporally by means of the spir[itual] exercise.

3. Between F[ather] Rich[ard] Blunt and M*ist*ris Kirkame then [a] widdow about speaking the words of matrimony to yong Francis Ploydon, reserving her intention, about two yeares agoe.

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No address.

[*on p. 121*]

Endorsed: 26 Aprill 1633.

45. Clerk [John Southcot] to Fitton [Peter Biddulph], 7 June 1633

[*AAW, B 27, no. 120*][843]

Sir,

The last week we wrote unto you, and sent you a letter enclosed for his Holinesse from the clergy, w*hi*ch we desire may come safe. This week we receaved yours of the 14 of May to M[r] Lab[orne] wherin you write that it is determined my lord[844] shall have a successor, but you know not who it is nor what his power shalbe. Here the reg[ulars] do give out that we shall have 3 b*isho*ps and an archb*isho*p,[845] and they seem indeed

4. Between F[ather] Knott and Mary Winn about consenting to ly with the L*or*d Baltimor, a yeare and a half agoe, etc.

5. Between F[ather] Faulkener and <M[r] Darcy with> divers poor people whose monies he took up, ~~and~~ to the valew in all of 2000[l], not paying either rent or capital, to the undoing of some of them, 5 or 6 yeares agoe.

6. Between F[ather] Gray al*ias* Anderton and Mr Will[iam] Worthington about marrieing M[ris] Penelope Perkins two yeares since.

7. Between M[ris] Clopton and her Jes[uit] ghostly father [Charles Thursby SJ] p*er*mitting her to place her daughter with heretickes and to suffer her to be so bread, in hope of preferment ag*ain*st the childes desire.

8. Between F[ather] Altham [i.e. John Grosvenor SJ] and S*ir* Robert Brook about his denieing him absolution for not disposing some thinges as he advised, three yeares agoe and more. [See Hughes, *HSJ*, pp. 230–231.]

9. Between D*oct*or Mettam and ould M[ris] Parrham about the setling of 20[l] per an*n*um upon him during her life for w*hi*ch his heires do now sue in the courts of justice, M[r] [Humphrey (Placid)] Peto, a Benedictine, supporting the sute which yet depends.

10. Between M[r] Peto the monk and S*ir* William Sturtons man about a sum*m*e of mony for w*hi*ch he caused the man to be arrested 3 yeares since.

11. Between F[ather] Alexander Fairclough and the Lady Mordan[t]s steward about monies dew to the saied steward for w*hi*ch he sued Fairclough in the open court 2 yeares since.

12. Between M[r] Christopher Barrowes and M[ris] Hanfords sonn who arrested him and charged him with fellony within this twel[ve]month. [See Anstr., II, p. 18.]'

[843] AAW, B 27 is unpaginated.

[844] Richard Smith.

[845] See *Letters 5*, *14*, *18*, *26*, *28*. On 7/17 June 1633 Smith notified Biddulph that the Jesuits in England were spreading rumours both that Rome would appoint Smith as an archbishop over the English Catholics (causing the Jesuit general to threaten the withdrawal of all Jesuits from the country), and that shortly Smith would return 'with ful authoritie', but they did

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to beleeve it, but I do not think that so many wilbe made togeather. Perhaps in time and by degrees we shall come to have them, and no doubt it were needfull for the good government of this Church that so many were made, bycause neither the reg[ulars] nor the State would then have any hope to suppresse ep*iscop*all authority, being setled in so many, and, the faculties of missionaries being once well ordered, they would quickly bring all things here to a good passe, and <the laity> to some conformity and unity of minds who are now pittifully divided amongst them selves by reason of their ghostly fathers differences. Yow write that you have given up a forme of faculties to be approved for all missionaries, and a particuler forme besides ~~for so~~ of such as are to be reserved to the b*isho*p. We desire to see these formes, and therfor pray you to send us a coppy by the next as also ~~of~~ coppies of any other memoriall or paper w*hi*ch you give to the pope or congreg*aci*on[846] at any time, partly for o*ur* own better instruction here, and partly for future memory to be registred in the com*m*on booke. Particulerly we desire to see the Benedictins memoriall, and your answer touching the taking away of cords, scapulars, com*m*unicacion of meritts, etc*eter*a. You write nothing [*word deleted*] concerning my l*or*ds advancement in case he be sent back hither with sufficient authority, w*hi*ch is a matter much to be stood upon both for his honour and the generall interest of all b*isho*ps, seeing there hath bin nothing prooved ag*ain*st him that deserves deprivation, and indeed hath donn nothing for w*hi*ch he doth not rather deserve to be rewarded. And you may assure them there that it wilbe a great scandall here both to Catholicks and hereticks if the Sea Apostolick do abandon him without reward or advancement only for the clamors and violences of his adversaries, and wilbe an ill example in the Church, and of dangerous consequence for future times. We wrote a com*m*on letter not long since to Card[inal] Richelieu to desire his intercession and the French kings for my l*or*ds advancement to be cardinall, but we heare not what impression it makes in him. It was sent by Mons*ieu*r Roch[847] his meanes to the cardinall. Here o*ur* adversaries do consult amongst them selves and with their lay freinds about their businesse, w*hi*ch we imagin to be chiefly to keep of[f] bishops or at least to hinder their authority as much as they can. Fa[ther] John Worthington no doubt shall carry with him some instructions to this purpose who is not yet gonn from hence. He tould

this only to 'annoye o*ur* brethren' and to ensure that they 'write not to Rome but think them selves sure'; AAW, A XXVII, no. 61, p. 179. For the Jesuit general's worries, aired in a letter of December 1633 to Richard Blount, about the appointment of new bishops in England, see ARSJ, Anglia MS 1/iii, fo. 384r.

[846] The Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith.

[847] Michel Masle, prieur des Roches, who served as Richelieu's secretary. See Allison, RSGB, II, pp. 247, 280.

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one also (as I wrote to you before) that he bringeth a com*m*and to you from your father to come away; but I do not see what power he hath to com*m*and any such thing, for you were long time emancipatus and extra patriam potestatem for such matters.

What hath been written formerly to you of the calme we enjoy from the violence of persecution, and of the good disposition that is in many principall statesmen, is most true, and the Jes[uits] cannot contradict it without wronging them and us, and abusing the cardinalls and his Hol[iness]. And that you may beleeve this the rather, we shall answer to any particuler that shalbe objected to the contrary, and if need be shew particuler examples to confirme that w*hi*ch we have written touching this point, wherin for the present I remitt you to the sum*m*arium de rebus religi*o*nis[848] w*hi*ch I sent you in February. A westerne gentleman tould me no longer agoe than yesterday that a Protestant of his acquaintance assured him that in all Devonshire and Cornwall (w*hi*ch were woont to be the most puritannicall countries of England), of so many hundred lecturers and puritan preachers that have bin formerly knowen there, there are not passing two or three now left in all the country, and that the country is notoriously changed within these two yeares, and become quite of an other spiritt.[849] The like may be saied of other shires, and no doubt generally the whole realme is much altered to the better in point of moderation, and never were there known more temperat and well disposed ministers than now, in so much that, with a little diligence and good order, many conversions are likely to be made. But these men that cannot endure to heare this reported of the state of our country are such as are averted also from o*u*r Catholike queen and from his Hol[iness] him self, of whom they speake most irreligiously and disloyally (not only untruly) and spread false and foule reports of them to the scandall of the hearers. M^{r} Longvile heard a Jes[uit] in Kent, one Henry Hawkins,[850] say openly in compagny that our Catholick queen did us no more good than if she were an heretick. An other concealed

[848] See *Letter 34*.

[849] For an assessment of the religious temper of pre-Civil-War Devonshire, see M. Stoyle, *Loyalty and Locality: Popular Allegiance in Devon during the English Civil War* (Exeter, 1994), chs 10, 11. Stoyle notes in particular the Exeter Cathedral establishment's reputation for Arminianism (*ibid.*, pp. 205–206), but he argues that Joseph Hall's tenure of power as bishop of Exeter from 1627 to 1642 'enabled Devon puritanism to emerge from the Personal Rule largely intact', although, in 1634, even Hall could be found taking action against radicals; *ibid.*, pp. 186, 194. On Hall's rule in Exeter, see K. Fincham and P. Lake, 'Popularity, prelacy and puritanism in the 1630s: Joseph Hall explains himself', *English Historical Review*, 111 (1996), pp. 856–881, at pp. 869–877.

[850] See Anstr., II, p. 152.

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Jes[uit], who calls him self William Walgrave,[851] tould M^r^ Farrar[852] his fellow prisoner[853] that the queen refused to ask any favour of the king for Catholicks at his going now into Scotland, and particularly she refused to gett the pursevants warrants taken from them.[854] Other particulers there are divers in this kind to[o] long to be related. In confirmation also of what I saied before, touching the goodnesse of the times, I may add that, since the king went for Scotland, no search hath bin made either in citty or country, that I heare of, in so much that some say all com*m*issions for searchings are taken away. All publick chappells are mightily frequented without disturbance. Prisoners goe freely abroad without restraint. M^r^ Dade,[855] superior of the Dominicans, is particulerly warranted to go freely where he will, and Secretary Windebank charged his keeper to give him this freedom. It is a shame we should be so ungratefull to his Ma*jes*ty and the State when the favours are so manifest. Neither are compositions so intolerable as they seem to make them. For wheras they report that the king taketh a full third part, it is nowhere true, but ~~of~~ at the most of some few a forth [*two words deleted*] <and generally> a fift part, who by the law might take two parts from all convicted recusants.

I refer particuler newes if there be any to M^r^ Lab[orne]. Many tales have bin reported since the k[ing's] departure of deaths and daungers, but they are all fictions. The king, God be thanked, is well, being yet in the skirts of England. The queen is also well and with child. The prince hath bin ill of late, but I hope on the mending hand. There are two ~~<brothers>~~ noble men of Flanders lately come hither, the one is the Prince of Chemey and the other his brother, to see the country.[856] They have bin feasted by divers and by the queen also and now they are gonn to overtake the king and to see his coronation in Scotland. W. Johnes is <their conducter>.

I forgott to tell you that a certaine Jes[uit] pr[iest] demanded of an other pr[iest] that had bin a Jes[uit] (hearing that we were to have

[851] William Waldegrave was a secular priest who was known to be hostile to Richard Smith. He had been released from the New prison in January 1633; *ibid.*, p. 332; VA, PD, fo. 79r.

[852] William Harewell. He had served as Bishop William Bishop's secretary in 1623, and continued in the same office under Richard Smith. He had been arrested in 1628; Anstr., II, p. 145; CRS, 22, p. 173. Up to this point he had been resident with the countess of Banbury, who was now the wife of Lord Vaux; PRO, SP 16/529/94, fo. 146v.

[853] See Anstr., II, pp. 145, 332; PRO, SP 16/118/25; AAW, A XXVI, no. 164, p. 495.

[854] Some Jesuits, notably Robert Jenison, made statements of this kind to Gregorio Panzani about Henrietta Maria; VA, PD, fo. 51r.

[855] Thomas Middleton OP.

[856] For Albert d'Arenberg, prince of Chimey, and Philippe d'Arenberg, count of Beaumont, see *CSPV*, *1632–1636*, pp. 111, 117, 141, 148; Loomie, *Ceremonies of Charles I*, pp. 141, 317.

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more b*isho*ps) whether it were a mortall sinn to seek to hinder it by meanes of the State, by w*hi*ch it appeares how these men are minded and how strang[e]ly they are bent ag*ain*st ep*iscop*all power. Sed durum est contra stimulum calcitrare.

I forgott also to tell you that one Alexander Baker, a Jes[uit], lieth in or near Cambridg seeking to draw the towardliest youths from thence w*hi*ch they can gett. The like they intend at Oxford. In this they are <to> be com*m*ended for their zeale and diligence, but the clergy, if they had government, should chiefly attend to this.

I com*m*ended the last week D[octor] Champneis buissenesse to y*our* care as a thing not only concerning him (whose creditt we ought to preserve) but the whole clergy also, and therfor I wished you to sue for his clearing and for the ending of the whole cause depending in the Congreg*ac*ion of Regulars,[857] in the clergies name, as we determined in o*ur* last consult it should be donn. There are some new and some ould scandals w*hi*ch perhaps have not bin yet certified unto you concerning divorces and the like; but as now I have them not ready to send you.

So with all woonted remembrances I rest.

7 June 1633.

Addressed: Pour Mons*ieu*r Fitton.

Endorsed: Clerk. 7 Jun[e].
About papers he would have mee to send.
About Jesuitts that speake against the q[ueen].
About one who would complain to the State against b*isho*ps.

46. Clerk [John Southcot] to [Peter Biddulph], 14 June 1633

[*AAW, A XXVII, no. 60, pp. 173–176*]

Sir,

This week I had one from you of the 21 May. I ame glad to heare that F[ather] Alessandro[858] doth so good offices there for the clergy. He hath more true understanding of o*ur* affaires than Fa[ther] Leonard[859] or any of the French Capuc[hins] and lesse interest to draw him from indifferency. I remember you wrote from Paris <long since> that the

[857] For the Congregation of Regulars, see Codignola, *CHL*, pp. 66, 127.

[858] Alessandro d'Ales. See Hughes, 'The conversion of Charles I', pp. 120–121. He assisted with the mission to Rome of Robert Douglas in October 1633. Douglas sought the promotion of a British cleric, George Con, to the rank of cardinal; VA, PD, fos 24r–5r.

[859] Provincial of the French Capuchins.

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French Capucins proposed to them selves certaine projects here for the enlargment of their order, w*hi*ch it seemes they go in hand to execute by the Jes[uits'] help, who no doubt laugh at them in their sleeves, and in the end will serve them as they have donn the monkes and Dominicans, who now find them selves in the lurch. Since I wrote to you the last week the superiour of the Dominicans[860] was with me, and he complained greevously of the Jesuitts proceeding with him of late having taken some penitents from him that were very beneficiall to him. He saied also that the monkes were served by them in like manner and therfor were weary of their freindship, and he wished us to make some overture to them of a new league by occasion of their general chapter w*hi*ch is to be held in Doway in August next. But I find little disposition in o*ur* brethren here to any such league w*i*th the monkes, considering their violent proceeding heertofore[861] and their unsinceare dealing now, their agent[862] at Rome being still combined with the Jes[uits], as you write, ag*ain*st b*isho*ps here. They are so divided amongst them selves that o*ur* frendship with them would little availe us. I heare there are five severall excommunicacions come from their generall and generall chapter in Spaine to be served uppon five particuler monkes here that will not be ruled by their superiours here,[863] wherof one I heare is Peto,[864] an other Chambers,[865] the other 3 I know not, unles Wilford[866] be one, as some say he is. Neither do I know what the cause is in p*ar*ticuler unlesse it be for detaining certaine monies dew to the monastery by the death of one Norton,[867] a monk that had an estate in the world, w*hi*ch he left to the monastery of Doway. M^{r} Lab[orne] saies he wrote to you long since of this project w*hi*ch the French Capucins have with the Jesuitts about erecting a nunnery in France to be guided by the Jes[uits], but I hope therin the clergy will prevent them for they have obtained already a graunt of it in Paris and M^{r} Car[868] is now here to gett some gentlewomen with

[860] Thomas Middleton OP.

[861] See D. Lunn, 'Benedictine opposition to Bishop Richard Smith (1625–1629)', *RH*, 11 (1971–1972), pp. 1–20.

[862] Richard (Wilfrid) Selby OSB. See Dockery, *CD*, p. 78; B. Weldon, *Chronological Notes containing the Rise, Growth, and Present State of the English Congregation of the Order of St. Benedict* (Stanbrook, 1881), pp. 169, 182; *Letters 83*, *84*.

[863] See *Letter 52*; Lunn, *EB*, pp. 149–150. I am grateful to Geoffrey Scott for advice on this point.

[864] Humphrey (Placid) Peto OSB.

[865] William Johnson OSB.

[866] Peter (Boniface) Wilford OSB.

[867] John Norton OSB, who had died in 1631.

[868] Miles Pinckney.

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good portions.[869] God speed it well, but for my part I affect not such courses, and in my opinion the clergy hath to[o] much to do already with Lisboa college[870] and with the nun*n*ery of Bruxelles, yet I shall be ready to concurr with the rest, and follow the major part. In our last consult we concluded that, in case Fa[ther] Fitzherbert should dye, you should sue by a particuler memoriall in the clergies name to have [*p. 174*] that college restored to the clergy, and to take it quite out of the Jes[uits'] hands, and to this end it is thought convenient that you should have such a memoriall ready drawen with such motives and reasons in writing as may moove his Holinesse therunto. If you look emongst these papers w*hi*ch D[octor] Bossevile carried w*i*th him, you will find particuler reasons for this purpose to w*hi*ch you may add what you think good. I pray consult this point with y*ou*r sure freinds there and send us y*ou*r opinion and theirs by the next post. If the clergy be not able to furnish men to governe it presently, lett it be depositated [*sic*] in the hands of some of the oblati[871] or of the chiesa nuova[872] priests or some such indifferent men till the clergy can provide, but the Jes[uits] were to be presently remooved and, to the end there may be lesse opposition from them, the matter must be carried with that

[869] Francis Barber (half-brother of Stephen Barnes, chaplain to the Augustinian convent at Louvain, and a supporter of Richard Smith; AAW, A X, no. 135, p. 387; Anstr., I, p. 24; II, p. 15) reported to Smith from Douai on 3 August 1633 that Miles Pinckney was 'like to be here this night with some gentlewomen, he having taken shipping at London the 28 of our July last'. He noted also that 'Dame Mary [Letitia (Mary) Tredway] remembers her humble service unto your lordship, and will rest [. . .] indifferent to tacke whom it shall please' Smith, Pinckney 'and her superiours to permitt to begine with her' for her Augustinian foundation at Paris, where she would become the first abbess; AAW, A XXVII, no. 80, p. 237. Under the influence of George Leyburn, she had decided to found her convent in the French capital rather than at Douai, the aim being to keep its spiritual direction firmly in the hands of the secular clergy and avoid the divisions which had arisen at Brussels, even though Pinckney had wanted to see it set up at Douai; A.F. Allison, 'The English Augustinian Convent of Our Lady of Syon at Paris: its foundation and struggle for survival during the first eighty years, 1634–1713', *RH*, 21 (1993), pp. 451–496, at pp. 456–458. Permission was obtained in March 1633 from Louis XIII to set up the house under English secular clergy control and under the authority of the archbishop of Paris. On 23 March/2 April 1633 she wrote to Smith from Douai thanking him for his assistance; AAW, A XXVII, no. 33, p. 93. After opposition from Archbishop Gondi of Paris was finally overridden, with Richelieu's assistance, the convent was opened in early 1634 in the Faubourg St Michel; Allison, RSGB, II, pp. 273–276. Pinckney collected Tredway from Douai (where she was a member of the Augustinian community of Notre Dame de Beaulieu), and she was instituted as abbess by Smith on 16/26 March 1634; AAW, B 27, no. 113; Allison, RSGB, II, pp. 271–277. Pinckney's *St Austin's Rule translated out of his 109. Epistle Verbatim* (Paris, 1636); ARCR, I, no. 643, is dedicated to Smith.

[870] The college of Saints Peter and Paul at Lisbon.

[871] The Oblates of St Ambrose (a congregation of secular priests founded by Charles Borromeo in 1578).

[872] The Congregation of the Oratory.

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privacy, and their remoovall must be com*m*anded so sodainly, that they can have no time to practise or resist. But, if this cannot be obtained as we desire, at least we must sue for a clergy man to be confessarius <and an other to be> procurator of the college to see the schollers well bredd to the end of the seminary, and their monies well spent to the same end.

Amongst other faculties reserved to the b*ishop* lett one be that [no] bookes be printed in English without his leave, for in this there is a great abuse, and much trouble and scandal comes to us for waunt of good order herein.

I saw an advertisment given to a freind of mine lately touching a book of one Franciscus Mendoza Soc[ietatis] Jesu doctor theologus. The title of the book is Viridarium Sacrae et Profanae Eruditionis. He hath this question: utrum nobis utilius sit Jesu nomen sanctissimum implorare an nomen Mariae, and therin hath these words: admitto virginem et Christum aequali ferme apud Deum authoritate valituros; and againe, dicere possem Christi et virginis intercessionem aequalis fere momenti esse apud Deum.[873] I pray you look into the book, and if you find these propositions there you may do well to putt them up to the Inquisition, for here o*ur* heretiques are much scandalized with them, and indeed not without reason for they sound blasphemously.

M^r^ Duckett[874] is resolved to begin his jorney towards you in August. But he desires first to heare from you about the safest way, as by the enclosed from him self you may perceave. It is not possible for him to bring [*p. 175*] doggs with him, but knives I hope he will bring such as you desire, and I have desired M^r^ Lab[orne] to buy them presently to whom I delivered the 50^s^ for that purpose, left you by M^r^ Ed[ward] Skinner.[875]

We have not much newes stirring. The king is newly entered into Scotland safe and sound, God be thanked. The queen is quick with child. The prince is well recovered againe, and the princesse is well. For persecution we have as great a calme as ever we had, God continew it long. The grand aulmner[876] hath certified so much to the nonce[877] in Paris of late as I heare, w*hi*ch will have some authority with it.

[873] Francisco de Mendonça, *Viridarium Sacrae ac Profanae Eruditionis [. . .]. Posthuma Proles*, 2 vols (Cologne, 1633), I, book 3, pp. 67–75 (quotations at p. 70).

[874] In August 1633 Smith informed Biddulph that he had written to England to 'hasten M^r^ Ducket of whome as yet I hear nothing'; AAW, A XXVII, no. 87, p. 253.

[875] See *Letter 32*.

[876] Jacques le Noël Du Perron.

[877] Cardinal Alessandro Bichi.

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This is what occurreth for the present. So in hast, I rest.

14 June 1633.

Our antibishopists are much terrified with the newes of 3 or 4 b*isho*ps[878] and they labour all they can to hinder it, having many consults and meetings amongst them selves and with the Jesuitts to that purpose. But I hope his Hol[iness] will not be deterred by them any more for in fine they dare do nothing, and wilbe quickly husht when they see his Hol[iness] resolute in the buissenesse. But delaies do emboulden them.[879] They make the Spanish resident[880] their instrument herein, as they did Don Carlos,[881] by way of a nationall faction.

In any case you must complaine by a particuler memoriall to the congreg*ation*[882] that the last pr[iests] <from Rome> were remitted in their faculties ad archipresbyterum Angliae w*hi*ch argues an intolerable pride and spleen in the superiours of that college that do not vouchsafe to give my l*or*d his title and gett it to be effectually remedied in the next as also that the rector be obliged to certify the clergies agent some time before of the nu*m*ber and sufficiency of those that are sent and that the pr[iest] be bo[u]nd to come to the agent for his letters of com*m*endation to the superior here.

No address.

[*on p. 176*]

Endorsed: Clerk. 14 Jun[e].
About the provinciall of the Dominicans complaints against the Jesuitts.
About 5 Benedictines excom*m*unicated.
About recovering this colledg.
About the faculties of the last mission ad archipresbyterum.

[878] On 26 July/5 August 1633 Smith wrote to Biddulph that he was glad Biddulph's letter of 23 June/3 July was so hopeful that three bishops would be appointed 'and I writ your very words to o*ur* brethren in England'. From England, Smith had received 'the copies of the patents of the 2 presidents of York and Wales', which had also been dispatched to Biddulph; and Smith now sent a map of the proposed sees, 'marked [. . .] with read oker'; AAW, B 27, no. 125. See *Letter 5*.

[879] In fact, in March 1633, Smith had reported to Biddulph that 'by the nonce [Bichi] it seem[s] we are to have but one b*isho*p for he told me that they who p*ro*tect the Catholiks (who this should be he told not) wold that we had a b*isho*p but no more, for this time, than one least it shold offend the estate', and said that Smith should return to England, though evidently Smith was not keen to go; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 22, p. 59.

[880] Juan de Necolalde.

[881] Carlos Coloma. See *Letter 3*.

[882] The Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith.

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47. Clerk [John Southcot] to Fitton [Peter Biddulph], 5 July 1633

[*AAW, B 47, no. 60*]

Sir,

This week we have yours of the 11 of June written to M^r^ Lab[orne]. For my self, I cannot write at large by reason of my remoovall to a new lodging where I am buisied in ordering my things. I was wished by your brother Worthington[883] to lett you know that he heareth nothing as yet of the breve which (as you wrote unto him) you procured to the archb*isho*p of Mecklin[884] to examin his buissenesse, and he desireth you by y*ou*r next to certify him whether the breve were sent or no, and by what meanes. All other occurrences I must refer to M^r^ Lab[orne] being not at leasure my self. Only this I must add in answer to the contents of your letter touching Fa[ther] Hyacinth the Capucin[885] that it were good you dealt with their chief superiour there to hinder their missions into Cath[olics'] privat houses as they desire, as a thing which will infallibly proove prejudiciall to their order in time, and make them loose that esteem which now they have, besides that it will cause much opposition not only in the ~~Jes[uits] but~~ secul[ar] clergy but in ~~the reg[ulars]~~ all English missionaries ag*ain*st them, and they wilbe able to do little go[od] for the true advancement of religion.

I spake this day with Fa[ther] White[886] and Fa[ther] Price,[887] the superior and definitor of the monkes, and find them ready to embrace peace with the clergy upon assurance that they shall not be prejudiced in their mission here, and they offer to bring back at their rettourne a full com*m*ission from their generall chapter (to be held at Doway in August) to treat ~~in that~~ and conclude in that kind. I have not yet propounded this to o*ur* brethren but I intend the next consult to do it. I see by them that they are weary of the Jes[uits]. We are in hand to write a com*m*on letter to my l*or*d[888] againe to invite him to rettourne, or else ~~to~~ <we will> threaten him that we will seek help otherwise, bycause we must needs have a b*isho*p to be o*ur* head. No more but all

[883] William Worthington.

[884] Jacques Boonen, who had become archbishop of Mechlin in 1621; P. Arblaster, 'The infanta and the English Benedictine nuns: Mary Percy's memories in 1634', *RH*, 23 (1997), pp. 508–527, at pp. 525–526; P. Guilday, *The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent 1558–1795* (London, 1914), pp. 209, 260, 261, 263, 264.

[885] See *CSPV, 1632–1636*, p. 45; Hughes, 'The conversion of Charles I', p. 121.

[886] William (Claude) White OSB, who was president general of the English Benedictines in 1633; Bellenger, *EWP*, p. 242.

[887] William (Benedict) Jones OSB.

[888] Richard Smith.

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woonted salutes. The king hath had 100^{m} pounds sterling given him by the Scots,[889] and hath brought their church service to the English fashion, as I heare.[890] His Ma*jes*ty will be back within this fortnight, and hath already dismissed all the nobles. The Scottish did far exceed the English in bravery.

Adieu, in hast. 5 July 1633.

Addressed: Pour Mons*ieu*r Fitton a Rome.

Endorsed: Clerk. 5 July.
Concerning the Cappucines mission.

48. Fountyne [George Leyburn] to Fitton [Peter Biddulph], 5 July 1633

[*AAW, A XXVII, no. 65, pp. 187–188*]

Worthie good sir,

This week I receaved onely one from you directed to my selfe. M^{r} Clerck[891] haith it, soe th*a*t I cannot expresse the date. I am sorrie th*a*t the Capucins should proceed in th*a*t nature, and they will see their owne error at last. Notwithstanding, my maister[892] writeth from Paris th*a*t he is confident th*a*t they are not against episcopall authority, seeing th*a*t Pere Joseph[893] often speaketh and defendeth the necessity of th*a*t authority in our contry. Howsoever I am certayne th*a*t they here co*m*plye w*i*th the Jesuists, and never did any one good office for us.

I doe commend unto you thes inclosed conclusions w*hi*ch were defended 3 dayes aggoe in a publick Act att Cambridge.[894] I doe imagine th*a*t the pope will be glad to read them. A minister lately did preach using this text Ave Maria gratia plena.[895] And his sermon was in the praise of the Blessed Virgine.

I beseech you in the name of all our friends th*a*t you will often inculcate the great miserie and hurt w*hi*ch doth happen unto the clergie here, in th*a*t the Jesuists have the power to make and send

[889] Walter Yonge noted that Charles had obtained '6 subsidies which amounte unto 600000^{l} in 6 yeres'; BL, Additional MS 35331, fo. 52r. See Sharpe, *PR*, pp. 781–782.

[890] For the liturgical arrangements made for Charles in Scotland, see *ibid.*, pp. 780–781, 782.

[891] John Southcot.

[892] Richard Smith.

[893] François Joseph le Clerc du Tremblay.

[894] See *Letter 49*.

[895] See *Letter 49*.

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priests into England. Here is the rout of many mischeefs. For generally thes men are either factious, being in voto Jesuists, or unlearned and very ignorant. This is a poynt of as great consequence as is the busines of establishing episcopall authority.

Other occurrences are onely th*a*t our king was crown[e]d w*i*th great solemnity. The next week he feasteth the Scotch nobility at Barwick, and is exspected here the 25 of this month. Sweet Jesus make you happie in all your affayres.

Y*ou*r humble servant. London, July 5 1633.

Fountyne

I doe thinke th*a*t if M^{r} Barklay should write unto the treasurer here and informe him of passages w*hi*ch concerneth our king th*a*t it would be well accepted.

[*on p. 188*]

Addressed: A Mons*ieu*r Monsieur [*sic*] Fitton a Rome.

Endorsed: Laborn. 5 July.
Concerning the priests sent from hence into England.

49. Clerk [John Southcot] to Fitton [Peter Biddulph], 19 July 1633

[*AAW, A XXVII, no. 74, pp. 221–224*][896]

Sir,

I have yours of the 25th June togeather with the avisi and with the other papers w*hi*ch you gave up in y*ou*r relation for w*hi*ch I hartely thank you and much com*m*end y*ou*r diligence and judgment therin being [*word deleted*] couched togeather in that manner w*hi*ch is likeliest to moove there and to be a meanes to obtaine that we seek for. But I pray God the party you trust to write such coppies be faithfull and true, for I have heard that some of our former agents have bin betraied by such men heretofore, and they have given coppies to o*ur* adversaries. I have not yet understood by any of these later letters from you whether you receaved the sum*m*arium[897] and those 4 packetts dated at the end of Januar[y] and begining of Febr[uary] w*hi*ch I signified unto you in my

[896] Passages on p. 222 of this letter are marked and numbered in the margin. Presumably it was intended that they should be translated and copied into reports shown to curial officials in Rome.

[897] See *Letter 34*.

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former I was desirous to heare of, fearing that they were miscaried all, bycause none of y*our* letters w*hi*ch I receaved ~~ever~~ made any mention therof.

When M^r^ Innis[898] cometh, he shalbe acquainted as you desire with the avisi, but, being converted by a Capucin, do you think he may be trusted therwith?

They write to us from Paris that the Capucins were the authours of those reports at R[ome] against the qu[een] and Fa[ther] Phil[ip] and that they expect to have great matters from Ro[me] but wilbe deceaved, and in truth it were strang[e] that Fa[ther] Hyacinth or any other straunger should make them beleeve there that French Capucins should be fitt missionaries and usefull for England, and that a b*isho*p or b*isho*ps should be hurtfull. We begin to feare that the shew the cardinalls made of reforming faculties was but a florish for the time to give content. But I pray solicit hard that it may go forward and that o*ur* maine buissenesse may bee ended. We intend shortly to write an other peremptory letter to my l*or*d[899] to call him home, and to tell him that, if he wil not come, we will provide otherwise for our selves. We propose also to write to the two nonces, ordinary[900] and extraordinary,[901] by the grand aulmner[902] who hath leave for some months to go over. It is thought <by some> he shalbe made b*isho*p ere he come back but I know not what ground [there is] for it.

I will look out an other coppy of the parlament table for you,[903] and send you the explication of it if I can learne it my self.

For newes, I can write little this week, only this, [which] M^r^ Lab[orne] tould me he had from a freind at court, that there is an intention to treat with his Hol[iness] after the k[ing] rettournes hither wherby good must needs follow to Cathol[ics] here. What the particular subject of the treaty is, I do not know, but will endeavour to learne. All things here go on more and more in a moderat way, and this chiefly by my l*or*d of Londons[904] meanes. There is now an order made [*p. 222*] that service shalbe saied in Latin in the universitie colleges all daies but Sundaies.[905] Altars are dressed up in [*word deleted*] <most> churches collegiat and cathedrals alla Catolica with candles

[898] Not identified. See *Letter 53*.
[899] Richard Smith.
[900] Cardinal Alessandro Bichi.
[901] François Adrien de Ceve. See PRO, SP 78/91, fo. 130r.
[902] Jacques le Noël Du Perron.
[903] See *Letter 36*.
[904] William Laud.
[905] Cf. Laud, *Works*, V, pp. 156–157.

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and crucifix[es].[906] The k[ing] hath discountenanced the puritans exceedingly in this his journy,[907] and refused to heare puritan ministers preach in severall places. He caused also in a place in Lincolnshire certaine boies to be whipt that presented him a petition in the name of a puritan minister that durst not do it him self. He countenanced Doctor Cosens,[908] prebend of Durham, and made him be sworne his chaplen for dressing up his church <and altar> after the Catholick manner contrary to the use of Morton[909] the b*isho*p there. There was a minister that preached upon the Ave Maria in praise of O*u*r Lady at Northampton <(a puritan town)> and, being accused by his paritioners to the high com*m*ission court, he produced his sermon there and then to justify it to the court, and so was dismissed to his cure againe.

The pursivants have donn little in the country as yet (saving only in one or two houses in Norfolk) and lesse in London. And generally it is confessed that we never had a greater calme since the queene came in than now. God continew it. The compositions go on slowly. Some are strained high, but they are such as can pay well, and it is not any desire of persecution but only the kings waunt that enforceth it.[910]

[906] Smith had commented in February 1633 that 'some bishops set up alters, images and candels and doe confirme, and they [are] severely punished who eate flesh on Fridayes', and Southcot had recently sent 'a longe relation' to Bichi, the nuncio in Paris, 'of the like matters'; AAW, B 27, no. 116. Cardinal del Bagno ascribed the restoring of crosses in churches directly to Laud; VA, PD, fo. 25r.

For the 'Laudian' altar policy, see J. Davies, *The Caroline Captivity of the Church* (Oxford, 1992), ch. 6; Sharpe, *PR*, pp. 285, 333–345; K. Fincham, 'The restoration of altars in the 1630s', *Historical Journal*, 44 (2001), pp. 919–940; K. Fincham and N. Tyacke, *Altars Restored: the Changing Face of English Religious Worship, c. 1547–1700* (forthcoming). For an account of why 'Laudian' attitudes to the definition of holy space, and particularly to the altar, were likely to be recognized by contemporaries as innovatory, see P. Lake, 'The Laudian style: order, uniformity and the pursuit of the beauty of holiness in the 1630s', in K. Fincham (ed.), *The Early Stuart Church 1603–1642* (London, 1993), pp. 161–185, at pp. 174–178.

[907] Charles's journey to Scotland.

[908] John Cosin.

[909] Thomas Morton, bishop of Durham.

[910] See AAW, A XXVIII, no. 66, p. 279 ('The Immunities graunted by his Majestie to recusants in their leases upon composition', dated, by Southcot on p. 280, to 1635):

'1. First that noe com*m*issions or summons of pipe or other proces out of the exchequ*e*r or other courts shall issue forth against the landes or goodes of the recusant or his executo*u*rs or administrators or shall trouble or molest him or his wife or his tenants during his lease for his recusancy.

2. That his landes shalbe free from all seisures.

3. That hee may lett or sett his landes or any p*ar*te thereof to any p*er*son or p*er*sons.

4. That he may receave and take the rentes thereof to his owne use notw*i*thstanding the statute of 3^{o} Jacobi.

5. That noe clarke of the assise or of the peace shall make out any warrant or writt for his or his wives appearance att the assizes or quarter sessions.

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The king is expected here at London to morrow being the 20 of the month. He hath receaved and given all content in Scotland as I formerly wrote unto you. Some think the good successe he hath had with the parliament there will draw on a parlament here also ere long. But I beleeve the puritans must be somewhat more abated.

M^r Henry Wilford having had an inhibition from the prerogative court not to marry, at the sute of M^ris Mary Suliard[911] who claimed him for her husband, the time being expired and no cause brought ag*ain*st him by his adversary, hath since maried the <former> party[912] who is a Prot[estant]. The mariage was not made nor counselled by any clergy man,[913] tho[ugh] he belong to the clergy, but by one Cocks,[914] a Benedictine, by the appointment (as I heare) of M^r Peter Wilford a Benedictine also, the gentlewomans uncle. Now the other party comenceth an other sute in the saied spirituall court against him, and it is like to proove very foule and scandalous.[915]

6. That hee and his wife shalbe freed from excommunicac*i*ons and all other ecclesiasticall sensures touching recusancy.

7. That he shall not be molested in his howse or goodes by any ministers of our chamber or any other of o*u*r ministers or subjectes of the same kinde unles by speciall warrant from us or o*u*r privy councell.

8. That no p*er*son or p*er*sons shall exhibit any information, bill or plaint against him or his wife, by reason of his recusancy, and, if any such be exhibited, noe officer shall receive the same.

9. That he shall not be inforced to appeare in the Kinges Bench or to putt in suerety for the good behavio*u*r notwithstanding the statute of 35^o^ Eliz. and 3^o^ Jacobi unles by speciall direccion of the lordes of the councell and then but once onely.

10. That he shall not afterwardes be indited or outlawed for recusancy, but if any such thing should chance to be upon shewing of his lease he shall have a certiorari to remove the same, and that no further p*ro*ceding shalbe therupon.

11. That the shewing of the letters patentes or the inrollment thereof shalbee a sufficient warrant and discharge to all his Maj*es*t[i]es officers and subjects, aswell spirituall as temporall, for all and every the p*re*mises.'

[911] Mary Suliard, daughter of Sir John Suliard (d. 9 February 1627). See PRO, PROB 11/151, fo. 146r.

[912] Susan, daughter of Sir Leventhorpe Frank. See Metcalfe, *The Visitations of Essex*, I, p. 523.

[913] i.e. a member of the secular clergy.

[914] Robert (Benedict) Cox OSB.

[915] Henry Wilford (of Quendon in Essex) was the eldest son of James Wilford of Hartridge, Kent, who had married Anne Newman of Quendon; D. Shanahan, 'Wilford of Quendon Hall', *Essex Recusant*, 8 (1966), pp. 16–22. The Wilford family was divided in its allegiances. Edward Stafford, son of the 4th Baron Stafford, had married Anne, daughter of James Wilford of Newman Hall in Quendon. (The Stafford family were regarded by Smith's friends as patrons and supporters; see *Letter 94*.) But the Benedictine Peter Wilford, a relative of Henry Wilford, is cited here as one of the instigators of the allegedly scandalous Wilford–Suliard marriage contract.

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No more now, but woonted respects.

19 July 1633.

[*on p. 223*]

One thing I forgott to tell you: that, wheras the Spanish resident[916] here complaineth of my l*or*d b*isho*p[917] and hath written to Card[inal] Borgia against him pretending that he is an enemy to Spaine, as being a creature of Card[inal] Richelieu,[918] a Catholick baron[919] o*u*r good freind, who is both a wise and able man, hath offered to the saied resident by M[r] Henry Taylor, agent for the infanta[920] here, to stand bound in ten thousand pounds bond for my l*or*d b*isho*p that he shall not oppose Spaine, or meddle with any State matter to the k[ing] of Spaines disadvantage. This the l*or*d him self tould me within these two daies, and therfor you may beleeve it to be true and if you have any occasion to speake with Card[inal] Borgia, or any other Spanish card[inal] or minister of State, you may informe them hereof and complaine to them of the rash and partiall proceeding of the resident, who by these courses seekes to make a division amongst Catholickes to the disadvantage of his own kings affaires here.

We had prepared a remonstrance to give him to this effect, the coppy wherof in Italian I sent you a fortnight since, but, I know not how, it was not presented him, and, since, my l*or*d writes to us that he thinkes it better to be donn by word of mouth.

I forgott also to tell you that in the Act at Cambridge they have defended some points of Cath[olic] religion, as that good workes are

[916] Juan de Necolalde.

[917] Richard Smith.

[918] On 3/13 August 1633 Smith reported to Biddulph that he had 'seene a letter of M[r] [Henry] Tailor, agent of the infanta in London', written to Cardinal Borgia, 'where he giveth the reason why the Spanish agent there hath writ against me to R[ome], to wit by reason of the dayly co*m*plaintes made to him of me for the continual il[l] offices I doe against Spayne, w*hi*ch in truth is false'. Apparently, Taylor was not sure these stories were true, but 'he saieth that he is sure that manie priests are French', and that Smith's dependency on Richelieu meant he should not be allowed to return; AAW, B 27, no. 126.

[919] Probably Thomas Arundell, 1st Baron Arundell.

[920] Isabella Clara Eugenia.

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necessary for salvation, and meritorious etc.[921] M^r^ Lab[orne] tells me he sent you the conclusions them selves a fortnight since.[922]

I send you now a catalogue of pr[iests] in Lancashire, and other northren [*sic*] shires.

[*on p. 224*]

Addressed: Pour Mons*ieu*r Fitton a Rome.

Endorsed: Clerk. 19 Julye.
About M^r^ Wilford who hath now married an heretick.

50. Laborn [George Leyburn] to Fitton [Peter Biddulph], 9 August 1633

[*AAW, A XXVII, no. 81, pp. 239–240*]

Worthie deare sir,

I have yours of the 16 of July, and I have acquainted y*ou*r brother Worthingtons brother[923] w*i*th the 44^s^ and it will be payed according to y*ou*r desire. Infallibly you are much mistaken concerning jus

[921] At the 1633 Commencement at Cambridge, one of Richard Neile's chaplains, Eleazor Duncon, who was also a friend of William Laud and John Cosin, defended Cardinal Bellarmine and argued in favour of a series of theses located in Bellarmine's works, among which theses was the proposition that 'bona opera sunt efficaciter necessaria ad salutem'; Milton, *CR*, p. 76; *CSPD, 1633–1634*, p. 150. Anthony Milton points out that this appeared as an appendix in Robert Shelford's *Five Pious and Learned Discourses* (Cambridge, 1635), itself an extreme statement of 'Arminian/Laudian' thought, and was exploited by, for example, the Franciscan Christopher Davenport in his book *Deus, Natura, Gratia*; Milton, *CR*, p. 76. See also Tyacke, *AC*, p. 227; Lake, 'The Laudian style', pp. 165, 170, 171; Albion, *CI*, ch. 7. (Davenport's book was dedicated to Charles.) For Davenport's favourable reception by some of the Laudians, see Milton, *CR*, pp. 245, 250–251. On 3/13 August Smith sent Biddulph 'thes printed trea*ti*ses [?] w*hi*ch were the c*onclusi*ons publikly defended in the Act at Cambridge w*hi*ch they wil be glad to see and it is a certaine signe of great inclin*ati*on to Cath[olic] faithe'; AAW, B 27, no. 126. Gregorio Panzani was informed in late 1634 by the Benedictine William Johnson that, at the 1633 Commencement, 'nell'addottorare li scolari fu detto publicamente: papam esse universalem ecclesiae patrem, regem esse temporalem patrem, sed debere utrumque regere et temporale et spiritualem statum'; VA, PD, fo. 45r.

[922] See *Letter 48*.

[923] Richard Worthington. See *Letters 11*, *38*. On 26 August 1633 Richard's brother, William, wrote, from the Worthington family seat at Blainscow, to Biddulph about his marriage case, and remarked that he had seen Biddulph's letter of 29 June/9 July to Richard 'wherin you give notice of the duplicate of the breve sent to Flanders from whence I will expect a copie, and then give order about it as cause shall requyre; the money shall be repayed to M^r^ Laborne'; AAW, A XXVII, no. 88, p. 255.

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patronatus in this contry; first in respect th*a*t Cardenal Allans facultyes as also the archpriests run thus: do tibi potestatem dispensandi ut vendatur jus patronatus, and I doe thinke th*a*t Fa[ther] Ph[ilip's] facultyes w*hi*ch he receaved lately from th*a*t city contayneth the same words. Secondlie to sell jus patronatus haith been practized ever in this contry since the first change. Thirdly it is the opinion of all our ancient priests, secular and regular. Moreover according to the ancient lawes <of this contry> in Catholique tyme jus patronatus is esteemed aliquid temporale.[924]

I am very glad th*a*t Mons*ieu*r Crequy haith imparted her Majestyes letter to his Holynes and I wish th*a*t it may effect a happie dispatch. Thos former delayes have caused great discontent and maketh Catholiques thinke th*a*t his Holynes is not much sensible of ther miseryes, and I have heard some of worth saye th*a*t, if ever good tymes come, the pope shall never have ther consent to enjoye the first fruits of benefices as formerly popes did in this contry.

I doe send unto you the conclusions of Oxforde,[925] but they are not soe good as the last w*hi*ch I sent unto you. Never was ther soe great a disposition in thes two universityes towards Catho[lic] religion as now ther is.

Our occurrences are th*a*t the bishop of Canterbury departed this life on Mundaye last in the morning[926] and he made a profession of his faith a litle before his death w*hi*ch was th*a*t he did abhorre the religion of papists in his hart and th*a*t in his conscience he did esteeme this pope to be the greatest Antichrist th*a*t ever was. It is thought th*a*t discontent di[d] hasten his death in regarde th*a*t the king, by meanes of the bishop of London,[927] did urge him to approve a booke (much contrarie to the doctrine of puretans) composed by one Doctor Potter of Oxforde,[928]

[924] For contemporary Catholic views on rights of presentation to Church-of-England livings, see AAW, A XIV, no. 34 (William Bishop's opinion, of February 1615); AAW, A XVI, no. 187 (Thomas Martin's opinion, of 1622). See also ARSJ, Anglia MS 36/ii, fo. 353r ('An liceat cuidam Catholico in Anglia habenti jus presentandi ad beneficium presentare aliquem haereticum ad majora mala impedienda').

[925] Leyburn may be referring to the recent confrontation, on 6 July 1633, between John Prideaux and Peter Heylyn during the Oxford Act; *CSPD, 1633–1634*, p. 190; A. Wood, *The History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1792, 1796), I, p. 392; A. Milton, 'The creation of Laudianism: a new approach', in T. Cogswell, R. Cust, and P. Lake (eds), *Politics, Religion and Popularity* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 162–184, at p. 170.

[926] George Abbot died on 4 August (E.B. Fryde, D.E. Greenway, S. Porter, and I. Roy (eds), *Handbook of British Chronology*, 3rd edition (London, 1986), p. 234), though here Leyburn gives the date as 5 August.

[927] William Laud.

[928] i.e. Christopher Potter's *Want of Charitie Iustly Charged, on all such Romanists as Dare [. . .] Affirme, that Protestancie Destroyeth Salvation*, 1st edition (Oxford, 1633). For Potter, one of Laud's vice-chancellors at Oxford, see Milton, *CR*, pp. 155–157; *Letters 53, 55, 56*.

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a man much beloved of the bishop of London. Will you heare the prophesie w*hi*ch was written 80 yeares aggoe? It shall never merrie in England be, whilst Abbats is bishop of Canterbury; but when Abbats bishopricke is com*me*d and gone, then priests and muncks in England shall swarme. I have noe faith in prophesies. Notw*i*thstanding, I am confident th*a*t we shall enjoye better tymes. Our king and queen are removed to Otlands.

I commend unto you the contents of the inclosed w*hi*ch should have gone w*i*th a French priest.

Aug[ust] 9 1633.

[*on p. 240*]

Addressed: A Mons*ieu*r Monsieur [*sic*] Fitton a Rome.

Endorsed: Laborn. 9 Aug[ust].
About jus patronatus.

51. Clerk [John Southcot] to [Peter Biddulph], 16 August 1633

[*AAW, B 47, no. 62*]

Sir,

Being newly rettourned out of the country I mett with two of yours of the 16 and 23 of July, having omitted the last week to write unto you by reason of my absence from London. I ame glad to heare that Abbote [*sic for* Robert] Barklay is in no disgrace there, as was formerly signified.[929] I advertised M^r^ Ducket therof, but now I must recall it againe, and wish him to continew his journy in case he can gett of his bonds out of the high com*m*ission court, w*hi*ch is not yet donn.

Your second letter is full of good newes. God send the effects to be answerable in all points, and, the more to engage Crequy in soliciting the buissenesse, lett him know that the queen expects his answer for w*hi*ch I pray you presse him earnestly. I thank you for the avisi w*hi*ch are very gratefull and wellcome here. I have little to advertise you from hence being newly come to town. Abbots, l*or*d of Canterbury, died on the 4^th^ of this month at Lambeth, and he professed on his death bed to dy neither papist nor Arminian. Laud, l*or*d of London, is nominated[930]

[929] See *Letter 32*; Allison, RSGB, II, p. 281.
[930] William Laud was nominated archbishop of Canterbury on 6 August 1633.

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and elected already (as I heare) to succeed him, and Doctor Jukes,[931] bishop of Hereford (as I take it), is to be of London, being a creature of [*three words deleted*] Lauds and promoted by him.[932] This wilbe a great strengthning of the Arminian party against the puritans, and will make a great change generally ere long to the better, the king inclining wholy that way and having left the puritanicall principles in which he was bred and brought up wholy. It is generally thought that the times will every day grow better and better for Catholickes, and that the State by degrees will bring ~~all~~ <all> to the same passe, as in 3° Elizabethae, before the chief penall lawes were enacted. The compositions go on slowly.[933] Pursevants do little either in London or in the country. The king and queen are at Otelands in Surrey both well in health, God be thanked, as also the prince and princesse. There was a deliberation not long since in councell here about o*u*r breaking with the Turk, and setting forthe a navy to that end, but now I heare it is dashed againe, or at least suspended till a better occasion and all those com*m*aunded silence who were demaunded their advize therin both marchants and seamen. I heare nothing to any purpose donn by the judges in their circuitts this summer against recusants or priests, and a little before they began their circuitt one Alexander Baker, a Jesuit, being taken openly in the street and com*m*itted to Newgate, was within few daies delivered by my L*or*d Chief Justice Richardson[934] him self, at the queens entreaty, to whom meanes was made for it.[935] Some of the Jes[uits'] followers here do observe as a great wonder that, since the queen came in, none of the ladies at court are become Catholickes, and I heard my self a Jes[uit][936] speake this openly, as it were to the queens disgrace, in a gentlemans house in the country. But they do not observe in the meane time, or at least they do not speake much of, those good offices which the queen hath donn both for Catholickes and priests, and particulerly for the Jesuitts them selves, w*hi*ch are not few in number, nor of small regard being dewly

[931] William Juxon.

[932] For Richard Smith's satisfaction at Juxon's promotion to the see of London, see AAW, B 47, no. 62. See also *CSPV, 1632–1636*, p. 152. For Laud and Juxon, see Davies, *Caroline Captivity*, p. 45. When Juxon was promoted to be lord treasurer in 1636, Smith said he could not believe the rumour that it was done through the influence of the faction which was opposing Laud; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 106, p. 385. For an account of Juxon's appointment which interprets it as a partial reverse for Laud, see B. Quintrell, 'The Church triumphant? The emergence of a spiritual lord treasurer, 1635–1636', in J. Merritt (ed.), *The Political World of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, 1621–1641* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 81–108.

[933] For Viscount Wentworth's complaints in October 1633 that the compounding process in the North was being obstructed by the 'exchequer men', see Knowler, *ESLD*, I, p. 129.

[934] Sir Thomas Richardson, lord chief justice of King's Bench.

[935] See *CSPD, 1633–1634*, p. 557.

[936] This may be a reference to Henry Hawkins SJ. See *Letter 45*.

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weighed. I heare that upon some complaint made unto the king by occasion of some mariage made by the French Capucins, the queen hath absolutely forbidden them to marry any English hereafter, which perhaps is not amisse considering how easily they admitted all sorts to marry, and sometimes Catholickes and Protestants togeather, to the hurt of religion, and never inquiring of the parties whether it were with consent of parents. I send you here a relation of my L*or*d Baltemors new plantation in Mary Land, which perhaps you will willingly see.[937]

Fa[ther] Francis[938] doth still prosecute his purpose of printing his book[939] and would have <the> approbation of divers priests of severall orders to it. M[r] Blacklo[940] hath in some sort approoved it (unawares) and the friar sent also to me before I went out of town for the same purpose. But I putt it of[f] with the excuse of my journy. I do not heare by them that have seen the book that it will answer expectation, especially in that point touching the reconciling of the English Protestant doctrine to the Cathol[ic] wherin he is very short and scant (although that seem[s] to be his chief scope), the work otherwise seeming to be of ostentation more than of use, the au[thor] being well conceited of him self, and the more bycause the stroke of his order conceave him to be one of the best schollers in the world. I cannot learn what that minister is who hath sent his book to the Venetian ambassador in Rome to be shewed to his Hol[iness] and I doubt there is some trick in it. Yet we heare that many ministers are growen not only very temperat but also Catholickly minded in their opinions, and all generally are so reputed in Oxford at this time. The Capucins here do say that they have converted divers ministers, but I do not heare of any in particuler.[941]

Thus with all woonted good wishes I rest.

16 August 1633.

No address.

[937] Not surprisingly, many of the secular clergy were unimpressed with the 1st Baron Baltimore's missionary efforts. In February 1633 Richard Smith wrote to Biddulph that the Paris nuncio, Bichi, had asked him whether Charles I sent 'any Cath[olic] nobleman to make plant*ati*on in the north of America'. Smith replied shirtily that he knew 'of no such', though he admitted to Biddulph that Bichi must have been talking about Baltimore 'who went thither some yeers agoe with 2 preists but returned without fruite'; AAW, B 27, no. 116.

[938] Christopher Davenport (Francis a Sancta Clara) OFM.

[939] Davenport, *Deus, Natura, Gratia*.

[940] Thomas White.

[941] For Cyprien de Gamache's account of Henrietta Maria's Capuchins' conversion of Protestant ministers (though in and after 1635), see Birch, *CT*, II, pp. 332f.

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Endorsed: Clerk. 16 Aug[ust].
About F[ather] Francis his booke.
About the Capuccines forbidden to give sacram[ents].

52. Clerk [John Southcot] to Fitton [Peter Biddulph], 30 August 1633

[*AAW, B 47, no. 61*]

Sir,

I have yours of the 6 of August. The excom*m*unications ag*ain*st those 5 or 6 monkes, w*hi*ch were sent <hither> from Spaine, were not served upon them otherwise than by way of threatning, and they (as I heare), having notice given them that way, have subscribed them selves.[942] If Fa[ther] Fitzherb[ert] dye, you may at least sue for a visitt of the college[943] by that occasion. All here are ag*ain*st having a straunger b*isho*p and infallibly he would not be obaied neither by the laity, nor by the clergy,[944] but if M^r^ Bennet or ~~D[octor] Champney~~ <your other correspondent>[945] were made b*isho*ps they would governe well and give content to the far greater part.[946] Nothing makes the clergy complaine of waunt and poverty but the absence of a b*isho*p with ordinary power, for the Jes[uits] in their bookes and speaches do com*m*only teach their followers that they are not bound to mantaine

[942] For the proceedings against those Benedictine monks professed in Spain who refused to submit to the authority of the new Benedictine congregation in England, see Lunn, *EB*, pp. 149–150; *Letter 46*.

[943] The English college in Rome.

[944] See AAW, A XXVII, no. 91, p. 263, for Anthony Champney's letter of 31 August/10 September 1633 to Smith, warning him that the appointment of a foreign bishop to rule over Catholics in England would be 'offensive to the State and not gratefull to any sort either clergy or regulers or the layty'. Champney repeated this warning on 10/20 September; AAW, A XXVII, no. 93, p. 269. On 30 September/10 October 1633 Smith wrote to Southcot that 'it may wel be that they intend to make F[ather] [Robert] Phil[ip] b*isho*p but I can not see how he can doe both offices, both of b*isho*p and confessor, and I think he wil not leave this last'; AAW, B 27, no. 131.

[945] George Leyburn.

[946] On 1/11 June 1633 Smith wrote that he believed that Edward Bennett would be appointed to replace him 'becaus both I and others have much com*m*ended him, and also becaus I was since asked' by Cardinal Bichi whether Bennett 'had not taken the oathe of fidelitie', i.e. the 1606 oath of allegiance. Smith had replied that Bennett never had. Smith thought that Bennett had signed the 1603 protestation of allegiance, but 'that p*rotestac*ion is not the oathe'. And the protestation did not hinder 'my p*redec*e*ss*or [William Bishop] from being b*isho*p nor M^r^ [Robert] Drurie or M^r^ [Roger] Cadwalader from being glorious martyrs'. Smith then went off to get a copy of Thomas Preston's *A New-Yeares Gift for English Catholikes* (London, 1620), which listed the subscribers of the protestation, and found that Edward Bennett was not, in fact, among them; AAW, B 27, no. 121.

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their b*isho*p unlesse he be an ordinary, so that they need not feare in Rome to give us a b*isho*p for waunt of meanes to mantaine him, but rather may justly feare to deny us a b*isho*p least we seek to his Hol[iness] for meanes to mantaine the clergy w*hi*ch must necessarily be supported, and yet without a b*isho*p or b*isho*ps cannot possibly subsist, but wilbe quickly eaten up by the regulars. This point is mainly to be urged there, and it is most certainely true.[947] This week I heare not any newes worth the writing. The k[ing] and qu[een] and prince, God be thanked, are well in health. Only the qu[een] felt some kind of numnesse in her arme while she was at Nonesuch, and therfor is come away about a month sooner to London than she had appointed. But here, God be thanked, she is prettily well againe of that numnesse. Perhaps she had fed to[o] liberally upon fruict, w*hi*ch hath bin unwholsome this yeare by reason of the wett weather and the couldnesse of the sum*m*er by w*hi*ch [the] harvest is like to come very late. The young prince of Chemey and his brother, having bin in these parts ever since before midsomer, are going back to Brusselles, and to morrow they begin their journy, having bin well entertained by the king and others here to their contentment.[948] There is one Jean Arismendes a subject of the k[ing] of France, borne upon the confines of Spaine, who made a journy last winter into Spaine, whether upon his own buissenesse, or my L*or*d Montagues[949] (whom he serveth) I know not, but, rettourning by Paris <in June last>, it seemes he dealt with my l*or*d b*isho*p[950] or his man to convay his letters safely hither from Spaine.[951] This man was sent for this day fortnight by an expresse

[947] On 16/26 August 1633 Smith wrote to Biddulph that he understood from him that in Rome 'resolution is taken to give England a b*isho*p' though he feared they would delay in finding 'a fit p*er*son'; AAW, A XXVII, no. 87, p. 253.

[948] See *Letter 45*.

[949] Francis Browne, 3rd Viscount Montague. See ESRO, BA 84 (a counterpart of a deed of sale of 24 January 1632 by Montague to Thomas Caporne and Christopher Bridger, witnessed *inter alia* by Jean Arismendy).

[950] Richard Smith.

[951] On 19 August 1633 Jean Arismendy, under interrogation, admitted that he had 'served Lord Montagu[e] 14 years', that he had gone to Spain to settle a financial matter with his brother, and that at Madrid he had delivered a letter from Montague to the count of Olivares. Since Arismendy returned, he understood that Lord Cottington had 'been advertised from Spain' that he, Arismendy, had 'made means for the bishop of Chalcedon to return into England', which accusation Arismendy denied. In Paris he had, however, discussed with Lord D'Aubigny and his circle the prospects for 'some good marriage in France for the duke of Lennox [James Stuart, 4th duke of Lennox, Lord D'Aubigny's brother], to fortify the queen's party' in England; *CSPD, 1633–1634*, p. 187. In the same month Arismendy wrote to William Cape, a Browne family retainer, to get him to use George Leyburn's and Père Joseph's influence with Henrietta Maria to secure his freedom; *ibid*., p. 200. Subsequently, in February 1634, he admitted that he had been instructed to advise Chateauneuf, the former French ambassador in England, that the Spanish faction

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messenger by Secretary Windebank, by whom he hath bin twice examined, and is still kept close prisoner in the messengers house. One of the points upon which he was examined was about my l*or*d of Chalcedons agents here, who they were, wherby we ghesse that this fellow hath abused my l*or*d, or at least his man, in putting uppon them the office of convaying his letters hither from Spaine, wherin perhaps are State matters, wholy (I dare say and sweare) unknowen unto my l*or*d b*isho*p who is no medler in such affaires.[952] Yet this may chaunce to

in England was 'greatly strengthened [. . .] to the prejudice of France' by means of the earl of Portland, Lord Cottington, and the earl of Arundel. Arundel's and Portland's eldest sons had 'married two sisters of the duke of Lennox', and threatened to 'draw the house of Lennox and the Scots towards that faction, by a marriage between him and a daughter of the house of Howard'. Chateauneuf should try to hinder this, in particular by proposing to the duke 'some good marriage in France'; *ibid*., p. 461.

[952] Richard Smith reported to Biddulph on 13/23 September 1633 that 'this last poste fro*m* England I had no letters [. . .]. And the cause I suspect to be that w*hi*ch D[octor] Kellison writeth to me, that Aries Mendes [. . .] servant to my L[ord] Montague hath bene sent for by the counsel and examined what he did in Spayne and France, and what dealing he hath with Chalcedon and with his agents', which made Southcot and Leyburn 'to keep close'. Smith suspected this was a conspiracy by his Catholic opponents to 'drive Mendes from my L[ord] Mont[ague] as some of his freinds have long since desired. Yet p*er*haps the Jes[uits] wil make this some new p*er*secut*i*on'; AAW, B 27, no. 130. Though the affair came to nothing (see *Letter 53*), as late as 26 October/5 November 1633 Smith was still complaining about Arismendy's imprisonment 'for writing and doing something against the l[ord] treas[urer]'. Despite Lord Treasurer Weston's reputation as a Hispanophile and, therefore, the probability that he would not be sympathetic to Smith and his supporters, Smith was determined to rectify matters. He found that some of his enemies had told 'the k[ing] that I set him [Arismendy] on and have writ a booke against the treas[urer] which hath no jot of truthe and, long since, I was told that Mendes was an apostata frier, w*hi*ch made me take heed of him'. Smith had written formally to Windebank to disavow the rumours. But, reflected Smith, 'perhaps it is a plot of State to aswage puritans and to make the*m* think that the treasurer is odious to Catholiks; for there is no colour that I shold medle against him. But the Jes[uits] no doubt wil make great cries of this [. . .] to hinder a b*isho*p'; AAW, B 47, no. 9. On 8 November 1633 Smith wrote directly to the lord treasurer excusing himself from blame over the affair. Smith informed Portland 'in verbo episcopi' that 'nether by my selfe, nor by Aresmendes [. . .] did I ever speake or write, or cause to be spoken or written any thing tending to his Maj*es*ties displeasure, or to the dishonor of any of his Maj*es*ties privy councell'. Instead, he had sought to 'extolle his Maj*esti*es most eminent parts both naturall and morall, and particularly to defend his royall clemencie towards his Catholike subjects'. Smith insisted that he himself refused to 'send any letter or message' to England via Arismendy; AAW, A XXVII, no. 102, p. 293. On 28 December/7 January 1634 Smith notified Biddulph that Richelieu had also written to Portland, as well as to Windebank, presumably about this affair, and that Portland 'saieth he hath nothing in p*artic*uler against me', and that the queen would deal with Charles 'to wink at ep*iscop*al authoritie, that it is for his good'; and furthermore, a 'noble man', perhaps Baron Arundell, 'hath given reasons to the secretarie to that purpose and he p*ro*mised to shew them' to Laud. And a privy councillor, perhaps the earl of Dorset (see *Letter 53*), had agreed to talk to Charles and 'show him that episcopal authorit*ie* would be useful to him'; AAW, B 27, no. 113. See also AAW, B 27, no. 114. Robert Philip told Gregorio Panzani in December 1634 that 'un signore', perhaps Dorset, 'interrogò il re per il Vescovo Calcedonense, et rispose

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prejudice my l*or*d not a little, especially if his ennemies come to heare of it, who will make the worst construction of things and do their best to stirr up the State ag*ain*st him, and ag*ain*st the clergy, and perhaps this is nothing but a trick to breed a jealousy both in our State and in the French cardinal[953] ag*ain*st my l*or*d. I thought good to advertise you hereof (though I knew not of anything till yesternight, and therfor hope that all will come to nothing in the end, hearing all this while of no other bodies trouble) that you may be armed what and how to answer in that court if any thing be objected ag*ain*st my l*or*ds person here.

Thus with all woonted respe[cts] I end. 30 August 1633.

No address.

Endorsed: Clerk. 30 Aug[ust].
Concerning Arismendy his examination.
I pray send this to M^r^ Fitton.

53. Clerk [John Southcot] to Fitton [Peter Biddulph], 13 September 1633

[*AAW, B 47, no. 67*]

Sir,

I have yours this week of August the 20^th^ with the avisi for w*hi*ch still I thank you, having receaved all since first you began to send them, saving only the last week of the 13 of August which D[octor] Champney saieth he receaved not, and feareth either that they are intercepted or lost by the way. I pray you therfor advertise us what you wrote that week and what papers you sent enclosed. You promised to send unto us coppies of all the memorialls that you give up there, w*hi*ch we should be glad to see, and to know the date in what yeare and month they were given.

I heare not yet of the Scottish courtier M^r^ Innis, but will inquire further of him, and shew him the avisi when we are acquainted. You need not feare the shewing of these avisi to the afflicted. I shalbe as careful therin as your hart can desire. It is strang[e] that they will make no end of our buissenesse there, after so many cries and clamors from hence. Our brethren in the country are exceedingly discontented, and so are o*u*r lay freinds, and both of them have failed in divers

che li piaceva la persona, ma non la qualità di vescovo'; VA, PD, fo. 42r. For Arismendy's activities in the late 1620s in support of Smith, see PRO, SP 16/152/34, fo. 76v; SP 16/159/5, fo. 5r–v.

[953] Cardinal Richelieu.

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places of their woonted contributions, wherin others are like to follow their example, and then we shalbe quite blowen up and not able to mantaine an agent there any longer, nor pay for letters, and you would not beleeve what shifts we are faine to make to hould out thus long. Although it be not good to inculcat much there o*u*r poverty and waunt of meanes (which o*u*r adversaries wilbe apt enough to take advantage ~~of~~ <at> therby to hinder us from a b*isho*p) yet you may represent the state we are in as caused by waunt of a b*isho*p with ordinary power, seeing the Jes[uits] in their condemned bookes have taught the Cath[olics] of England that they are not bound to mantaine their b*isho*p unlesse he <be> an ordinary. And therfor, if the matter be well propounded, this consideration ~~will~~ <must> rather help us than hinder us in o*u*r sute ~~of~~ <for> b*isho*ps. And as concerning a straunger b*isho*p I find nobody here that is not utterly against it, yet better it were to have a straunger than none at all. Lett Crequy be remembred to send an answer to the qu[een] that, in case the buissenesse be not <speedily> effected according to her desire, she may have occasion to write againe to him, or to his Hol[iness]. For without some such occasion she will not write any more.

My l*or*d hath sent com*m*ission to treat with the Bened[ictines] of a peace if they desire it in earnest, but as yet the treaty is not begunn, nor will beginn, I think, till the terme. I feare the report of this in Rome will putt a stay to their proceeding there, and therfor your best course wilbe (as I think) not to be knowen that any such thing is really intended, and that they are only devises sett on foot by o*u*r adversaries to hinder their resolutions at Rome. And, in effect, if the treaty do proceed, nothing shalbe concluded therin but with this clause salva determina*tion*e Sedis Ap*osto*licae. Yet, to tell you plainly my opinion, I do not think that the monkes will yeald to any reasonable terms when we come to particulers. My l*or*d would have us stand uppon approbation and the parochialls, or, if that cannot be obtained, uppon acknowledgm*en*t of his ordinary authority over the laity, referring the rest to his Hol[iness's] sentence. One writeth to me out of the country that, in referring the faculties of missionaries, they had need to examine that faculty w*hi*ch many here have of dispensing in restitutione bonorum occultorum pertinentium ad haereticos w*hi*ch, if it come to the eares of the world, will proove very scandalous.

S*i*r Toby Mathew wrote a <little> book some yeares past w*hi*ch he calleth Charity Mistaken prooving therin that it is not ag*ain*st charity for Cath[olics] to say that Protestants, remaining such, cannot be saved.[954] There is an answer lately published to this book by one Doctor

[954] Sir Tobie Mathew, *Charity Mistaken, with the want whereof, Catholickes are uniustly Charged* (St Omer, 1630); ARCR, II, no. 528.

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Potter, chaplaine to his Ma*jes*ty, wherin (although the matter be but poor otherwise) he laies load uppon the Jesuitts, and cites Aurelius,[955] Ossat[956] and others for proofes ag*ain*st them in divers things.[957] The book is to[o] bigg to be sent to you, being at least 40 sheets of paper in 8vo.

I wrote to you last week and before about one Arismenes his restraint, and of the bruict that was cast abroad as if it were concerning my l*or*d of Chalcedons buissenesse.[958] But the secretary Windebank tould my L*or*d Montague[959] that the buissenesse did no way concerne my l*or*d of Chalcedon, and the king saied as much to the earle of Dorsett. It were good to make this knowen there, bycause o*u*r adversaries (no doubt) have informed the court there to his disadvantage, as they have made it fly here over England already, seeking therby to putt frights into mens heads concerning the b*isho*p as a man odious to the State.

We have no newes stirring here. The queen hath had a numnesse in one of her sides, for w*hi*ch she came to London 3 weekes before the time apointed and yesterday she went to reside at S^{t} James, being within 6 weekes or a month of her time. Since her coming up she findes her self somwhat better having bathed and used other remedies by the appointm*en*t of her physitions. The times are very calme here and so have bin a great while God be thanked, and his Ma*jes*ty, for it. The Irish Dominican,[960] of whom I wrote to you last week, that came from Lisboa, is still close prisoner, and so is M^{r} Dade[961] also. The cause is not knowen, but it is saied that a merchant accuseth the Irish man of certaine words spoken in Spaine ag*ain*st the king, and Dade is called in question only for some correspondence he had with him since his arrivall here.[962] M^{r} Fountaine[963] is out of town at this present, and so you must expect nothing from him this week.

Adieu. 13 September 1633.

[955] Jean Duvergier de Hauranne.
[956] Cardinal Arnaud d'Ossat (d. March 1604).
[957] Potter, *Want of Charitie Iustly Charged*.
[958] See *Letter 52*.
[959] Francis Browne, 3rd Viscount Montague.
[960] Arthur McGeoghan OP.
[961] Thomas Middleton OP.
[962] The Venetian ambassador Gussoni reported on 29 November/9 December 1633 that the Dominican, McGeoghan, 'suffered the extreme penalty two days ago'. He had returned from Spain where he had been overheard to say that he would not come into the realm 'unless it was to assassinate the king'; *CSPV, 1632–1636*, p. 172. John Flower recorded the rumours that McGeoghan had said that 'the king was an heretick and [. . .] it was lawfull to kill him', and also that he had said he would never return to England 'till he came to be revenged for the blood of the martirs spilt here'; PRO, C 115/105/8212. Richard Smith was remarkably unsympathetic and observed that 'the friers death hathe done rather good to Cath[olics] than harme'; AAW, B 27, no. 113. See Knowler, *ESLD*, I, p. 166; CRS, 1, p. 108.
[963] George Leyburn.

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The l*or*d debite of Ireland[964] carrieth him self there very haughtily as I heare, and hath, in a kind of scornfull manner, refused divers presents that were made ~~by~~ him by some of the nobility.

The l*or*d marquis of Winchester was married last week to the Lady Honor[a], daughter to the earle of S^t^ Albans and Clenrickard. 8 thousand pounds portion she is to have.

Address: Pour Mons*ieu*r Fitton.

Endorsed: Clerk. 13 Sept[ember].
About Arismendy his buisiness.

54. Clerk [John Southcot] to Fitton [Peter Biddulph], 8 November 1633

[*AAW, B 47, no. 66*]

Sir,

This week I receaved yours of October the 13 with the woonted enclosed for which I thank you. But y*ou*r letter gives us small comfort, and [*word deleted*] <shewes> nothing but delaies, with w*hi*ch our freinds here are very ill satisfied, and they wish you by all meanes to deliver that com*m*on letter of the clergies to my l*or*d for his rettourne hither, togeather with his to the cardinals, and whatsoever other letter of the chapters you have kept back hitherto. I ame glad to heare that M^r^ Con and you are become so confident <freinds>. My l*or*d thinkes it is by M^r^ Chambers meanes, that lives in Paris. God continew it. M^r^ Fountaine[965] will certify you of some passages w*hi*ch are fitt for you to know concerning this last borasco,[966] and so I refer you to him having no other particulers to write at this present. Lett us heare sometimes from you concerning M^ris^ Mary Ward and that compaghny. Here it is confidently given out that they shall have their desire. Write also how matters stand with Fa[ther] Fitzherbert and the college, and what Fa[ther] Blunts negotiation is there.[967]

At this time there are divers controversies depending between Catholickes w*hi*ch are like to be prosecuted in the open court with scandall, namely these: Suliard and Wilford <about a mariage>

[964] Sir Thomas Wentworth, 1st Viscount Wentworth.
[965] George Leyburn.
[966] A Mediterranean squall.
[967] On 13/23 September 1633 Richard Smith had reported to Southcot that 'F[ather] Blunt is gone up to R[ome] about the assembly of procur[at]ers; perhaps he is not to returne any more to England'; AAW, B 27, no. 130.

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wherof you were certified long since;[968] M^r^ Jo[hn] Arundell and his mother about his fathers last will;[969] Lady Penelope Gage and Sir John Gage his executors about his last will and the wardship of his eldest sonn etc.[970] And, bycause they are all (excepting Suliard) ghostly children of the clergy,[971] it is likely their adversaries will make some complaint ag*ain*st the clergy there, as they clamer here by this occasion. But howsoever particuler ~~men~~ priests may be to blame (though I know no great matter in those whom these buissenesses chiefly concerne) yet we see and feel by this the waunt of a b*ish*op ~~wonderfully~~ exceedingly.

Thus in hast. 8 Novemb[er] 1633.

Addressed: Pour Mons*ieu*r Fitton. Rome.

Endorsed: Clerk. 8 Nov[ember].
About controversies amongst Catholikes.

55. Clerk [John Southcot] to [Peter Biddulph], 13 December 1633

[*AAW, B 47, no. 68*]

Sir,

I have yours this week of the 19^th^ November with others enclosed both for M^r^ Innes and M^r^ Orpe[972] which shalbe delivered. As touching M^r^ Orpe, although you say you advertised me of him before, yet I never receaved any such advertisment. Perhaps it was in that letter w*hi*ch

[968] See *Letter 49*.

[969] For the will of John Arundell of Lanhern in Cornwall and Chideock in Devon, of 15 April 1632, see PRO, PROB 11/164, fo. 326v. The will refers to a deed of January 1626 raising various fines on Arundell's property. Under the terms of the deed the testator could appoint a person to receive the funds, and Arundell's will appoints Sir Henry Compton of Brambletye, Sussex, for this purpose. It charges 'as ernestly and deeply as a father can charge his children in dutie to obey him' that each of his sons (John, Thomas, and George) should 'not [. . .] attempt practise or doe anything to alter, transport or dispose otherwise of the aforesaid mannours than the uses in the [. . .] indenture mencioned, lymitted or appoynted'. For John Arundell Snr's wife, Anne (Jernigan), see PRO, PROB 11/177, fo. 15r. For the sentence delivered in arbitration of the case, see PRO, PROB 11/164, fos 429v–30r.

[970] See *Letters 85, 91*; PRO, WARD 7/85/38.

[971] i.e. secular clergy.

[972] Thomas Arpe. He was (by Michaelmas 1636) appointed Henrietta Maria's provider of the robes. He married Katherine, the daughter of Jean Garnier. She became one of the queen's chamberers. (I am very grateful to Caroline Hibbard for this information.) In February 1636 Biddulph 'sent some sweet oiles to M^r^ Orpe', whom Biddulph understood to have been 'reconciled to the Catholike Church'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 93, p. 353.

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miscaried, of the 5 of Novemb[er] if you writt at that time, as it seemes you did, bycause in y*our* next of the 12 you mention no omission. I think I advertised you in some of my former that I heard nothing from you of the receipt of three of mine written since the beginning of June, videlicet of the 21 June, 2 August and 13 September, and I desire to heare by y*our* next, in answer to this, whether those letters came to y*our* hands or noe.

In one of my late letters I did advertise you of one M^r^ Francis Harris, a pr[iest] and prisoner in Newgate, according to a report w*hi*ch I heard then, that he had [*word deleted*] not carried him self so well in his last troubles towards M^r^ Lab[orne], M^r^ Ireland[973] and M^r^ Curtese[974] as he should have donn, and that there was therupon conceaved some suspicion of his fall. But now, having spoken with the party my self, I find that he hath bin wronged, and that <he> did nothing worthy of any such censure or suspicion, and therfor I pray you lett any information you have had to the contrary quite cease, and lett the gentleman be fully restored to his former good name. I perceave the worst that hath happened is but indiscretion <at most> but no malice.[975]

The day after I writt to you last ~~w*hi*ch was~~ being Saterday,[976] the king came from Theobalds, and uppon the queens complaints to him of the second nurse, and those that preferred her, she being since prooved (either truly or counterfeitly) madd,[977] he presently delivered the young duke of York to the former Catholick nurse againe, notwithstanding she had refused to take the oath of alleageance, and he gave order withall she should have as much given her as was given to the other uppon the christning of the child.[978] Some think that the finger of God

[973] This may be a reference to Edmund Dutton, alias Ireland, who had come to London in April 1632 as agent for Douai college; Anstr., II, pp. 91–92. Dutton became secretary to the episcopal chapter and appears to have been chaplain to Baron Arundell; Allison, RSGB, III, p. 191; AAW, A XXIV, nos 29–33; XXIX, no. 83.

[974] This may be a reference to the priest Peter Curtis, whose father was pewterer to Henrietta Maria. See Anstr., II, p. 78.

[975] For Francis Harris, see *ibid.*, p. 148. An undated petition (PRO, SP 16/487/20) by Harris, written while he was in the Marshalsea, offered his services to the State, and indicated that he had been reconciled to the Church of England. Harris was one of those who had been expelled from the English college in Rome during the 'Fitton' rebellion, i.e. the protest, led by Biddulph, against the college's Jesuit administrators.

[976] i.e. 9 November 1633.

[977] On 14 December 1633 John Flower reported to Viscount Scudamore that the second nurse 'grew to be mad' when the child was removed from her (despite the best efforts of the physician, Sir Theodore Turquet de Mayerne), and because of the 'disdainfull and despitefull termes which the insulting papist [nurse]' gave her. The king committed the deranged nurse to 'Dr Shephard', 'a curer of mad folke'; PRO, C 115/105/8164.

[978] The Venetian ambassador Gussoni remarked in November 1633 that, 'to the astonishment [...] of many', the queen had 'persuaded the king to agree to her choice

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is extraordinarily in this buissenesse. It is also reported that young S*i*r Charles Sherly, a youth of ten yeares of age, baronett, since he was taken from his mother my Lady Dorothy, and given to her brother, his uncle the earle of Essex,[979] to be bred in Protestantisme, hath never since shewed any joy, and still refuseth to go to church or to praiers with them, saiing that his father charged him upon his death bed to keep his religion.[980] Yea it is reported further that his father hath appeared severall times unto him and spoken to him to this effect, but I suspend my beleef for that matter till I heare better proof than I have donn yet.

~~Since~~ Within this fortnight I heare there are 4 prisoners released <upon bond> videlicet M^r^ Henry More ~~the~~ <a> Jes[uit] out of the New prison, and M^r^ Tresame, agent for the Benedictines,[981] out of the same prison, Fa[ther] Bonaventure,[982] Franciscan, out of Newgate, and a fourth whose name I know not. By this it may appeare that the report which is there given out of persecution is not so true; as also by an other instance concerning my l*or*d of Arguile,[983] ag*ain*st whom an informer intended to sue the law for placing his daughter in a nunnery

of a lady who openly professes the Catholic faith to act as nurse to the baby prince'. There was a great deal of discussion as to what oath of loyalty should be put to her, but 'in the end the queen overcame everything and induced the king to agree to an ordinary oath of fealty, such as is taken by the other Catholics, including ecclesiastics, who take part in the queen's service'; *CSPV*, *1632–1636*, p. 160. Walter Yonge noted that the nurse, one Mrs Eliot, refused the oaths of supremacy and allegiance; BL, Additional MS 35331, fo. 56r. Lord Cottington reported that the nurse was offered the oath of allegiance, 'and she refus'd it, whereupon there grew a great noise both in the town and court, and the queen afflicted herself with extream passion upon knowledge of a resolution to change the woman, yet after much tampering with the nurse to convert her, she was let alone to quiet the queen'; Knowler, *ESLD*, I, p. 141. Smith also relayed the story to Biddulph, and said 'it is to be noted that the Cath[olic] nurses confessor is a sec[ular] preist, for otherwise I doubt she wold not have refused the oathe'; AAW, B 27, no. 113.

[979] Robert Devereux, 3rd earl of Essex.

[980] Sir Charles Shirley was the son of Sir Henry Shirley and Dorothy Devereux (daughter of Robert Devereux, the 2nd earl of Essex). See R. Cust, 'Catholicism, antiquarianism and gentry honour: the writings of Sir Thomas Shirley', *Midland History*, 23 (1998), pp. 40–70, at pp. 45, 65, n. 20.

[981] Presumably this is the William Tresham who was arrested, by Francis Newton, on the grounds that he was a Benedictine monk (Foley, I, p. 519; PRO, SP 16/376/34. i) though no such person is identified as a Benedictine in Bellenger, *EWP*.

[982] Bonaventure Jackson OFM.

[983] Archibald Campbell, 7th earl of Argyll. Southcot, in his diary, records that he, Southcot, had come to England 'the second time in the yeare 1621 in the company of Don Carlos Coloma Spanish ambassador in May, and staied in England between 2 or 3 months only, and then retourned into Flanders and went with the earle of Argyle to the siege of Berghen'; CRS, 1, p. 97.

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at Bruxelles,[984] but that the king will <have> him to desist, and to lett fall his sute. Neither are the pursevants very buissy in searching and when they do search they do it but slightly, and nothing so vigorously as heretofore.[985] My l*or*d writes that the Jes[uits] in Paris do shew the clergies information touching the calmnesse of these times presented at Rome. I wonder how they came by it. They say that it causeth the encrease of persecution here, but how impudently and foolishly they say soe, any wise body may judg.

There is a second edition of Potters answer to Charity Mistaken lately sett forth.[986] And within these few daies I saw a book of William Alabaster (who was sometimes prisoner in the Inquisition there ~~about the~~ for writing about the same subject) full of cabalisticall devises, derived out of the Hebrew Bible, to proove ~~Protest~~ Protestantisme.[987] He presented one to the king, and an other to the new archb[ishop] of Canterb[ury][988] and to some privat freinds a few. But I heare for certaine that they are com*m*anded to be supprest, as containing much folly and madnesse, so that he fareth no better here with those devises than he did at Rome.[989]

Here is arrived lately an <Italian> doctor of phisick, one Sig*no*r Leonardo, that was, as he saieth, sometimes phisition to Card[inal] Doria.[990] As yet he hath not kissed the kings hand nor the queens. Only he hath bin with my l*or*d martiall,[991] who will not bring him to the king till he see wherfor he cometh, and whether he intend to chang[e] his religion, being Catholick in shew. He spent 4 months in France, and, if he can gett any preferment here, he will stay. Otherwise he will rettourne from whence he came. Some that have conferred with him say he is universally read and talkes well. Perhaps he will gett to be the kings doctor.

There is a <Cath[olic]> l*or*d who is much o*u*r freind and zealouse in o*u*r cause that hath spoken very effectually already to some of the

[984] Barbara (Melchiora) Campbell. She was placed at the convent of the Glorious Assumption in Brussels in 1628 and was clothed there in late December 1642; Arblaster, 'The infanta and the English Benedictine nuns', pp. 523, 526, n. 28.

[985] For James Wadsworth's and Francis Newton's difficulties in harassing Catholics at this time, see e.g. *CSPD, 1633–1634*, p. 319.

[986] Christopher Potter, *Want of Charitie Iustly Charged […]* (London, 1634), RSTC 20136, a revised edition produced with the encouragement of William Laud. See *CSPD, 1633–1634*, pp. 232–233; Laud, *Works*, VI, p. 326.

[987] Presumably this is a reference to William Alabaster's *Ecce Sponsus Venit* (London, 1633), though it could also denote Alabaster's *Spiraculum Tubarum […]* (np, nd), which was printed by the same printer, William Jones, who produced the former work.

[988] William Laud.

[989] See also AAW, B 27, no. 113. For Alabaster, see *NAGB*, p. 87.

[990] Giovanni Doria, cardinal deacon, archbishop of Palermo, and viceroy of Sicily.

[991] Thomas Howard, 2nd earl of Arundel.

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councell in behalf of the hopefull and he purposeth to speake further and to present a coppy of those reasons w*hi*ch I sent you the last week. Wherof we have also hope to give some coppies privatly to others of the councell, w*hi*ch will prepare them well ag*ain*st my l*or*ds rettourne, or the setling of any other b*isho*p hereafter.

For waunt of better matter I send you here enclosed a ballat made upon the execution of the Irish frier.[992]

Thus referring all other occurrences to M[r] Roberts,[993] I rest. 13 December 1633.

If that decree De Judice should passe it would breed infinit disgust, as I suppose you have seen partly already by the Disquisitio made in France.

It is true that M[r] Innes married such a woman, and no Catholick, but now I suppose she liveth well, and he continewes a good Catholick, though he be not a man to do us any great good. Yet it is not amisse to keep his freindship, bycause he hath much acquaintance at court with the great ones, and I take him for an honest man. M[r] Duglas[994] I think [to] be o*ur* freind. M[r] Ham*m*on[995] and M[r] Lab[orne] are well acquainted w*i*th him.

No address.

Endorsed: Clerk. 13 Dec[ember].
That M[r] Harris is innocent.

56. [John Southcot] to Fitton [Peter Biddulph], 10 January 1634

[*AAW, B 47, no. 69*]

Sir,

I receaved yours of the 3 Decemb[er] a fortnight agoe, and purposed to have answered it sooner but that sicknesse hindred me, wherof I ame now, God be thanked, recovered. I signified in one of my former the death of that M[r] Orpes father, who you say is coming away from thence, and I delivered that letter (w*hi*ch you sent a little after

[992] Arthur McGeoghan OP. See *Letter 53*.

[993] George Leyburn.

[994] Robert Douglas, who is referred to as 'Mons*ieu*r Robert Douglas, mon cousin' in William Douglas, 11th earl of Angus's commendatory letter of January 1633 in Robert Douglas's favour to the pope; PRO, 31/3/126, p. 121.

[995] John Jackson.

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the former for M^r^ Orpe) for the countesse of Westmerland[996] to M^r^ Roberts[997] who saieth he will deliver it.

As for directing any letter for me or M^r^ Roberts by any freind that comes from thence you may indorse y*our* letter to either of us by o*ur* names, and wish the party to inquire for us of M^r^ Peeter Windor, a taylor dwelling at the upper end of Holborne next to the Feather taverne, and by him he shall easily come to speake with either of us.

I will inquire also for that M^r^ Clark in Milkstreet as you desire. This to your letter. Now for other matters. The queen spake to the king since twelftide in behalf of my l*or*d,[998] and would have shewed him those reasons made by way of pararell betwixt a b*isho*p and provincialls, wherof I sent you a coppy a fortnight agoe, but that the king would not read them. Yet he tould the ~~king~~ queen that he liked the b*isho*p well enough for his person and thought him an honest man but liked not the authority w*hi*ch he claimed. We were glad to heare that his Ma*jes*ty spake so well at least of the b*isho*ps person, and hope it wilbe a step to bring on the liking also of his authority by degrees. It seemes the k[ing] is persuaded that the puritans would make some sterrs if the b*isho*p were here, for he tould the qu[een] that neither she nor he could protect him if he came, but that they would gett him into their hands, and therfor he wished the qu[een] not to lett him come. And, if this be the k[ing's] chief motive for not permitting him, I hope we shalbe able to satisfy him ere long, bycause really there is no such daunger from the puritans, but a great deale more from the Jesuitts party amongst the Protestants, uppon their persuasions and misinformations.

There hath bin no searching in London all this Christmasse, nor in the country that I heare, neither are any warrants abroad, and some warrants are p*ar*ticulerly called in, as that of Grey[999] the pursivant who also was com*m*itted to prison for misbehaving him self in a certaine search. There was a pursevant sent from the high com*m*ission court to one M^r^ Georg Brown[1000] 60 miles from London to fetch him and his Catholick schoolmaister up to answer the statute concerning that matter in the court,[1001] and he is now here seeking by the queens

[996] Grace, daughter of Sir William Thornhurst and Anne, daughter of Thomas Howard, 1st Viscount Howard of Bindon. She had married Mildmay Fane, 2nd earl of Westmorland, in July 1626.

[997] George Leyburn.

[998] Richard Smith.

[999] John Gray. See M. Havran, *The Catholics in Caroline England* (London, 1962), pp. 124, 127; Foley, I, pp. 516–517.

[1000] Son of Sir George Browne of Great Shefford, Berkshire.

[1001] High commission records in the State Papers (for April–November 1634) record that George Browne and Eleanor (Blount), his wife, and one John Cole were dealt with by the

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meanes to have the matter taken up wherof he is in hope. This is an unusuall matter, and proceedeth not (as p*er*haps the afflicted will make beleeve there) from any intention to persecute, but meerly uppon an information and complaint of a malitious neighbour, (as it is thought) the minister of that parish. I heare of divers ministers that are well disposed, and there is one Lugar[1002] whoe hath noted down in a coople of sheets of paper the chief reasons for which he doubteth of the Protestant religion, wherof I intend to send a coppy to my l*or*d and will wish him to send it you, for I think them well worth the reading and shewing there.[1003] And it is not unlikly that others will follow his example. I heare the Jesuitts are in hand to answer Doctor Potters book in answer to Charity Mistaken;[1004] which book doth much harme and confirmes many readers in Protestantisme. It hath bin twice printed.

The tediousnesse of these delaies about o*ur* matters made us resolve in our last consult to write to D[octor] Maylard[1005] at Paris (inconsulto <et inscio> Chalcedonensi) to entreat him in the clergies name to propose o*ur* case to the Sorbon, and to know of them what we may lawfully doe to help our selves in case we cannot gett a b*isho*p from Rome. Perhaps the noise of this in Rome (when the nonce there shall heare of it and write it to Rome), though we intend to do it privatly, will awake them a little, and bring them to some resolution about our buissenesse. Use y*our* discretion in taking or not taking notice hereof there, but I rather think it better for you to take no notice of it.

court. Browne was ordered to send up to London the popish books seized in his house (by the pursuivant John Wragge); *CSPD*, *1633–1634*, p. 583; *ibid.*, *1634–1635*, pp. 51, 110, 118, 316, 324; *NAGB*, pp. 43, 99; W.H. Rylands (ed.), *The Four Visitations of Berkshire*, 2 vols (Harleian Society 56, 57, 1907–1908), I, p. 76.

[1002] John Lewgar. He had been converted to Catholicism allegedly by William Chillingworth's own arguments in favour of the Church of Rome. Lewgar, in 1635, resigned his Church-of-England benefice and in 1637 travelled to Maryland to serve as the 2nd Baron Baltimore's secretary there; Anstr., II, pp. 189–190; R.R. Orr, *Reason and Authority* (Oxford, 1967), pp. 28, 31, 38, 96, 101, 127, 128, 134; Hughes, *HSJ*, p. 232.

[1003] See 'A conference betwixt Mr Chillingworth, and Mr Lewgar', in *Additional Discourses of Mr. Chillingworth*, 4th edn (London, 1727), bound with William Chillingworth, *The Works of William Chillingworth*, 9th edn (London, 1727). On 20 June 1635 the Franciscan Christopher Davenport took Lewgar to visit Gregorio Panzani; VA, PD, fo. 98r. On 23 July the Benedictine John (Leander) Jones brought 'un memoriale' from Lewgar to give to the queen; Panzani referred Jones to Robert Philip; *ibid.*, fo. 104r. Lewgar himself came on 11 August with a letter from Jones, and was similarly told to see Philip; *ibid.*, fo. 107r.

[1004] Christopher Potter's *Want of Charitie [. . .]* was answered by Matthew Wilson SJ, *Mercy & Truth. Or Charity Maintayned by Catholiques* (St Omer, 1634); ARCR, II, no. 821. Wilson's tract provoked Chillingworth's *The Religion of Protestants a Safe Way to Salvation* (London, 1638).

[1005] Henry Mayler, who was a doctor of the Sorbonne; Anstr., I, p. 223.

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There was a great councell day held since twelftide wherin the fishing buissenesse <was> fully concluded,[1006] and the last of the 24 compaghnies of London subscribed to it with the rest. There are also a dozen of the kings shipps preparing, perhaps for defence of the saied fishing, wherin now all the three kingdoms, England, Scotland and Ireland, are interested, and no lesse than a hundred thousand of the kings subjects have part, some more some lesse. It is a maine buissenesse, and, if it go well forward, it will enrich the king and kingdom exceedingly, and the king shall have then lesse need of parlaments for mony. This alone will bring in at least two hundred thousand pounds yearly to the king. The admiralty is to be disposed of very shortly (the duke of Buckinghams debts being all paied) but it is not yet knowen uppon whom it shalbe bestowed. Some think the earle of Holland, but I rather think some other.

Three daies agoe Sir Francis Nethershall,[1007] agent for the Lady Elizabeth[1008] here, was sent to the Tower, and presently after his chamber and closett were searched by order from the councell. I cannot certainly heare what the cause is.

Thus, for the other occurrents remitting you to Mr Roberts, I end with woonted good wishes. 10 Januarii 1634.

No address.

Endorsed: For Mr Fitton.
London. 10 Jan[uary].
How to direct my letters to Peeter Winder.

57. [George Leyburn] to Leuis Amaryn [Richard Smith], 14 January 1634

[*AAW, A XXVII, no. 129, pp. 401–404*]

Most honored sir,

Since I writte unto you my last I have not heard from you, the post as yett being not arrived. I have now sent unto you a masti[v]e dog as good I thinke as can be desired.[1009] I pray God that he come safe to your hands. I forgott to signifie in my last how much our queen haith

[1006] See *Letters 6*, *17*, *18*, *36*, *40*.
[1007] Sir Francis Nethersole. See *CSPV*, *1632–1636*, pp. 183, 189, 202; Birch, *CT*, II, p. 233 (Nethersole's criticisms of Charles's policy on regaining the Palatinate).
[1008] Princess Elizabeth, widow of the Elector Palatine, Frederick V.
[1009] See *Letter 46*.

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been offended lately with Monsieur Buttarde.[1010] I doe not knowe the occasion of her disgust, but I am certayne that she did take him up twise very roundly when he had his audience in the presence of the king and two dayes before, and the poore man was soe out of countenance that he was not able to replye one word. It is great pitty that the State ther will not send one who may be gratious unto her Majesty. But assure your selfe, whosoever shall be sent, if Foster have any doings with him, the French about the queen will be jealous of him. But now Monsieur Buttarde haith receaved a new order to continue here longer for which I am very sorrie.

Some few dayes aggoe the queen told the king that she had receaved a letter from the b[ishop] of Calcedoine[1011] and wish[e]d him to read it as also certayne reasons wherfore he should not be more molested than others. The king did not refuse either. Wherupon her Majesty tooke occasion to speake much in the commendation of the b[ishop] of Calcedoine, to which the king did replye that he did esteeme him to be a very honest good man but his autority would not be suffred here, to which the queen made answere that the b[ishop] would take an oath of fidelity.[1012] Howsoever, replyed the king, I doe not wish that he doe come over, for (sayd he) peradventure it will not be in your power nor [*p. 402*] myne to save him, he will be soe much sought after. The king formerly was wont to accept [*sic*] much against his person, now onely against his authority, which the queen as also Fa[ther] P[hilip] was glad to heare. I hope that in tyme some good will be effected. Howsoever, for my part, I am confident that if the

[1010] Le Sieur Boutard, the French agent to England. He had signed the *Général Désadveu des Catholiques Lais d'Angleterre […]*, in which the ambassador François Duval, marquis de Fontenay Mareuil had sided with Richard Smith and his supporters against Smith's critics; AAW, A XXIV, no. 99, p. 401; *Letter 3*. According to the Venetian ambassador Gussoni, Henrietta Maria took offence against Boutard because 'he spoke too warmly in defence' of Fontenay, who had recently departed the country, and who had displeased her. He 'spoke with modest zeal and defended himself very reasonably', but the queen 'would have nothing of it', and had 'chosen by special letters to make complaint' to her brother Louis XIII; *CSPV, 1632–1636*, p. 187. John Finet recorded that Henrietta Maria believed that Boutard had assisted in the theft of the papers of François de Rochechouart, who had conspired against Fontenay in a scheme which was intended to bring about the fall of Lord Treasurer Portland. See Loomie, *The Ceremonies of Charles I*, pp. 147–148; *CSPV*, *1629–1632*, pp. 527–528; *ibid.*, *1632–1636*, pp. 83, 85.

[1011] Richard Smith.

[1012] On 28 December/7 January 1634 Smith informed Biddulph that 'a noble man', probably Baron Arundell, 'offered the counsel of England to be bound in five thousand pounds that I shall not meddle in matters of estate, and the q[ueen] said that the k[ing] wold be glad to see me offer to take any oathe which Cath[olic] bishops make to kings, but in England some have drawn a new forme of oath, which perhaps may displease in R[ome] and give the Jes[uits] occasion to calu[m]niate me, but in truthe I made it not'; AAW, B 27, no. 113.

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b[ishop] were here at this present he would not be once sought after. For most of the cheef lords of the counsell have been truly informed of all matters concerning the b[ishop] and his clame of w*hi*ch they were formerly ignorant.

F*athe*r Tobye[1013] haith been this Christemas w*i*th M[r] Southcott[1014] and now is newly returned to this towne and he was noe sooner arrived than th*a*t he writte a letter unto the Lady Carlile[1015] in thes words: 'Madame I was noe sooner com*me*d out of the country to this but th*a*t I went to White-hall w*i*th intention to see y*ou*r ladyship but, you being not to be found, I did not see in Whit-hall any thing more than Whit-hall, you being the onely creature th*a*t doth beautifie and adorne th*a*t place, and the sole object w*hi*ch I adore. Wherfore returne, Madame, for w*i*thout you Whit-hall is nothing.' Certaynely he is soe extravagant growne th*a*t thos who formerly did adore him doe now laugh at him.[1016]

I writte unto you in my last concerning a noble knight. I praye God that you may effect what is desired. It will be to good purpose. Our miserie is want of friends in the court. I praye, if you doe procure such a letter as is desired, lett it be sent unto Madame Nurse.[1017] For other matters I doe referre you unto Mons*ieu*r Clerk[1018] who will send unto you the commission to be sente by this post. I receaved yesterdaye a

[1013] Sir Tobie Mathew.

[1014] i.e. John Southcot Snr, the Jesuit-favouring father of the priest John Southcot.

[1015] Lucy, wife of James Hay, 1st earl of Carlisle, and daughter of Henry Percy, 9th earl of Northumberland.

[1016] For contemporary comment about Mathew's relationship with the countess of Carlisle, see A.H. Mathew, *The Life of Sir Tobie Matthew* (London, 1907), pp. 303, 304; *CSPD, 1631–1633*, p. 437. In May 1632, William Case had related how Mathew had 'conducted my patron', the marquis of Winchester, 'into the chamber of a most gallant lady and a principall courtier', evidently a reference to the countess. 'As soone as hee had espied the lady a farr of, hee falls into a wonderfull admiration, crying out and turning towards my patron, was there ever such a creature seene? Behold my lo[rd] this admirable bewtie etc.' Winchester told Case that 'it was in such an extravagant manner that hee thought hee would have bawded for him', and then, 'comming to her', Mathew 'tooke her by the hand, saying, how doe you Madam? Shee answering not very well, hee replied you are not dead sure. If you bee, that soule of yours must needs bee in h[e]aven. And this fayer flesh of yours can not bee corrupted.' Case added that afterwards, at dinner, Mathew had 'discoursed about dispensations for mariage, v*i*z. that my lo[rd] migh[t] gett a dispensation to marrie w*i*th an other of the sisters'. (Winchester's wife, Jane (Savage), had died in April 1631.) His audience 'generally saying that it was unlawfull', Mathew replied that the pope could dispense in any thing that was not against the 'law of nature', and called them all 'dunces'; AAW, A XXVI, no. 69, p. 194.

[1017] Françoise de Monbodiac, wife of Jean Garnier. She had been Henrietta Maria's childhood nurse. I am grateful to Caroline Hibbard for this point.

[1018] John Southcot.

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letter from your best lady and an other from her husband,[1019] which I intend to send unto you that you may see his zeale. My lady wishes her service may be presented unto you and she is myndfull of you as she will shortly manifest.

Sweet Jesus make you happie in all your affayres. 14 Jan[uary] 1634.

[*on p. 404*]

Addressed: A Monsieur Monsieur [*sic*] Leuis Amaryn demeurant dans la Place Maubert a Paris.

Endorsed: King of the bishop.

58. William Morgan [Case] to [an English secular priest], 4 February 1634

[*AAW, A XXVII, no. 131, pp. 407–410*]

Very reverend sir,

Were it possible to make his Holines understand the misery of our cuntry doubtles wee should have releife, especially the remedie lying in his hands. It is most evident that if the authority given to our pastor[1020] by that holy Sea had been speedily declared to be the same which other bishops have in their dioceses, there would never have been this lamentable scisme, which wee now see, to the schandall of many, both within and without. For, at the first, all lay Catholiks, excepting 3 or 4 sturdy statesmen (as they would seeme), were willing to obey, and most free from the spirit of rebellion; which the Jesuits and some other regulers perceiving right well, and not being able to skarr them with their clamors of odious jurisdiction, they made most of their penitents beleeve that the bishop had no jurisdiction at all in foro externo over the laytie. And though in process of tyme (his Holines declaring nothing in confirmation of the authority given) they have brought some more to a desperate rebellion against authority, yet the most and best of theirs are still upon this point that, if his Holines would declare my lo[rd] bishop to have the authority by him chalenged over the laytie, they would readily obey, prostrating them selves at his feet with all religious humility. This hath been lately and seriously expressed by Earle Rivers,

[1019] John Jackson identifies Smith's 'best lady', i.e. patroness, as Anne (daughter of Miles Philipson of Crook, Westmorland), wife of Thomas, 1st Baron Arundell; AAW, A XXVI, no. 32, p. 105.

[1020] Richard Smith.

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my Lo[rd] Savage, and th*e* earle of Northumberlands unckle,[1021] who doubt not but that a good attonement would quickly ~~would quic~~ bee made, considering the disposition of th*e* farr greater part of the laytie is to submitt [*p. 408*] in case the pope should plainly declare. For, as for such as Ployden,[1022] Rob[ert] Wintor and some ten hirelings of the Jesuits, they would easily be either reduced to better termes, or disgraced so that none would follow them. His Holines may consider into what absurd temerity some of these sectaries are fallen as to say the pope cannot oblige us to ~~such~~ admitt of such authority etc., and to question the power of his Holines in many things, and soe to censure the actions of the pope, as if hee were to bee judged and condemned by every one. The Florentine agent[1023] (as hee calls himself) in my hearing condemned him of being guilty of the warrs in Germany by assisting the French for the bringing in of <th*e*> Swed[es] and (as I was most credibly informed) hee sayd, in the presence of some noble persons, that the cardinalls had called the pope coram nobis. A lady alsoe of principall rank, and a maine piller of the Jesuitts faction, sayd in the presence of two very great lords that the pope went not well nor never would till God tooke him out of the world, and that hee is cause of dissention betweene preistes here in England. That w*hi*ch may most deterr his Holines from giving a remedy to these mischeifs is th*e* disposition of the State, as it is, perhaps, portraited to him. But lett it bee considered that our gratious soveraine is of a most mild and mercifull spirit, howsoever he may bee disposed in religion. And our most vertuous and Catholike queene beeing soe deere unto him, in so much that <th*e*> reciprocall love betweene them is admired by all, it cannot bee imagined that hee will bee ~~crewell~~ cruell [*p. 409*] to any of her religion, especially to those who jumpe w*i*th her in religious obedience to God and king. And howsoever the opposers of authority goe (as one of them sayd w*i*thin these few dayes) the way of th*e* State, yet are they noted to bee such as the State will never esteeme them nor trust them. It is credible ynough that our king hath the same dictamen with Constantius, and will never beleve they can bee true to their king who are false to their God.[1024] But lett it bee graunted that the State will not permitt episcopall authority over Catholiks, must not God be obeyed rather than man? And will

[1021] Sir William Herbert, 1st Baron Powis, husband of the 9th earl of Northumberland's youngest sister, Eleanor. I am very grateful to Mark Nicholls for his assistance with this point.

[1022] Francis Plowden Snr.

[1023] Amerigo Salvetti, ambassador in England of the grand duke of Tuscany.

[1024] The Emperor Constantius justified the employment of Christians in his service on the grounds that their open dissent from the imperial religion guaranteed that their professions of loyalty to himself must be true and not deceitful.

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their want men willing to spend their bloud in this cause? No, no, I dare say they will gladly suffer for the same furias atq*ue* ferocia etc. It is most lamentable to see th*e* contentions, disorders, enormities, and ou[t]rages committed by many Catholiks for want of authority. In so much that a good preist, prisoner in London, told mee w*i*thin these 24 howers that the Catholiks are noted to bee [the] most litigeous, most exorbitant, and most deboist of all other people here in London. And when hee hath laboured the conversion of some Protestants, they object these disorders and that there is not menes to remedy them. I protest before God and his angells that, if his Holines permitt the soveraigne authority to bee thus resisted, that [*sic*] every one may according to his humor reject what hee list. It will be the utter ruin of religion. In the name of Jesus Christ, whose vicar hee is, lett him performe his duty, et ruat caelum. Here you have a rude scantling of our misery.

Endevour to help us, and God bee your reward, Hantshire, 4° Februar[y] 1633.

Y*ou*rs,

Will[iam] Morgan

No address.

[*on p. 410*]

Endorsed: Of the libertinage of Catholicks for want of gov*er*m*en*t.
Of contemptible speaches of som*m*e Catholicks against the pope.
Of the necessity of a b*isho*p.

59. Roberts [George Leyburn] to Louis Amarine [Richard Smith], 29 April 1634

[*AAW, A XXVII, no. 144, pp. 441–444*]

Most honored sir,

Since I writte myne by the last weekes post I have received yours of the 26 of Apr[il]. M^r^ Car[1025] is arrived here and w*i*thin 15 dayes intendeth to returne agayne. He will have the best assistance th*a*t our friends can afforde, and I am confident th*a*t w*i*thin a short tyme th*a*t

[1025] Miles Pinckney.

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house[1026] will be prittely furnished. M[r] Chamberlayne[1027] is returned into thes partes. He is a man wedded to the fathers,[1028] and therfore noe wonder to be made of his reportes. The number of priests in prison are some 10, most of w*hi*ch I thinke would not enjoye ther freedome if they might, in regarde some charities are sent to the prison w*hi*ch would not be sent unto them in particuler, as Captayne Stuckley,[1029] Goodman,[1030] Rivers,[1031] M[r] Harris,[1032] Canon[1033] et[c]. I have spoke for a masti[v]e bitch to present unto Mons*ieu*r de Roche[1034] and I will endevour to send [it] by Humfry,[1035] but I desire to have a very good one.

I cannot tell what to say of Fa[ther] Francis his booke.[1036] Infallibly the State here will make great advantage of it, and I am told from

[1026] The new Augustinian convent at Paris. See *Letter 46*.

[1027] John Varder, alias Robert Chamberlain and Jones. See Anstr., II, pp. 326–327. He had been a chaplain in the French embassy in London.

[1028] Jesuits.

[1029] John Stukeley. See Anstr., II, p. 375. He had been imprisoned in Newgate in 1632.

[1030] John Goodman, first cousin of Godfrey Goodman, bishop of Gloucester. He was cited in a 1635 list of disreputable priests; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 68, p. 287. Although he had been converted to Catholicism by the secular priest Richard Ireland and entered the secular clergy's college at Douai in 1621, he joined the Jesuit novitiate at Watten in May 1624, though he did not stay; Anstr., II, p. 133.

[1031] John Abbot. He was a nephew of George Abbot. See *ibid.*, p. 1. He was released from Newgate on 13 April 1635.

[1032] Francis Harris. He had been sent to Newgate in December 1633; *ibid.*, p. 148.

[1033] Edmund Canon. See Anstr., I, p. 62. In 1635 he was described as 'ex praecipuis P. Prestoni alumnis. Male audit ob nimiam consuetudinem quam a multis annis habere dicitur cum uxore custodis carceris qui vocatur Clink, in quo longe tempore non tam detinetur quam sponte commoratur'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 68, p. 285.

[1034] Michel Masle, prieur des Roches.

[1035] This individual served as a letter-carrier for Richard Smith between France and England. In September 1636 Smith gave him Jacques Sirmond's *Antirrheticus II. De Canone Arausicano* (Paris, 1636) to take to England; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 161, p. 535; no. 163, p. 541.

[1036] Davenport, *Deus, Natura, Gratia*. When John Southcot and John Jackson met Gregorio Panzani in December 1634, they assured him that the book 'non haveva partorito bono effetto'. Davenport, with two other Franciscans, came to see Panzani shortly afterwards and promised to send him a copy of the book; VA, PD, fos 41r, 43r. On 3 January 1635 Robert Philip urged Panzani to find out from Sir Francis Windebank what the regime's opinion of Davenport's work was, and to reassure them that, if they approved it, he, Panzani, would try to ensure that it was not censured at Rome; *ibid.*, fo. 58r. William Howard came to Panzani on 11 January to convey a message from Windebank that the king was greatly displeased at news that a Scottish priest in Rome had claimed that the book was distasteful 'al re et al Stato'; *ibid.*, fo. 65r. On 14 January Windebank impressed on Panzani that the regime was anxious that Davenport's work should not be condemned at Rome, and Panzani informed Barberini of this in a letter of 16 January; *ibid.*, fo. 66r; VA, Barberini MS 8633, fo. 107r (transcript and translation at ABSJ). On 17 January, however, Robert Jenison SJ told Panzani that both Davenport's book and Roland (Thomas) Preston's *A Patterne of Christian Loyaltie* (London, 1634) (see *Letter 60*) were prohibited there; VA, PD, fo. 67r. On 10 March Davenport visited Panzani 'a dire molti buoni frutti del suo libre'; *ibid.*, fo. 84r; VA, Barberini MS 8633, fo. 137r (transcript and translation at ABSJ). Panzani advised Barberini that he had managed to delay the publication of a second edition; *ibid.*

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one who heard it from a privie counselleur that it was intended to mentayne the booke and the author. The poyntes of which they make ther advantage are thes. First they saye that now the papists seeketh to them. Secondlie the papists now confesseth them to be Catholiques who before ever styled them hereticks. Thirdly the papists now mentayneth the[i]rs to be true ministers. Fourthlie the papists now saye that it is indifferent to receave under both kinds and giveth [*sic*] hopes that the pope will bring [*word deleted*] <in> that custome agayne [i]nto the [C]hurch. Fiftly [*p. 442*] they like well his discourse about the power of princes. I doe assure you unfainedly I doe thinke that this booke will doe infinite hurt. Notwithstanding, here it is reported for certayne and was told Fa[ther] Ph[ilip] that the nuncio ther[1037] says that he is soe far from condemning the booke that he doth not finde any poynt which may deserve a censure. I praye informe your selfe.[1038]

I cannot furnish you with any occurrences more than I did imparte in my last. The court did remove to Greenwich on Mundaye last. Other matters M[r] Clerk[1039] will signifie.

And thus with my best wishes I rest, your obedient servant,

Roberts

Apr[il] 29 1634.

[*on p. 444*]

Addressed: A Monsieur Monsieur [*sic*] Louis Amarine marchant dans la Place Maubert a Paris.

Endorsed: About Clara his booke.

60. [George Leyburn] to Louis Amarine [Richard Smith], 22 May 1634[1040]

[*AAW, A XXVIII, no. 116, pp. 405–408*]

Most honored sir,

I have receaved yours of the 16 of Maye with the inclosed oath which the bishops ther are accustomed to take, and it will be presented unto the queen to showe unto his Majesty, and it may doe some good, but a declaration of the faculty ther would doe the deed, quite

[1037] Cardinal Alessandro Bichi. Bichi was shortly to be replaced as nuncio in Paris by Georgio Bolognetti, bishop of Ascoli; AAW, B 27, no. 124.

[1038] See Dockery, *CD*, ch. 4; Berington, *The Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani*, pp. 165–168, 176–177.

[1039] John Southcot.

[1040] Listed in the AAW, A series catalogue under 1636.

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overthrow Preston and his new worke,[1041] streng[t]hen and confirme many staggering Catho[lics] and prevent many mischiefs and inconveniences which are likely to rise, for infallibly, if it be not prevented, we shall have a great storme. It is threatned that the oath shall generally be proposed without exception of the queens servants. My Lord Cottington did speakely [*sic*] bravely to his Majesty at the councell table to hinder this designe, signifying the many inconveniences which may rise by disquieting the Catho[lics] who have lived quietly and peaceably without giving the least offence to his Majesty, and who have condescended willingly to grant a great part of ther estates to manifest how much they desire to give his Majesty all reasonable content. Notwithstanding, he could not prevaile. The b[ishop] of Canterbury[1042] presseth the king who also is informed that the king of France doth exact such an oath from his subjects. I protest unfainedly I thinke that the tymes will be very hard, and all this proceedeth from regulars and cheefly from Preston who doth informe that the bishop of Calcedoyne[1043] haith procured a new breve from Ro[me] to forbidde the oath and to take away his facultyes and that this breve is in the hands of some of the bishops officers. Is it not strang[e]? They can never compasse ther designes [*word omitted*: but] by forging apparent lyes. Will an everlasting sleep possesse that great city? Deale effectually with Monsieur <B[ichi]> nunce. [*p. 406*]

Sir Richard Lashford haith now taken the oath at the Kings Bench bar before the lord cheef justice.[1044] He supposed [*sic*] the kings

[1041] Preston, *A Patterne of Christian Loyaltie*, published under the pseudonym of William Howard. See R.E. Grun, 'A note on William Howard, author of a patterne of Christian loyaltie', *Catholic Historical Review*, 42 (1956–1957), pp. 330–340; Lunn, *EB*, pp. 52, 56; Albion, *CI*, ch. 11; *CSPD*, *1634–1635*, p. 19. In early 1635 Howard visited Gregorio Panzani to persuade him to negotiate with the regime over possible modifications of the 1606 oath of allegiance; VA, PD, fos 53r, 60r, 61r–2r.

[1042] William Laud.

[1043] Richard Smith.

[1044] See Knowler, *ESLD*, I, p. 242. On 1 May 1634 George Garrard reported that 'Sir Richard Lashford, a pensioner in ordinary, was sending two of his daughters to the nunneries beyond the seas', but they were 'stopp'd and sent back to London'. Laud dealt with Lashford, who 'offered to give caution that they should not go out of England' but refused to 'engage himself that they should conform themselves to the religion of the Church of England', and said that he was a 'Romish Catholick, and but lately converted'. He refused the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. Lashford was then dismissed from his position in the king's 'principal guard'. On 3 June Garrard noted that Lashford 'was again called before the lords, where the oath of allegiance was again offered to him, but he utterly refused it'. 'Order was given to the attorney to indite him in the King's Bench of a praemunire, but being brought thither, he took it before the judges'; *ibid.*, p. 261. In mid-April 1633 Lashford's daughters were noted by Sir Francis Windebank to be living at their aunt Mrs Hamnet's house in London. The eldest had become a Protestant and had received communion, at which Sir Richard had threatened to 'allow her nothing'; *CSPD*, *1633–1634*, p. 23. A petition from Lashford to the king, dated 1633 in *CSPD*, but evidently of 1634, related that

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declaration that he did exact noe more than a temporall alleagence, notw[it]hstanding he tooke it with much trembling. Howsoever I and many are confident that he would never have taken [it] thus if M^r^ Fisher[1045] had not given way unto it,[1046] and M^r^ Leck,[1047] who you know (as some others are) is imployed in a busines wher they desire not to appeare themselves, never parted from his elbowe.[1048] He was to give courrage unto him. From whence proceedeth all thes scandals? Now every one can saye that it is more than necessarie to have one cheef head established of whom all should depend to avoide scandall and confusion.

Now it is resolved to send M^r^ Herbert[1049] to Lisboa with all convenient speed.[1050] He was with us yesterdaye and haith given his

'during his attendance on his Majesty into Scotland' he had 'placed two of his daughters with a kinswoman in Surrey, whence without his knowledge they attempted to go out of the kingdom, with intent to enter some house of religion'. When they were arrested and he petitioned for their release, he was called into question concerning his religion; *CSPD, 1633–1634*, p. 348. In March and April 1634 the case of his daughters, Lettice and Mary, was dealt with before the high commission; *ibid.*, pp. 536, 581. Archbishop Laud claimed at his trial that among those he had converted from Rome to the Church of England were 'two daughters of Sir Rich. Lechford'. Laud alleged that he personally 'caused them to be brought back, before they were got out of the Thames. I settled their consciences, and both of them sent me great thanks, since I was a prisoner in the Tower'; Laud, *Works*, IV, p. 63. See also Albion, *CI*, p. 254.

[1045] John Percy SJ.

[1046] A memorandum in the secular clergy's Roman agent's papers recorded that Percy had instructed Lashford that the oath could not be taken under any circumstances but, just before Lashford was summoned from the Fleet to have it tendered to him, Percy sent him a note that it could be taken, and then Lashford was disowned by the Jesuits when he took the oath. The writer adds that this was all of a piece with the Society's strategy eventually to acquire Lashford's property. They did not want it to be lost through a praemunire conviction; AAW, A XXIX, no. 74, p. 245. For Percy's letter to Lashford, see AAW, A XXIX, no. 75. Percy visited Gregorio Panzani on 17 June 1635 in order to refute the accusation that he had persuaded Lashford to take the oath; VA, PD, fo. 97r. Percy had been arrested in December 1634 but was formally freed in August 1635 to live in London under the protection of the Villiers family; Hibbard, *CI*, p. 66; William Prynne, *The Popish Royall Favourite* (London, 1643), p. 32.

[1047] This is probably a reference to Thomas Leek, for whom see *NAGB*, pp. 52, 125. Leek was described in 1635 as 'unus ex alumnis Pa. Prestoni, et eiusdem librorum defensor strenuus. Gratus ob id statui, et praesertim episcopis Protestantibus Cantuariensi et Eboracensi. Dicitur satis commode vivere et comoedias saepe frequentare. Et quia indulgentioris naturae est, diversae faeminae Catholicae laxioris vitae, eum habent pro confessario Londini'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 68, p. 285.

[1048] Gregorio Panzani was told in late December 1634 by Thomas Middleton OP that Lashford's case had spurred the regime into a new bout of tendering the oath of allegiance to Catholics; VA, PD, fo. 50r.

[1049] Presumably this is William Philips, alias Johnson, Herbert, and Harrison (see Anstr., II, p. 244) though there is no record of him actually going to the college of Saints Peter and Paul at Lisbon.

[1050] On 12/22 July 1634 Smith wrote to Biddulph that 'I feare in R[ome] they wil shortly heare that they have overthrowne the college of Lisbon for want of setling a superior in England'; AAW, B 27, no. 124.

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consent. And it is wished that you will please to signifie soe much when you write.

I am told that when this business of the oath was in agitation the Jesuits did deale with my Lord Cottington to gett the king to change some two or 3 words in the oath to save his Holynes honour, and then they would persuade theirs to take it. Doe you thinke that the[y] had commission to propose this?

M^r^ Stratford[1051] is newly arrived. M^r^ Lay[burn's] enemyes doe beginne to stirre against him and they have complayned to the king that he haith writte to his Holynes twise of late against the oath. The king is of a most sweet [*word omitted*: disposition (?)] and for certayne doth not desire more alleagence from his Catho[lic] subjects than the king of France or Spaine exacteth from thers, and, when he doth observe that his Catholique subjects doe yeeld to any poynt of controversie against the whole current of Catholiques in other countryes, he doth not much esteeme them. He thinketh as Constantius did that those who will [*word omitted*: be (?)] false to ther consciences and to ther religion will never be true unto him, wherfore it is great pitty that ther is noe meanes to informe his Majesty truly of thinges as they passe in other countryes.

Sweet Jesus be with you. May 22.

[*on p. 408*]

Addressed: A Monsieur Monsieur [*sic*] Louis Amarine marchant demeurant dans la Place Maubert a Paris.

Endorsed: Of Preston.

61. Roberts [George Leyburn] to Louys Amarine [Richard Smith], 1 July 1634

[*AAW, A XXVII, no. 148, pp. 451–454*]

Most honored sir,

I have yours of the 28 of June, and some two dayes before arrived here the grand ausmonier[1052] with whom I have been as from you and our friends here. He did ever professe much affection towards me notwithstanding the many unjust informations against me. Our

[1051] Edmund Lechmere.
[1052] Jacques le Noël Du Perron.

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common adversaries have ther eyes constantly uppon me and my actions and useth all ther power and force to pull me doune, but as yett God haith not suffered them to prevaile against me. For my part I would have yeelded and forsaken the field, but all friends are against that in soe much that I am resolved to stand and hold my ground as long as I shall be able with Gods assistance. I writte unto you formerly how violently they did deale with a great lady to incense her Majesty against me, as the lady her selfe haith since confessed unto me, and therfore noe wonder if they have gott the ambassadeur possessed against me through ther unjust informations. For God knoweth that I never in all my life sent trunck over with an addresse unto the ambasssadeur. The Jesuists and ther friends did, and the ambassadeur did cease uppon them, and his men after did sell the bookes, which was an unworthie part for an ambassadeur. But thos informations which you mention to be given against [*word omitted*: me (?)] I doe imagine to proceed from M^r^ Foster and Buttard[1053] whos acquaintance will hurt the ambassadeur more than he can imagine.

I hope that John[1054] will be readie to returne the next week. He is now gone unto the grand ausmonier who promiseth to dispatch him this week, but if the ambassadeur come as sodainely as is expected I wish him to staye his arrivall here. I am confident that M^rs^ Salesburie is with you before this. If gold be decryed she will suffer great losse in transporting soe much as she did. I beseech you to present my humble respects unto her and I shall daily praye for her, for she is good and zealous. And here will be a misse of her. Your man ad informandum is vanished from the begining. I sayd that it was [*p. 452*] an invention to feed us with longer delayes. Notwithstanding, the party whom I did mention in my former doth assure me that we shall have a resolution before Christemas. I have now conferred with M^r^ Douglas who doth assure me that Signor Georgio[1055] is our true friend and that his Holynes is now much alienated from the regulars, howsoever heretofore he was much for them in regard he did give creditt unto ther false informations.

Yesterdaye I was with M^r^ Colleton and at the same tyme the earle of Dorsett sett [*sic for* sent] for him to dyne with him at Eltame house, and at dynner amongst other discourse he told him that he did safe the bishops life twise, and that the puretans did not persecute the bishop soe much as the regulars did, and that it was a regular, and his lordship knew the man, who did first propose unto the State a forme how to

[1053] See *Letter 57*. The expected ambassador was the marquis de Pougny.

[1054] Presumably either John Galmarch or John Legat, both of whom are mentioned in *Letters 81*, *82*.

[1055] George Con.

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persecute the bishop.[1056] I shall acquainte Mr Fitton[1057] with thus much and I wish that he would testifie soe much under his hand.

4 of the witches condemned at Lancaster were sent for and all this week they have been at Greenwich and the king did examine them and will not believe that they are witches, although one did confesse her selfe a witch, and haith dismissed them, and given them money to beare their charges into the country.[1058] This proceeding will make many more witches in Lancheshire and in other places. King James would never believe that there could be any witches, and many curtyers are of that opinion and some that ther are noe divels.

The court removeth to morrowe from Greenwich and the queen cometh to Somersett house wher she will staye untill Mundaye and then the court removeth to Tybulls[1059] wher it stayeth untill the begining of the progresse which will be the 14 of July.

I heare that all the ministers shall be consecrated anew by some bishop made by Bishop Spalato.[1060] The b[ishop] of Canterbury that now is was consecrated bishop by him.[1061] I heare also that Mr Preston, Father Francis,[1062] Don David,[1063] and Mr Howard[1064] doe often meet together.

[1056] Smith repeated this story to Biddulph in a letter of 12/22 July 1634; AAW, B 27, no. 124.

[1057] Peter Biddulph.

[1058] Edward Rossingham informed Viscount Scudamore on 11 July 1634 that 'the witches that were at Greenwich with the king have been search[e]d at the Surgeons Hall'. The three younger witches 'have no markes about them', but the older one 'hath a long excrescence of flesh in ana, which the surgeons say may bee caus[e]d' by haemorrhoids 'for they have known the like'. She also had 'upon her buttockes a thing like a tett, almost halfe an inch long, but they cannot find with their instrumentes any orefice' from which 'any moysture should come'. She 'confesseth the devell suckt her, and lay with her'. The other witches denied that 'they have had to doe with the devill in any kind'; PRO, C 115/106/8426. See also J. Sharpe, *Instruments of Darkness* (London, 1996), pp. 126–127; C. L'Estrange Ewen, *Witchcraft and Demonianism* (London, 1933), pp. 244–251; A. Findlay, 'Sexual and spiritual politics in the events of 1633–34 and *The Late Lancashire Witches*', in R. Poole (ed.), *The Lancashire Witches* (Manchester, 2003), pp. 146–165.

[1059] Theobalds.

[1060] Marc'Antonio de Dominis, archbishop of Spalato.

[1061] William Laud was consecrated as bishop of St David's in 1621 by, among others, George Montaigne, bishop of London. Montaigne had been consecrated in 1617 by, among others, Marc'Antonio de Dominis; W. Stubbs (ed.), *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1897), pp. 115, 116. Montaigne was, as Kenneth Fincham notes, 'an ally of the Arminian interest'; K. Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 239–240.

[1062] Christopher Davenport (Francis a Sancta Clara) OFM.

[1063] David Codner OSB. In September 1634, Cardinal del Bagno informed Gregorio Panzani that Codner, 'un homo molto destro et ardente', was thought to be 'ministro principalissimo del Prestonio'; VA, PD, fo. 26r.

[1064] William Howard, fifth son of Lord William Howard of Naworth. See Grun, 'A note on William Howard'; Lunn, *EB*, p. 126. For Howard's long-standing connection with the Benedictine order, which he had once considered joining, see AAW, A XI, no. 124, p. 337; *NAGB*, pp. 162, 181.

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This is all, onely I wish you all happines who am y*our* obedient servant.

Fa[ther] Leander[1065] is com[me]d over.

Roberts

July 1 1634.

[*on p. 454*]

Addressed: A Monsieur Mons*ieu*r [*sic*] Louys Amarine marchant demeurant dans la Place Maubert a Paris.

Endorsed: L*or*d Dorset of regulars.

62. Roberts [George Leyburn] to Fitton [Peter Biddulph], 5 July 1634

[*AAW, A XXVII, no. 149, pp. 455–456*]

Worthie sir,

Yesterdaye I receaved yours of the 7 of June w*i*th one inclosed unto Mons*ieu*r Philip, and th*a*t to her Ma*jes*ty will this daye be delivered and I hope th*a*t it will doe great good. Howsoever we are infinitely obliged unto th*a*t noble gentleman whose friends here are all in perfect health. His <man> parted many dayes aggoe and from Dover he writte unto me. You feed us constantly w*i*th hopes, but when shall ther be a wish[e]d resolution? If his Holynes were truly acquainted w*i*th the proceedings of the regulars in this country he would be much more sensible of our affayres. Onely 5 dayes aggoe a deare friend[1066] of myne did dyne w*i*th a great privie counceller[1067] whom I could nominate, and he told him th*a*t the puretans did not persecute the bishop soe much as the regulars, and th*a*t it was a regular and (says he) I doe knowe him very well, who first of all did propose unto the State a forme how to persecute the bishop. This is soe certayne th*a*t my friend will take his oath uppon it.

The French ambassadeur is newly arrived. The grand ausmonier arrived 5 dayes before.[1068] The queen is now at Somersett house to gayne the jubile[e]s. On Mundaye the court doth remove to Tybuls, and, on Mundaye after, the progresse dothe beginne. The witches,

[1065] John (Leander) Jones OSB. For his mission to England in 1634, see Hibbard, *CI*, pp. 45–46; G. Sitwell, 'Leander Jones's mission to England, 1634–1635', *RH*, 5 (1960), pp. 132–182.

[1066] John Colleton. See *Letter 61*.

[1067] Edward Sackville, 4th earl of Dorset.

[1068] Jacques le Noël Du Perron. For the ambassador, see *Letter 63*.

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w*hi*ch in a former[1069] I did [men]tion, will not <be> believed to be witches, notw*i*thstanding th*a*t one doth con[fess]e her selfe a witch, and therfore shall returne into Lancheshire agayne.

Sweet Jesus be w*i*th you. July 5 1634.

[*on p. 456*]

Addressed: A Mons*ieu*r Monsieur [*sic*] Fitton a R[ome].

Endorsed: Roberts. 4 [*sic*] July.
Concerning the regulars causing the persecution against my l*or*d.

63. [John Southcot][1070] to Louys Amerin [Richard Smith], 9 July 1634[1071]

[*AAW, A XXVII, no. 152, pp. 461–464*]

[Most honoured master,]

The last weeke, bycause I was not well disposed, I entreated John[1072] to excuse me to you. Since I wrote last I must acknowledg the receipt of two of yours of the 28 June and 5^{t} July.

I entreated John to inquire diligently among the stationers about the printing of Aurelius,[1073] but he saieth none will undertake it, especially to ~~sell~~ <take> the coppies <to> them selves, not houlding it a book sailable. Besides they all doubt of having leave to print it, without w*hi*ch none will venture uppon it. And surely it were better [*three words deleted*] and easier to send it into some part of Germany and to have it donn there.

O*u*r meeting had the less successe in regard we waunt a head without w*hi*ch nothing can be donn to any purpose either out of meetings or in meetings. Neither can parish priests be made without a b*ish*op. In fine all o*u*r miseries are attributed to my l*or*ds[1074] absence, by whose example others are animated also to fly and leave all. O*u*r brethren were all of opinion that it was necessary for my l*or*d either to come back speedily or else to go to Rome and there to negotiat

[1069] *Letter 61*.
[1070] The AAW, A series catalogue erroneously attributes this letter to John Bosvile.
[1071] Misdated in the AAW, A series catalogue to 7 July 1634.
[1072] Presumably either John Galmarch or John Legat, both of whom are mentioned in *Letters 81, 82*.
[1073] i.e. a revised version of Jean Duvergier de Hauranne, *Anaereticus adversus Errores & Hereses* (Paris, 1633). See Allison, RSGB, III, pp. 194–195.
[1074] Richard Smith.

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his own cause, or, if neither would be donn, they expect he should procure an other to be sent hither in his place to governe, for as the case is now they hould them selves in worse state than when they had no b*isho*p at all. I make bould to signify plainly thus much to my l*or*d that somwhat may be donn if it be possible for the satisfaction of o*ur* brethren who are all generally discontented. As for my self I can but pitty o*ur* case and pray for amendment, having laboured the best I [*p. 462*] could hitherto, though to little purpose, seeing all the fruicts we [*ms torn*] nothing but discontent [and] confusion. I ame now in[vi]ted by my father and some other freinds into the country, where I know not how long I shall stay, whether a month or six weekes, and therfor wish that no letters be addressed to me till my rettorne from this time, as this wilbe also th*e* last th*at* I write to you. M[r] Fountaine[1075] hath bin with the new ambassador[1076] and I hope will take possession of the two chambers promised. Fa[ther] Leander[1077] is come hither and hath bin with my l*or*d of Canterb[ury].[1078] I visited him once or twice, and spake in generall termes of peace to w*hi*ch he seemes very inclinable, and when he sees M[r] Bennet [he] will treat further therof.

Thus referring all occurrences to M[r] Fountaine I humbly rest. 9 July 1634.

[*on p. 464*]

Addressed: Pour Mons*ieu*r Louys Amerin a Paris.

No endorsement.

64. Roberts [George Leyburn] to Fitton [Peter Biddulph], 12 July 1634

[*AAW, A XXVII, no. 153, pp. 465–466*]

Worthie sir,

I have yours this week of the 7 of June, wherin you mention letters of M[r] Mountegues[1079] sent by the way of Paris w*hi*ch as yett I have not receaved. His to her Maj*es*ty was delivered on Saterdaye last and she sayd to the party who did deliver it th*at* she did much wonder how he

[1075] George Leyburn.
[1076] Jean d'Angennes, marquis de Pougny, who had arrived in England on 6 July. See *CSPV, 1632–1636*, p. 243.
[1077] John (Leander) Jones OSB.
[1078] William Laud.
[1079] Walter Montagu.

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knew all thos passages. Certaynely (sayd she agayne) the cardenal[1080] haith told him. As I did signifie unto you in my former, the author of the booke in defense of the oath[1081] had not th*a*t successe w*hi*ch he did expect in regard th*a*t he was not soe malicious but the king was as mercifull, and I doe assure you th*a*t if his Ma*jes*tyes clemency did not exceed Prestons passion it had gone very hard with Catholiques. Ther haith been an answere written to this defense by one M^r^ Curtney, a lay gentleman but very learned.[1082] It was feared th*a*t this answere should have much incensed his Ma*jes*ty sed misericordia eius est supra omnia eius. The written copye is suppressed and noe more sayd. Fa[ther] Leander[1083] is now in this towne. He writte unto his Grace of

[1080] Presumably Cardinal Francesco Barberini. See Foster, 'Walter Montague, courtier, diplomat and abbot, 1603–77 – I', pp. 95–96.

[1081] Preston, *A Patterne of Christian Loyaltie*. See *Letter 60*.

[1082] The reference here is, in fact, to the Jesuit Edward Leedes. He was subsequently arrested (in late October 1634) for writing against the oaths of allegiance and supremacy in refutation of Roland (Thomas) Preston OSB; Foley, I, pp. 251–268; Hibbard, *CI*, pp. 68–69; VA, PD, fo. 39r. Gregorio Panzani was informed, on his arrival in England, by Robert Philip that Leedes had initially satisfied the privy council that he was justified in writing his reply to Preston, 'ma perchè dopoi l'istesso venne in contesa per lettere con certi altri preti sopra l'istessa materia, essi preti havevano procurata la sua carceratione'; *ibid*, fos 39r–40r. (On 7 January 1635 Windebank informed Panzani of the royal displeasure at Leedes's attack on Preston, although by early February Windebank was, according to John Southcot, softening his criticism of Leedes, allowing that he in conscience believed that Preston's book should not have been published; *ibid.*, fos 62r, 73r.) John (Leander) Jones OSB wrote against Leedes's opinions on the oath; Foley, I, p. 253; Sitwell, 'Leander Jones's mission to England, 1634–5', pp. 148–149. See AAW, A XXVII, no. 176 (Leedes's 'discourse to M^r^ [Roger] Widdrington' of 24 November 1634, followed by an account of the 'conference' between them on 26 November); AAW, A XXVII, no. 179 (Leedes's declaration of 6 December 1634); AAW, A XXVII, no. 180 (another declaration, of 7 December, by Leedes). Leedes's 'discourse' of 24 November rejected a number of opinions attributed to him. In particular, he denied that he had ever 'maintained either as a matter of certaintie or matter of myne owne opinion the popes definitive power to depose or deprive soveraine princes by decreeinge a king to be no king'. Instead he affirmed that the deposing power was 'uncertaine and problematicall' and therefore 'not to be practised lawfully', but not to be 'certainly forsworne' either. However, he claimed that 'in cause of necessitie for defence of religion' the pope can use his 'spirituall power' to 'excite and com*m*aund princes to use theire temporall swordes'. Leedes alleged that he made these, and other arguments, 'to distinguish poynts of religion for w*hi*ch wee refuse this oath from matter of alleadgeance' and also 'to prevent a generall premunier [*sic*] which was then expected to ensue upon the doctrine of M^r^ Howards booke, if my booke should happen to be seene of the State, w*hi*ch nevertheles I intended not'. For the imprisoned Leedes's correspondence with Windebank, see Foley, I, pp. 255–263. In October 1635 Arthur Brett, appointed as Henrietta Maria's envoy to Rome, was instructed by Charles to 'press earnestly for some exemplary punishment to be inflicted' upon Leedes 'for daring so presumptuously without licence from that See to awaken that subject which of late hath been prudently laid asleep'; *ibid.*, p. 259. The Venetians obtained copies of some of the declarations and statements which passed between Leedes and Widdrington; *CSPV, 1632–1636*, pp. 311–313. See also AAW, A XXVIII, no. 220 ('Propositions in M^r^ Courtney's discourse'); Lunn, *EB*, p. 56.

[1083] John (Leander) Jones OSB.

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Canterbury[1084] (whos scoole fellow he was formerly)[1085] to have leave to come over and the bishop did acquainte the king with his letter, and order was given to the secretary[1086] to write for him, which he did. And alreadie he haith been with the secretary as also with the b[ishop] of Canterbury who haith entertayned him very curteously 3 severall tymes, and his Grace did much discourse about the oath and the lawfulnes of it.[1087] All this I knew last Saterdaye and since I have not heard any thing, onely that he is much visited by Preston and M[r] Price,[1088] and they have often dyned together, which maketh me suspect noe good. The Jesuists have made meanes to a great person, a counceller of state, to assure the king that they have receaved an order from ther generall neither to write nor dispute against the oath; and this haith been signifyed unto his Majesty. You see in what a world we doe live. And believe it. Ro[me] is the cause of all thes disorders that will not constitute a head amongst us here. The French ambassadeur[1089] had a very gratious audience yesterdaye at Tyballs, and ther was with him the Holland ambassadeur[1090] who tooke the queens dwarfe[1091] for the young prince and made a speech unto him which made the king and queen laugh.[1092]

Sweet Jesus be with you. July 12 1634.

The tyme of the progresse I shall be out of this towne, which will be for 6 weekes.

[*on p. 465*]

Endorsed: Within this pacquett are letters from Fa[ther] Ph[ilip] and Fa[ther] Viett.

[*on p. 466*]

Addressed: A Mons*ieu*r Monsieur [*sic*] Fitton a Rome.

Endorsed: Roberts. 12 Julye.
About order given to the Jesuitts not to dispute against the oath.

[1084] William Laud.
[1085] See Foley, I, p. 254.
[1086] Sir Francis Windebank.
[1087] For John (Leander) Jones's discussions with Laud, particularly concerning whether an accommodation could be reached over the oath of allegiance, see Sitwell, 'Leander Jones's mission to England, 1634–5', *passim*.
[1088] William (Benedict) Jones OSB.
[1089] Jean d'Angennes, marquis de Pougny. See *CSPV*, *1632–1636*, p. 247.
[1090] Albert Joachimi.
[1091] Geoffrey Hudson.
[1092] See *CSPV*, *1632–1636*, p. 251.

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65. [George Leyburn] to [Richard Smith], 1 October 1634

[AAW, A XXVII, no. 171, pp. 521–522]

Most honored sir,

The messenger of this weeke is not as yett arrived, soe that I have not any of yours to answere. Neither I have [*sic*] much to write. On Sundaye and Mundaye I was at Hampton Court wher our good friends did remember you in all harty manner, but not any newes of an informer. I perceave clearely that all this summer some friendly correspondence betwixt Rome and us haith been about to be setled, but as yett it hangs somewhat doubtfully and has not that wish[e]d successe as was expected. The party[1093] imployed in this is the man uppon whos relation (if he chance to come over) the wish[e]d conclusion of our affayres doe [*sic*] depend.

3 dayes aggoe the busines of Sir John Winter and Sir Basile Brookes et[c] was heard before the king and councell, and they are absolutely cast and lye at the kings mercy. I was told by a great person that the busines was found soe foule that not any durst open ther mouthes in ther behalfe. I am verily persuaded that they will be utterly ruined unlesse her Majesty in regard of ther religion doe obtayne some favor for them.[1094] I protest unfainedly it doth infinitely grieve me that they are Catholiques, to scandalize ther religion by ther unworthie

[1093] Gregorio Panzani.

[1094] In summer 1634, Sir John Winter (nephew of the earl of Worcester, and future secretary to Henrietta Maria) and Sir Basil Brooke (Smith's opponent in the approbation controversy), were fined for encroachments on royal forests. As the Venetian ambassador, Francesco Zonca, related it, the earl of Holland, 'superintendent and general judge of a large part of the forests of this kingdom', had understood that 'an immense quantity of trees were being felled clandestinely' in the Forest of Dean which was 'under his jurisdiction in the county of Gloucester, from which alone the best timber is obtained for the royal ships'. Holland 'had the damage estimated and condemned four offenders', namely Brooke and Winter, and Lord Treasurer Portland's secretary, John Gibbon and Brooke's associate, Sir George Mynne, 'sentencing them to pay over 60,000[l] sterling, as damages for the harm done and as a fine for their breach of the law'; *CSPV, 1632–1636*, pp. 263–264, 293; Alexander, *CLT*, pp. 194–197; Hibbard, *CI*, p. 62. For Edward Rossingham's accounts of the case, see PRO, C 115/106/8427, 8428, 8436, 8437, 8443. Rossingham noted on 3 October 1634 that 'upon Sunday last the king was pleased to heare the whole businesse of the Forrest of Deane'. 'Sir Basill Brooke had in his petition to the king cast some assertions upon the proceedings of the justice seate.' After 'a full heareing', 'order was given by the boord that a bill should be exhibited into the court of star chamber' against Brooke 'for his scandalous petition'; PRO, C 115/106/8436.

As Kevin Sharpe points out, however, the fines levied were not what was actually paid into the exchequer. Sir John Winter was adjudged to forfeit £20,230, but this was cut to £4,000. Brooke and Mynne had their fines reduced, and simply surrendered their ironworks, Sharpe, *PR*, pp. 119, 243. (For Winter's reasons why the damages found against him should be waived, see *CSPD, 1635*, p. 100; PRO, C 115/106/8436. For Brooke's reasons, see *CSPD*,

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proceedings, and also to wrong and scandalize soe good a prince of whom we are not worthie.[1095] Is it not strang[e]? The Catholiques who were the contrivers of the gunpowder plott were all the Jesuists gostly childeren, and now agayne all our Catholique projecteurs against whom the whole kingdome cryeth fearefully are all the Jesuists childeren directed by them. It were good th*a*t the sadle were sett upon the right horse and th*a*t all other Catholiques should make a publique disclaime from thes foule proceedings of the Jesuists and thers. I doe assure you faithfully I doe not speake this out of any the least malice but out of a true zeale to make appeare to our king and country th*a*t the Catholique religion will not approve such proceedings. Who can now wonder th*a*t thes men were the cheef opposers of episcopall authority? I feare th*a*t the hand of God doth hang over them for th*a*t very act. For other occurences I doe remitte you to the inclosed. The French ambassadeur[1096] haith alreadie lost him selfe. He will never be able to doe the least good. Foster is continually in his co[a]ch w*i*th him. I am very sorrie for him for he is a vertuous good man, and if he would have been advised he might have done better.

Y*ou*r obedient servant.

Octob[e]r 1 [*word deleted*] 1634.

I will be myndfull of y*ou*r niece[1097] at the next opportunity.

[*on p. 521*]

Endorsed: This inclosed I receaved from y*ou*r best lady[1098] who doth remember her selfe in all harty manner.

1635, pp. 253, 262, 308, 309.) Holland had been put under house arrest in the previous year after the king had intervened to prevent a duel between him and Jerome Weston, the son of the lord treasurer; Sharpe, *PR*, pp. 176–177. The Forest Eyre thus served Holland, even if indirectly, as a means of revenge. The Jesuit Robert Jenison interpreted this episode as a sign that the king cared little for Catholics, treating them merely as a source of revenue, 'et che hora vuol togliere certa foresta ad alcuni Catholici baroni'; VA, PD, fo. 51r.

[1095] Leyburn seems to be picking up here on the anti-Catholic *obiter dicta* coming out of this case. Rossingham had reported on 1 August 1634 that Sir John Finch had said 'in his pleadinge [. . .] that in '88 the Spanish designe was (in case there invincible armada were overthrown) how they might destroy the Forrest of Deane, from whence our navie was supplyed', and that the principal ravagers 'of this forrest at present were papistes'; PRO, C 115/106/8427. On 3 October Rossingham recorded that Archbishop Laud 'spake home in the businesse' and said that 'it is not the abuse of destroying the forrest alone w*hi*ch wee must looke after, but the parties that have done yt', and 'of what religion they are'; PRO, C 115/106/8436.

[1096] Jean d' Angennes, marquis de Pougny.

[1097] Mary Gildon.

[1098] Anne (Philipson), Baroness Arundell.

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[*on p. 522*]

Addressed: Pour mon maistre a Paris.

Endorsed: Sir Basil Brooke.

66. [George Leyburn] to Louis Ameryn [Richard Smith], 19 November 1634[1099]

[*AAW, A XXIV, no. 206, pp. 747–748*]

Most honored sir,

This morning I have yours of 16 of November. Humfrey parted with your neece[1100] two dayes aggoe, and I hope that they will be with you before this. As for M^r^ Clerk[1101] he doth absolutely refuse the authority which M^r^ Norton had. M^r^ Colleton was very earnest with him, as also my selfe. I have seen here one of M^r^ Chambers booke[s] concerning premotion. His brother[1102] ther may doe good offices for he haith great power with Signor Georgio,[1103] and his relation will be credited sooner than an other by the cardenal protector,[1104] and he doth constantly corresponde with Fa[ther] Ph[ilip]. I am sorie for that confusion in Arras Colledge, and more sorie that the moneys due unto that house are not better imployed. As concerning Sir Basil,[1105] his hearing daye was to have been yesterdaye, but it is deferred to the begining of the next moneth. It is certayne that it will goe very ill with him. This weeke a letter[1106] was writte to the cardenal protector in such manner as you desired and we gott Fa[ther] Ph[ilip] to second it unto Signor Georgio and to enclose in his not any newes of the informeur. I writte unto you in a former that M^r^ Courtney[1107] was areyned at the King[']s Bench barr, but it was not soe. He had onely the two oathes tendered. It is generally thought that he shall be areyned. Notwithstanding, I am of opinion that he will not. Ther was lately brought unto his neece[1108]

[1099] This letter is dated 19 November 1631 in the AAW, A series catalogue.
[1100] Mary Gildon.
[1101] John Southcot.
[1102] See Allison, RSGB, I, p. 362.
[1103] George Con.
[1104] Cardinal Francesco Barberini.
[1105] Sir Basil Brooke. See *Letter 65*.
[1106] Presumably AAW, A XXVI, no. 175 (a letter dated 6 November 1634 from the English secular clergy to Cardinal Francesco Barberini, lamenting the silence which greets their petitions to the Holy See, and that Rome is now a stepmother rather than a mother to them).
[1107] Edward Leedes SJ. See *Letter 64*.
[1108] This may be a reference to John Leedes's daughter, Magdalen.

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her lodging a great pacquett addressed unto him, and his brother, Mr Alexander Courtney, being ther did open it, and found a good big pacquett of papers sealed with this superscription, 'a Couling card for Courtney'. He, imagining some trick or other, did presently repayre unto Secretary Winnebanck, and presented unto him this pacquett which he, opening, found it subscribed by George Machell.[1109] This doth shewe a great violence. Preston of the Clinke, Mr Preston of the Mannor Withrington,[1110] Howard,[1111] Father Leander,[1112] Father Price,[1113] [and] Machell doe meet very often together. Believe it, all the cheef monckes are for the oath. Fa[ther] Leander and Price are constantly with Howard, and Fa[ther] Leander sayes Masse in his chamber uppon the Sundayes. I can assure you now that Father Leanders comming was onely about the oath, and I am privately informed that the archbishop of Canterbury[1114] haith promised them that if they can persuade the Catholiques of England to take the oath that then the king will declare them good subjects and capable of all sorts of offices, and after that a parlament shall be called. Poore men. I feare much that they will be deceaved. Shillingworth,[1115] of whom you have formerly heard, haith now begunne a new sect, and has his followers, and they are called Succinians,[1116] and ther cheef principall <is> that, wher the holy Scripture may be interpreted two or more wayes, a man may lawfully adhere unto any.

This is all, onely my best wishes for your happines. November 19 1634.

Mr Clerke did deale about sending your trunckes. He can best certifie you concerning them. I sent at the same tyme a rundelett of sack for Mrs Salesbury.

[*on p. 748*]

Addressed: A Monsieur Monsieur [*sic*] Louis Ameryn marchant demeurant en la Place Maubert a Paris.

Endorsed: Monks for the oathe.

[1109] For the priest George Machell, see Anstr., II, pp. 206–207. In AAW, A XXVIII, no. 68, he is named as a supporter of Roland (Thomas) Preston OSB. He is also said to have been expelled from the seminaries at Rome and Douai, and is accused of leading a dissolute life in taverns.

[1110] i.e. the Northumberland gentleman Roger Widdrington, under whose name Roland (Thomas) Preston OSB wrote.

[1111] William Howard.

[1112] John (Leander) Jones OSB.

[1113] William (Benedict) Jones OSB.

[1114] William Laud.

[1115] William Chillingworth.

[1116] Socinians.

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67. 'Reasons to perswade the Court of Rome that a Catholick Bishop in England is not offensive to the king and State', 1634

[*AAW, A XXVII, no. 204, pp. 717–724*]

Considering that his Ma*jes*ty hath no small number of subjects in his realme of England who professe the Catholick Roman Religion, and that it is not his Ma*jest*[i]es pleasure to have them oppressed or extirpated, but rather preserved, as is evident both by his Ma*jest*[i]es naturall inclination to clemency and by sundry p*ar*ticuler examples thereof, [and] considering also the multitude of priests both secular and regular that are sent hither in mission from time to time to direct the consciences of the said Catholicks in matters spirituall; and that the State useth to distinguish betweene priest and priest and betweene Catholick and Catholick, holding the secular clergy and their adherents for men more disinteressed and of a truer zeale towards their king and countrey, there semeth to bee noe question but that the king and State doe judge it safer for them selves that the said Catholicks and priests should be subject to a spirituall sup*erio*ur of their owne profession residing ordinarily w*i*thin the realme than p*er*mitted to live confusedly w*i*thout order or governeme*n*t amongst them. Neither would any sup*erio*ur under the degree of a bishop serve for this purpose, or any authority lesse than episcopall be respected by so great a multitude, as the notable inconveniences that followed upon the archpriests[1117] governeme*n*t doe sufficiently prove when priests and Catholicks were p*er*haps not so many as now they are.

Fower thinges therefore seeme fitt to be supposed in a Catholick bishop sutable to the p*re*sent times in England. 1. That he be a man of a temperat disposition in respect of State matters and zealously affected to his prince and countrey. 2. That he take an o[a]th of fidelity and obedience to the king such as shalbe expressed at the end of these reasons. 3. That his authority be only spirituall and over Catholicks only. 4. That the execuc*i*on of his authority be w*i*thout noise or forme of tribunal. And that such a bishop is not thought by the king and State to be hurtfull, but rather helpfull and usefull to them, may bee gathered by many p*ar*ticulers.

First they know very well that episcopall governeme*n*t is the naturall and ordinary governeme*n*t of the Catholick Church in all places, and, seing the king and State pretend not to punish Catholickes for any point of their religion, it may well be p*re*sumed that they will not be offended that the Catholicks of England be governed according to

[1117] See *NAGB*, introduction.

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the principles of their religion, and in the same manner as all other Catholickes in the world are usually governed.

They knowe also and observe that no harme hath hitherto befallen the State from Catholickes since it pleased King James, his Ma*jes*t[i]es father, to give way to the restoring of this governeme*n*t,[1118] nor that the State hath any way bin p*re*judiced by the like governeme*n*t in Ireland, where notw*i*thstanding there are sev*er*all Catholick [*p. 718*] bishops, and those not titular only (as now in England) but proper diocesans of the place, whereas it is yet fresh in their remembrance what hath been attempted by some ill advised English Catholickes guided in conscience by such as are the greatest opposers of episcopall authority against the king and State in former tymes when there was noe bishop yet ordained to governe them.

It hath bin the observation and ingenuous confession of many wise and moderat Protestants that these late troubles and dissensions amongst Catholickes doe shewe apparently how behoofull it is, even in regard of the State it selfe, that they should be governed by a well settled episcopall authority. For the State, well seing the great opposition and tumult w*hi*ch hath bin raised through th*e* popular conduct of so many sev*er*all guides against a Catholick bi*sho*p, although hee were lawfully sent to governe them, and they by the principles of their religion bound to admitt him or at least not to oppose him, doe thence argue and judge how easily the same men might be induced, upon the like groundes, to cause an insurrection alsoe against their temporall prince when the tymes and circumstances should be answerable to their expectac*i*on therein.

They know likewise that they who are reputed to be the chiefe authors of this opposition against a Catholick bishop have done it out of a respect of interest, and for their owne p*ar*ticuler endes, the w*hi*ch as in this they are contrary to the generall end and spirituall good of Catholicks, so are they in the opinion of all com*m*on wealthes <men> as litle sutable to the temporall good of the State, and therefore to all prudent men it semeth very reasonable that the State, rather than favo*ur* the desighnes of those whome they account their inbred enemies, should choose to connive at a Catholick bishop, the setling of whose authority they plainely see is the only way to curb them, and to keepe them in due subjection both to the Church and State. And here to passe but lightly over the innumerable oppressions used formerly by them whilst there was no bishop to extinguish the whole clergy secular of England, or att leaste to bring them into a perpetuall thraledome under them selves, first by possessing their seminaries and

[1118] A reference to the appointment in 1623 of William Bishop as bishop of Chalcedon over England and Scotland.

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colleges abroad, next by thrusting an archpriest insteed of a bishop upon them, and him a man[1119] that was wholy at their devotion; then by causing their lectures in Doway Colledge to be taken [*p. 719*] from them, and procuring by a speciall breve that no clergy man bredd in their seminaries should be made doct*o*ur in any university w*i*thout p*ar*ticuler leave from them;[1120] finally by using many slights to supplant the priests in England, and to turne them out of their residences; not to insist upon these p*ar*ticulers, w*hi*ch are all noe lesse knowne to the State of England than to this court of Rome, the mayne and monstrous opposition w*hi*ch they have made, from tyme to tyme, for the space of almost forty yeares togeather, first against the creation and bringing in of a Catholick bishop, and now against his setling and the peceable enjoying of his authority, is so publickly knowne, and hath bin so well considered by the wisest men of State who [*word deleted*] <looke> w*i*th an indifferent eye and unp*re*occupated mind into the busines, as they judge that it is not w*i*thout <great> cause they are so eager and vigilant in opposing a bishop. And it was the opinion of the late most prudent prince King James that nothing w*hi*ch the State could invent to doe for the just restraint of those men would be so efficacious or so proper as to suffer a Catholick bishop with full spirituall authority to bee placed over the priests and Catholickes of o*u*r kingdome. And this was the cause why his Ma*jes*ty[e]s royall predecesso*u*rs Queene Elizabeth and King James in their princely wisdomes did ever more judg it convenient to favo*u*r and protect (as farr as the times would then p*er*mitt) ~~as farre as the times would~~ the appeales and p*re*tensions of the secular clergy against the others unjust intrusions and oppressions, and King James in p*ar*ticuler thought it fitt uppon this ground to give way to the making and bringing in of the former bishop[1121] into England. They conceave furthermore that a Catholick bishop, as he is supposed to have sworne fidelity and obedience to the king, so hee may powerfully p*er*swade, and (if need bee) ordaine, that all priests and Catholicks under his com*m*aund, especially they whoe are first brought into the Church, shall take the same o[a]th w*hi*ch no doubt will give the State a generall good assurance and satisfaction touching their loialty.

They conceave likewise that a prudent bishop by the example of his owne moderation, and by his pastorall care and vigilancy, may p*re*serve the Catholickes not only in peace amongst them selves but in <a> generall good temper and disposition of mind towards the State, whereby they will become lesse capable to follow novelties or to take

[1119] The archpriest George Blackwell.
[1120] See *NAGB*, p. 7.
[1121] William Bishop.

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daungerous impressions of disloyalty from any discontented spirit. [*p. 720*]

They see plainely that such a bishop may take away, or moderat by his authority, many great abuses (whereby the State is insensibly weakened) that grow amongst the Catholickes for want of spirituall governeme*n*t, and may p*re*vent sundry practizes amongst them that are of bad example in a State, and tend to the disturbance of the com*m*on peace. Abuses and practises of this kynd are these: excesse in drinking and gaming, vanity in apparell, detraction and making of unfitt marriages, scandalous discourses, the impoverishing of wealthy families, exorbitant transportation of monies out of the land, combinations, factions, gathering of hands from family to family through out the whole kingdome, inordinat recourse to forreine ambassado*u*rs, writing of scandalous pamphletts, publishing of da*u*ngerous doctrines and the like.

Besides, they conceave that a Catholick bishop, being tolerated by the State, by his gravity and authority may perswade Catholickes, more forcibly than any other can, to graunt extraordinary contributions or benevolences when they shalbe required for the supply of his Ma*jes*t[i]es ~~necessities~~ occasions.

Lastly it is conceaved that his lett*e*rs and informac*i*ons to Catholick princes abroad and his treating w*i*th their ambassado*u*rs here concerning his Ma*jes*t[i]es sweete and prudent governeme*n*t, and especially of his Ma*jes*t[i]es gratious proceeding w*i*th his Catholick subjects, will have speciall creditt, and in that respect may bee not a litle usefull to his Ma*jes*ty both att home and abroad.

Neither have the Protestant bishops any peculiar reason to be offended w*i*th a Catholick bishop coming in this nature, although the grand opposers of episcopall governement in England have sought to p*er*swade this court otherwise. For, seing he standeth in noe competency w*i*th them, nor trencheth upon the livings or jurisdictions belonging to their place, he carrying no greater port than any other missionary preist doth, there appeareth nothing of peculiar offence to them. Yea the wisest and most moderat of the Protestant clergy are so farr from being offended or thinking it straunge to see Catholickes governed by a bishop of their owne, as they rather much wonder that the matter hath bin formerly so long neglected; and as a learned Protestant, sometime deane of St [*p. 721*] Paules[1122] in London, tould a Catholick that was his freind, hee wondred to see so many provincialls, recto*u*rs and other superio*u*rs of regular orders in England, and yet noe bishop to governe the clergy who, he said, was their true and naturall superiour and head of all ecclesiasticall hierarchy.

[1122] Presumably a reference to John Donne.

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By that w*hi*ch hath bin said it may sufficiently appeare that notw*i*thstanding the bishops enemies doe continually labour to p*er*swade this court of Rome that a Catholick bishop is most odious to the king and State in England, and that th*e* setling of him in his authority would cause a new and greevous persecution not only against himself but against the Catholicks also for his sake, yet the king and State are worthily presumed to be farr otherwise affected, and <not> unwilling to connive and tollerat him, supposing the conditions of the mans person and clayme to be such as hath been ~~formerly~~ formerly declared.

An Apendix touching the bishop of Chalcedon.

Now concerning the present bishop of Chalcedon,[1123] howsoever by the lowd cryes and calumnious writings of his adversaries hee hath bin publickly traduced to the State, w*hi*ch hath caused twoe proclamations to be sent forth against him,[1124] yet information having bin since given by the mediac*i*on of her Ma*jes*ty, and of some forreigne princes ambassado*ur*s, of the naturall disposicion of the bishops p*er*son and of the verity of his clayme, those that have seene and attentively considered the said information doe confesse ingenuously that the bishop hath bin very much wronged and the State egregiously abused by his adversaries, he being found both for his person and clayme in all points really answerable to the conditions of a bishop above mentioned. For first, touching his person, they find that hee is generally averred, by the confession of all that knowe him thoroughly, to bee a true and constant lover of his naturall prince and country and by nature averted from all practizes and writings, not only against the State in generall but against any that beare authority and rule in the com*m*on wealth. And albeit his adversaries, being destitute of better meanes to defend a bad cause withall, have bin faine to fly (as their manner is) to bitter invectives against his person, and to have endeavored to possesse all those whose eare they have that hee is a man of a violent and turbulent spirit, yet have none of them [*p. 722*] till this day bin able to verify their accusation therein by any perticuler action or speech of his, for although hee hath pursued the right of his cause w*i*th zeale and courage (w*hi*ch his angry adversaries perhaps call violence) yet hath hee never don any thing therein but w*i*th apparent moderation both of tongue and minde (as his lett*er*s and all his other writings in this controversy doe well shewe) and w*i*th a due submission also to the sense and sentence of his superio*ur*s, the w*hi*ch hee hath bin ever ready to obay. And who soever shall indifferently

[1123] Richard Smith.

[1124] AAW, A XXII, no. 153; Larkin, *SRP*, no. 104; AAW, A XXIII, no. 93; Larkin, *SRP*, no. 109.

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consider the extreame provocations w*hi*ch he hath had through the outragious proceedings of his adversaries against him, w*hi*ch are such as never before have bin knowne to proceed from Catholicks, living in such estate, against a bishop of their owne profession, lawfully sent unto them, by whome they were never yet p*re*judiced in any thing, and shall compare his comportment w*i*th theirs, will quickly see the difference of their spiritts, and that w*i*th farr more ground of reason hee might retort their crimination of turbulency and violence upon them selves, who were the assailants, the bishop and his clergy being only defendants. But for one testimony amongst many others that might be produced of his unfained love to his prince, his Ma*jes*ty hath bin informed allready that besides the offering w*hi*ch he useth to make weekely of one Masse att least, and many other p*ar*ticuler praiers daily for both their Ma*jes*t[i]es while hee was in England, hee gave speciall order to all preists and Catholicks to pray perticulerly for his Ma*jes*t[i]es prosperity, for w*hi*ch cause having bin brought into obloquy by some of his chiefe opponents, one Doctor Filesac,[1125] a Sorbonist, tooke occasion to write a speciall treatise in defence of the bishops action called Apologia Smitheana, wherein he sheweth that it was ever held a laudable custome to pray for the prosperity of o*ur* naturall prince notw*i*thstanding hee professed not the same religion w*i*th us.[1126] And how tender the bishop is of his Ma*jes*t[i]es hono*ur* and good repute abroad, his Ma*jes*ty hath bin given to understand in part and will further appeare by the sundry good informations w*hi*ch the bishop both by himself and by his clergy from tyme to tyme hath given in divers places, [*p. 723*] and p*ar*ticulerly in this court of Rome, of his Ma*jes*t[i]es most eminent vertues, and of his prudent and clement governe*men*t in generall, but especially of his mild and mercifull p*ro*ceeding w*i*th his Catholick subjects in p*ar*ticuler, notw*i*thstanding the rigo*ur* of the lawe standing still in force against them. Finally it hath bin suggested to the king how that the bishop is ready on his part, whensoever it shall please his Ma*jes*ty to require <it>, to take an oath of fidelity and obedience to his Ma*jes*ty, eyther according to the forme hereunder written or according to any other forme w*hi*ch Catholick bishops have used heretofore in England, or w*hi*ch other Catholick bishops use abroad.

[1125] For Jean Filesac, dean of the Sorbonne, who was in charge of the committee which examined and condemned Matthew Wilson's and John Floyd's polemical tracts against Matthew Kellison, see Allison, RSGB, I, pp. 333–334.

[1126] On 27 January/6 February 1637 Richard Smith noted that he had shown to the earl of Leicester 'D. Filesacs apologie for my praying for the king and also the testimonie of the chapter in behalf of the k[ing] and queene made [in] 1635 and he desiered a copie w*hi*ch I wil give him'; AAW, A XXIX, no. 9, p. 19.

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Next as touching the bishops clayme: the king hath bin allready certified that he is but a titular bishop ordained and sent hither for a spirituall end, having noe clayme to any bishoprick or benefice in England, nor p*re*tending the exercise of any temporall power over any of his Ma*jes*t[i]es subjects, but only spirituall, and that not over any Protestant, but over Catholickes only. His Ma*jes*ty hath been advertised also that it is a meere fiction, w*hi*ch his adversaries have sett on foot to make him odious w*i*th the State, that he ever went about to erect a tribunall or court of Arches to prove wills, exact tithes, or the like.[1127] Nor can it be shewed wherein he ever yet exceeded that spirituall authority w*hi*ch was graunted unto him, either in the matter or in the manner. Furthermore it hath bin advertised that if the bishop pretend any spirituall coercitive power over the priests and Catholickes com*m*itted to his charge, it is but the due w*hi*ch every bishop hath by Christ his institution, being graunted for noe other end or use but that by feare of ecclesiasticall censures his flock should the better bee contained in their duety both to God and the king, and never to be exercised but in urgent occasions either for punishment or prevention of notorious scandalls.

The Oath[1128]

[I] A.B. doe truely acknowledge, professe, testify and declare in my conscience before God and the world that o*u*r soveraigne lord king [*p. 724*] Charles is lawfull and rightfull king of this realme and other his dominions and countries and I will beare faith and true allegeance to his Ma*jes*ty, his heires and successors, and him and them will defend to the uttermost of my power against all conspiracies or attempts whatsoever, w*hi*ch shalbe made against his or their crowne and dignity, and doe my best endeavo*u*r to disclose and make knowne to his Ma*jes*ty his heires and successors, or to their officers for the tyme being, all treasons and traiterous conspiracies which I shall knowe or heare to bee intended against his Ma*jes*ty or any of them. And I doe make this recognition and acknowledgement hartily, willingly and truely uppon the true faith of a Christian, soe helpe me God.[1129]

Endorsed: Reasons for a b*isho*p 1633, 1634.

[1127] Gregorio Panzani's 'Relazione' made it clear, however, that the secular clergy anticipated that a restored bishop would 'claim tithes' from the laity; VA, Barberini MS LVI, 136, fo. 42v (transcript and translation at ABSJ).

[1128] Panzani's diary records the suggestions of Catholics such as William Howard, John (Leander) Jones OSB, Sir Tobie Mathew, and the 2nd Baron Baltimore that a variant of the oath of allegiance could be formulated which would be acceptable both to Rome and to the king; VA, PD, *passim*.

[1129] See also AAW, A XXVII, no. 207 ('Reasons wherfore a b*isho*p should not be more molested than provincials and superiors of regular orders' [in John Southcot's hand]). This develops the argument in the eleventh paragraph of this present document (AAW, A XXVII,

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68. [George Leyburn] to [Richard Smith], 21 January 1635

[*AAW, A XXVIII, no. 2, pp. 5–6*]

Most honored sir,

I have receaved yours of the 17 of Jan[uary] and I am glad th*at* at last my letters come safe to y*our* hands w*hi*ch I did thinke had been intercepted or miscarryed. I confesse th*at* y*our* expences are great, and if you please to command a summe from hence it shall goe hard but th*at* I will cause you to be furnish[e]d according to y*our* desire.

no. 204). It claims, for example, that a bishop would prevent both disorders and conspiracies among Catholics. 'Seditious bookes' would be suppressed, 'such as Doleman, Corona Regia, Pacenius, and the like hatched heretofore by such as professed the names of Catholicks, though not by a b*isho*p or any willing to be subject to a bishop'. Also, 'as the State and Church of England have ever thought it fitt to maintaine hierarchicall government against the puritans, so may it be thought lickwise behoofull, in regard of safty, to permitt the Catholicks to have their hierarchie also supported by a b*isho*p against the opposers thereof'; AAW, A XXVII, no. 207, p. 731. AAW, A XXVII, no. 210 is another draft, or perhaps final version, of AAW, A XXVII, no. 207, incorporating the name of the notorious Jesuit Juan de Mariana among the writers of 'seditious bookes'. AAW, A XXVII, no. 211 ('That episcopall authoritie may be in such a subject as it wilbe no way prejudiciall to his Ma*jes*tie or State of England, but rather manie wayes usefull') expands some of the arguments in AAW, A XXVII, no. 204 about the political fidelity of the bishop. In particular, it argues (pp. 741–742) that episcopal authority among Catholics will be conducive to the good of the State and the sovereign. 'If anie object that by permission of episcopall authoritie the number of Catholikes would be too much increased, I answere that the number of Catholikes cannot be much more increased by episcopal authoritie than by preistly [authority], because Catholikes are made by preaching and reconciling, which power is common to preists. But episcopall authoritie is proper to keep those who are Catholikes in good order and discipline. And seing his Ma*jes*tie seemeth not desirous to extinguish Catholikes but to keep them in due subjection and order, episcopal authoritie would concurre with his desire'. Furthermore, (in a section entitled 'That episcopal authoritie in the handes of one sure to his Ma*jes*tie may be usefull to his Ma*jes*tie'), it is argued that this is so because episcopal power is 'devine authoritie instituted by Christ and the holie Ghost for the good of al mankinde, and therefore such as God is like to concurre with for their good, and blesse them that uphould it. Secondly because his Majesties wise father our late souveraigne K[ing] James was wont to say, as appeareth by the conference at Hampton Courte, "no bishop, no king", and therefore procured bishops to be made in Scotland; which though he sayed and did of Protestants [*sic*] bishops, yet no doubt is proportionably true of Catholikes.' Also 'K[ing] James did wincke at the 1st bishop of Chalcedon, and, as hath been reported, sayed he would have one who should answere for all ~~Catholikes~~ papists'. Finally, 'nether could anie zealous puritan finde fault with such permission by his Ma*jes*tie than the earnest puritans of Holland finde fault with the States for tolerating the Catholike archbishop of Philips [Philip Rovenius, archbishop of Philippi]'.

See also AAW, A XXVII, no. 216 ('Concerning the bishop of Chalcedons authority' [in Peter Biddulph's hand]); AAW, A XXVIII, no. 67 ('Briefe reasons howe and why a Catholicke Bishop in England may be safely tolerated by his Ma*jes*ty'); AAW, A XXVIII, no. 75 ('Motives inducing the State to connive at a Catholicke Bishop'); AAW, A XXVIII, no. 78 (For the establishing of a Catholike Bishop or B*isho*ps in England w*hi*ch may not be offensive to th*e* king or State [. . .]').

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Humfrey continueth close prisonner and soe also Mr Medcalfe[1130] without being called to his tryall. I have weekely acquainted you with all passages concerning the Italyen stranger.[1131] I doe like <him> every daye better and better. I doe assure you faithfully that he haith proceeded hitherto very discreetly and prudently; and two nights aggoe[1132] he did imparte him selfe most freely and with great zeale, lamenting the indirect proceedings of the Jesuists on one syde and the monckes of an other, clearly seeing that, wanting just grounds to hinder the setling of episcopall authority, they doe violently stirre the State, the Jesuists by meanes of Sir Toby Mathews friend, and the monckes by meanes of Fa[ther] Leanders friend, in soe much that now his labor is not to informe him selfe any more of the affections of Catholiques toward episcopall authority, whom [*sic*] for the most part, he clearly perceaveth, desireth nothing more but to rightly possesse the State with good and solid reasons wherfore it is most convenient to ~~admitt~~ permitt a bishop or bishops <for he feareth that his Holynes will nor [*sic for* not] doe any thing in this kind without a tacit liking of the State>, and if you can thinke of any good reasons in this kinde I praye send them in the next letter.[1133] I much wonder that you heare

[1130] This appears to refer to Peter Metcalf, who had been Richard Smith's secretary in Paris since 1633. He had come to England in 1634 and had been arrested; Anstr., II, p. 219.

[1131] i.e. Gregorio Panzani, for whom Leyburn in late December 1634 had found a residence opposite the New Exchange; VA, PD, fo. 51r. For Panzani's mission to and arrival in England (on 12/22 December 1634), a journey arranged in part to try to resolve the differences between regulars and seculars, see Lunn, *EB*, p. 126; Hibbard, *CI*, pp. 44–45. He was favourable towards the seculars. For Panzani's appointment by the pope and Cardinal Barberini to report on the state of Catholicism in England, see his diary; VA, PD, fos 1r–2r. On 19/29 March Panzani was briefed by Cardinal Bernardino Spada on the dispute in England over Richard Smith; *ibid.*, fos 4r–5r. Panzani was told that he should be impartial and not lean 'più ad una parte che ad un'altra, o almeno che non dimostrassi il mio sentimento'; *ibid.*, fo. 5r. Via the queen, he was to insinuate himself into the king's good graces, and inform him, *inter alia*, that the pope desired English Catholics should for protection look to Charles, and not to France or Spain. Panzani was also instructed to see if he could come to some compromise over the issue of the oath of allegiance. He was to tell Charles that his formal mission was to suppress the controversy among the English clergy, but he was to find out whether Charles would object to the presence of one or more Catholic bishops in England; *ibid.*, fos 6r–7r.

[1132] Panzani's diary records visits from Leyburn on 18 January and on 21 January but not on 19 January, the day implied by Leyburn in this letter; *ibid.*, fo. 68r.

[1133] Panzani recorded in his diary the stream of clergy who came to call on him soon after his arrival. These included Sir Tobie Mathew and John (Leander) Jones OSB. Mathew advised Panzani that 'il vescovo con autorità somma et universale non si potrà sopportare dalli nobili ricchi perchè se vorrà visitare la casa, o la capella, o il prete, il nobile non vorrà per paura delle leggi, poichè appena si fidano delli figli, molto meno di un vescovo, il quale andarà con qualche comitiva'. It would be even worse if the bishop were to try to remove a gentleman's chaplain. The pope himself, alleged Mathew, could not authorize such a visitation. Jones advised a compromise agreement between the clergy over the powers of the bishop. But he said it had been a mistake to create so many archdeacons; and, like

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nothing of your trunck nor rundelett.[1134] They were left at Calais with Mr Evered, a marchant, who undertooke to send them carefully. I doe here inclose a letter to Mrs Salesbury. Herafter I shall not send any others. Fa[ther] Talbotts[1135] newes of sincking 3 Holland shippes is false. Your best lady[1136] will shortly write unto you as you desire. I have presented your remembran[c]es as you wish[e]d [*word deleted*] unto the grand almener[1137] and Monsieur Ph[ilip] who doe returne thers in all harty manner. On Sundaye last, good Mr Broughton departed this life[1138] after that he had performed the office of the daye. He went away like a snuffe of a candle sitting in his cheare saying his prayers and [the] company with him perceaving nothing untill he was dead. His mistris[1139] haith promised to take noe new servant in his place without my advise, and now she haith given me order about one.[1140] She is much solicited by others.

Sweet Jesus be with you. In hast. Jan[uary] 21 1634.

No address.

[*on p. 6*]

Endorsed: Panzani of Jesuits.

69. 'Short Instructions',[1141] 1635[1142]

[*AAW, A XXVIII, no. 6, pp. 25–28*]

1 Concerning the Kings Person

The king is a prince of a most milde and sweet disposicion, mercifull and loving to his subjectes; not addicted to any enormous vice, and

Mathew, he opposed the powers of visitation claimed by Smith; *ibid.*, fos 45r–6r, 49r. Mathew continued to visit Panzani regularly in order to brief him against the English secular clergy leadership. Lord Cottington told Panzani on 26 March 1635 that everything which Mathew had said, he (Cottington) had instructed him to say; *ibid.*, fos 85r–6r.

[1134] See *Letter 66*.

[1135] William Talbot SJ.

[1136] Anne (Philipson), Baroness Arundell.

[1137] Jacques le Noël Du Perron.

[1138] Richard Broughton died on 18 January 1635.

[1139] Frances (Cary), wife of George Manners, 7th earl of Rutland. In the previous month Gregorio Panzani had met Viscount Dunbar's eldest son, John Constable, at the countess's house in London, where she and Constable vigorously defended Richard Smith; VA, PD, fo. 52r.

[1140] Thomas Green wrote, on 16 February 1635, to William Clifford that Broughton's 'place they tell me is reserv[e]d for you'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 8, p. 32.

[1141] On stylistic grounds, it appears this memorandum may have been prepared by George Leyburn.

[1142] Suggested dating in the AAW, A series catalogue.

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endewed w*i*th all sort of morall vertues w*hi*ch maketh all his people to admire, love and hono*u*r him above all expression. These great ornamentes of God and nature doe in a manner foretell that one day he shall restore this countrey to its former happines, and him selfe become the most glorious and the most renowned monarch that ever did governe over us.

2 Concerning the Queenes Person

The queene is a princesse on whome God and nature have bestowed most rare gifts. Her Ma*jes*t[i]es sweete and vertuous carriage, her religious zeale and constant devotions have purchased unto her selfe love and admirac*i*on from all the court and kingdome, and unto the Catholique religion (w*hi*ch she piously professeth) great respect and honor. She is *una beata de casa*; for whose sake Heaven I hope doth intend many blessinges toward our countrey.

3 Concerning Persecution

Although the king out of some politick ends doe suffer to be put in execuc*i*on the penall lawes made by his Ma*jes*t[i]es predecessors against recusantes, notw*i*thstanding he ought not neither can he justly be stiled a persecutor because he hath never sought or p*er*mitted the effusion of blood or exercised any rigor against any of his Catholique subjectes out of hatred or malice towardes the religion it selfe, as he hath often p*ro*fessed unto the queene when he hath perceaved her much afflicted for the penal mulcts of Catholiques. And his Ma*jes*t[i]es clemency and moderac*i*on is such that the Catholiques at this present doe enjoye a farr greater quietnes and liberty for the exercise of their religion than ever before during the raignes of Queen Elizabeth and of King James his royall father.

The Jesuites in forrayne p*ar*tes and cheefely at Rome doe style his Ma*jes*ty the greatest persecutor that ever was, but how much this p*ro*ceeding of theirs is indiscreet and full of spleene to the great p*re*judice of other Catholiques, lett any indifferent man judge.

4 Concerning the Church of England

It cannot be denyed but that the p*re*sent doctrine of the Church of England is farr different from that of former tymes. It now alloweth of altars and of a civil reverence due unto them. It com*m*aundeth bowing at the holy name of Jesus, it teacheth the reall p*re*sence, seven sacram*en*tes, meritorious workes necessary to salvac*i*on, possibility of fulfilling Godes holy commandm*en*tes etc. It mantayneth the pope of Rome to be cheefe and supreame pastor. It desireth much a reconciliation w*i*th the Church of Rome but in a p*ar*ticular waye of its owne w*hi*ch will not easily be avoided. Yet God who doth sweetely dispose

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of all thinges, and who hath inkindled this desire of a reconciliation, can (when it shall seeme fitting to his divine goodnes) perfect what soe happily is begunne. In the meane tyme it will not bee dishonorable to his Holynes, but an heroicall act of infinit charity, to seeke unto them who on [*sic*] their owne accord desire to meet with him, to apply and accommodate himself unto them, who in all appearance doth beare an unfained respect toward him, and a litle to condescend unto their weakenes whome unhappy errors have made infirme. S^{t} Gregory did yeeld some what to the Britans before he could worke their conversion.

5 Concerning the Oath of Alleageance

It were a most great happines if his Majesty might receave content and satisfaccion in this matter of the oath. He hath declared at severall tymes that by it he intended onely an assurance of his subjectes fidelity and loyalty towards him. And his Catholique subjectes are [*p. 26*] most ready to give assurance of their fidelity by any oath that ever was proposed by any king to the subjectes of this kingdome, or by the kinges of France or Spaine or by any other princes in the Christian world who live in union with the Sea of Rome, notwithstanding this doth not give wished satisfaccion unto his Majesty because he doth stand precisely upon the words of this oath as they lye. His Majest[i]es reasons are conceaved to be theis. First because the said oath made by the parlament is a lawe, and therefore not to be altered or changed without a parlament. Secondly his Majesty is enformed that his Catholique subjectes doe refuse to sweare unto the wordes of the oath as they lye, meerely because his Holynes hath by a publick breve forbide[n] them, and not because the wordes themselves conteyne the least thing contrary to faith, religion or conscience, and that before the popes breves not any did refuse to take the said oath as it doth lye. Thirdly his Majesty is enformed that his Holynes may if he please, without the least scruple, recall his breves and permitt the taking of it, supposing [*sic*] the declaracion of his Majest[i]es sincere intention.

If meanes could be found to possesse his Majesty: first that by vertue of his prerogative he may justly dispense with the altering of the forme of this oath, [and] secondly that his Catholiques [*sic*] subjectes doe not refuse to sweare unto the wordes of the oath as they lye because forbidden by his Holynes briefe, but because in the word[s] them selves are contained many things contrary to religion and conscience, and, before ever the Sea of Rome did publish her breves, the said oath of alleageance was generally condemned by all learned divines as unlawfull – if meanes, I say, might be made to possesse his Majesty with the particulars, without doubt meanes also would bee found to give his Majesty content and satisfaccion by an other forme of an oath

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that should give a farr better assurance of his subjectes fidelity than this doth.

6 Concerning the present Difference between the Bishop and Regulars

From the unhappy opposition of episcopall jurisdicc*i*on have p*ro*ceeded many foule scandals and disorders to the infinit dishonor of the Catholique cause in this kingdome. This opposic*i*on hath made Catholiques a laughin[g] stock to all Protestants, and hath begott the greatest confusion that ever was seene amongst them. Her Ma*jes*ty, out of her princely charity at severall tymes for present remedy of these many evills, hath solicited his Holynes by her gracious letters to send forthw*i*th a bishop, a head such as God hath instituted for the governement of his Church, seeing noe other meanes to comfort the afflicted and agree soe many disagreeing members.

The reasons inducing his Holynes to deferre the setling of this so necessary a governeme*n*t in all apparence are theis: first the feare of a dangerous shisme w*hi*ch the great violence of the opposers did often threaten. The second, his desire to gayne his Ma*jes*t[i]es consent whome the opposers had in some sort gained by [t]her unjust and wrongfull informacions, signifying to his Ma*jes*ty th*a*t a bishop of necessity was to erect a tribunall, examine wills etc., to the p*re*judice of his Ma*jes*t[i]es spirituall courtes.

The regulars, cheefely the Jesuites, were moved to oppose against ep*iscop*all authority, in regard onely that they were affrayd that such an authority would carry too great a sway, would much obscure and eclipse their power, would bring them under, and correct vice as well in them as others, if there were just occasion for it. Reader [*sic for* Rather] than to p*er*mitt this eclipsing of their power and subjection of themselves they did judge it better to deprive the lay Catholickes of the governeme*n*t by God instituted in his Church, as also of the holy sacram*en*t of confirmac*i*on by Christ ordained to give strength in the p*ro*fession of his true faith, w*hi*ch sacrament cannot be esteemed but most necessary in a countrey *ubi fides continuo periclitatur*. [*p. 27*]

7 Concerning Sig*no*r Gregorio Panzano his Person

He is a man greatly to be esteemed for his many vertues, religious life and great zeale and industry for the advancem*en*t of the Catholique cause in this country. Ever since his arrivall, he hath used so discreet a moderac*i*on in the managing of all his affaires that his p*er*son is gratfull not onely to her Ma*jes*ty, who doth greatly respect him, but also to the king himself. In the present controversy betwixt the bishop and regulars he hath carried himself w*i*th the greatest indifference that could bee expected from any man, notw*i*thstanding he hath not had the fortune to gaine the good opinion of the Jesuits who seeke to

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traduce him in every place[1143] as also to hinder [h]is religious designes and p*ro*ceedings as much as lyeth w*i*thin their reach.

8 The Reasons wherefore the Jesuits are become soe odious to the King and State

The first is: Father Parsons, the cheefe of all the Jesuittes in former tymes, composed a certaine booke intituled Doleman[1144] where he attempted to disgrace and cut of[f] the title of the most glorious queene of Scotes and her royall issue to this kingdome of England and to p*ro*ve the crowne onely to apperteine unto the king of Spaine.

The second: the unfortunate treason intended by gunnpowder for w*hi*ch some of theirs did suffer death. And albeit that the State never had any demonstrac*i*on convincing the Jesuits to be accessary unto that ungodly treason, notw*i*thstanding they have ever thought them selves to have a convincing p*re*sumption, because all those knights and gentlemen of the said foule conspiracy, not children but also understanding men, were all gostly children to none excepting the Jesuites, and at their deathes they did declare that, if they had been persuaded that either [*sic for* the] conspiracy had been a veniall synn, they could never have attempted it.[1145]

[*on p. 28*]

Endorsed: Informac*i*ons for agent at R[ome].
Of the state of the Protestants Church and divers other things of consequence.

70. Roberts [George Leyburn] to Lewys Amerine [Richard Smith], 8 April 1635[1146]

[*AAW, A XXVII, no. 139, pp. 427–430*]

Most honored sir,

I have receaved yours of the 4 of Apr[il]. I can assure you th*a*t S*ig*nor Gregorio[1147] as yett haith not spoken w*i*th the archbishop,[1148]

[1143] See *Letter 72*.

[1144] R. Doleman [*pseud.*], *A Conference about the Next Succession to the Crowne of Ingland* (Antwerp, 1594); ARCR, II, no. 167. For the authorship of the tract, see L. Hicks, 'Father Robert Persons SJ and *The Book of Succession*', *RH*, 4 (1957), pp. 104–137; ARCR, II, no. 167.

[1145] John Gerard SJ's narrative of the plot claimed that the Jesuit chaplains of the plotters had not known about the conspiracy and therefore they had been unable to counsel them against it; John Gerard, *The Condition of Catholics under James I: Father Gerard's Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot*, J. Morris (ed.) (London, 1871).

[1146] Misdated in the AAW, A series catalogue to 1634.

[1147] Gregorio Panzani.

[1148] William Laud. On Panzani's arrival in December 1634, he had almost immediately enquired of Robert Philip, concerning Laud, 'si potesse guadagnare'. Philip replied that

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and as concerning his demands I am certayne th*a*t as yett he haith not made any unto his Ma*jes*ty. Thos reports proceedeth from the Jesuists who, not acquainted w*i*th his proceedings here, maketh many conjectures both out of feare and jealosie and doe publish them for truthes. M^r^ Bennet is exspected here this tearme. Notw*i*thstanding, I cannot persuade my selfe th*a*t the monckes will make peace unlesse the clergie here will yeeld more unto them than is convenient.[1149] They stand now more upon ther poyntes than ever, first in regard of ther power and creditt w*i*th the secretarie[1150] and the archb[ishop]; secondly in regard they are greatly incensed against the clergie being informed from thos partes th*a*t the b[ishop] of Calcedoyne[1151] and his priests ther doe speake very broadely against Fa[ther] Leander[1152] and doe publish him for a great favorer of the oath, w*hi*ch doth greatly truble him, for it seemeth th*a*t in Flanders and Ro[me] he would be esteemed a great opposer of the oath, and by the State here a favorer of it.[1153] I knowe well what I saye, although I dare not saye what I knowe. Poore man. The State here will in the end perceave his duble dealing and then he will be neglected on all syds. In the meane tyme he and his cannot afford a good word to the b[ishop] of Calcedoine and they are infinitely incensed against Mons*ieu*r Fountayne.[1154] And many complayntes have be[en] made against him unto the State but w*i*thout any true or just cause. If thes men would be quiett I am confident th*a*t the Catholiques of this country would be happie in a short tyme, for I doe assure you th*a*t ther was never soe great hope of wish[e]d tymes as now ther are. O*u*r king is a most vertuous and just prince, and I beseech God th*a*t the Catholiques of this country may be made worthie of him. I writte unto you, in my former, how Doctor Duppar was made tutor unto our prince. On Goodfriday, the daye after th*a*t he was sworne,

Laud was 'troppo astuto et fino, ondo più presto guadagnara, che fù guadgnato'; VA, PD, fo. 42r. Back in late January 1635, Sir Tobie Mathew had advised Panzani to arrange, via Windebank, an interview with Laud (on the pretext of wishing to see his library); *ibid.*, fo. 69r, but on 7 March Walter Montagu called on Panzani to say that Laud could not yet grant an interview since there were 'certe spie di Protestanti' who might inform Windebank; *ibid.*, fo. 83r. On 27 May Panzani wrote to Cardinal Francesco Barberini that some of the secular clergy had come to see him to beg him to visit Laud so that, if Urban VIII were to restore a bishop to rule over the English Catholics, Laud might not oppose him; PRO, 31/9/17B (transcript of Panzani's letter to Barberini).

[1149] See AAW, A XXVII, nos 163–170, for the moves in September–October 1635 towards an accord between the seculars and the Benedictines over the question of episcopal authority.

[1150] Sir Francis Windebank.

[1151] Richard Smith.

[1152] John (Leander) Jones OSB.

[1153] Back in July 1632, Smith had reported to Biddulph that 'some write that F[ather] Leander is much dejected in mynde, p*er*haps becaus his writing for the oathe is not wel taken in y*ou*r parts'; AAW, B 27, no. 101.

[1154] George Leyburn.

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he preach[e]d before his Ma*jes*ty and tooke occasion to speake of the breache or seperation made by Harry the Eight from the Sea of Rome, and he did call it an unhappie breach, and wish[e]d the king to take into his consideration the reuniting of this kingdome w*i*th the Romaine Church. And also he tooke occasion to speake of <the> Catholiques ~~and~~ <of> [*p. 428*] this country and he sayd th*a*t many of them were very good, and did instance in the b[ishop] of Calcedoine who, when the queen was first w*i*th child, caused a prayer to be generally sayd for her safe delivery, as also commanded all Catholiques to praye for his Ma*jes*ty['s] prosperity, for w*hi*ch act the Jesuists did complaine of him at Ro[me]. I do assure you th*a*t this is very true.[1155]

Other occurrences are not many. The lady duchesse of Buckinghame[1156] is marryed unto the Lord Donluce.[1157] Although the king haith given his consent, being greatly importuned, notw*i*thstanding he is not well pleased. The Lady Feilding at Venise is dead.[1158] Y*our* best lady[1159] is expected here this night. The Jesuists give out th*a*t you have placed one Smith[1160] to be confessarius to the new Monesterie,[1161] a lude man, this to disgrace th*a*t house. And thes reportes are believed notw*i*thstanding that this Smith <is> a falne Jesuist and teacheth scoole now in Coven[t] Garden and did <~~the Jesuist~~> teach before th*a*t monestery did beginne. Mr Brooke <the Jesuist>,[1162] who doth live w*i*th Sir Charles Smith,[1163] sayd publikely at the table th*a*t in Italy marryed men would sooner send ther wifes to a ba[w]dy house than

[1155] For Brian Duppa, see *Letter 74*; Knowler, *ESLD*, II, p. 57. For his 'Arminianism', as suggested by his enthusiasm in enforcing a non-traditional altar policy in Chichester diocese, see Tyacke, *AC*, p. 206. For the sermon, see Hibbard, *CI*, p. 51.

[1156] Katherine (Manners), widow of Sir George Villiers, duke of Buckingham. (Smith reported in October 1633 that she had 'leave of the k[ing] to heare Masse publikly with the q[ueen]'; AAW, B 27, no. 131.) She had converted back to Catholicism after the duke was assassinated.

[1157] Randal MacDonnell, Viscount Dunluce, the future 2nd earl of Antrim. See J.H. Ohlmeyer, *Civil War and Restoration in the Three Stuart Kingdoms* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 29, 30.

[1158] For the death in Venice of Anne (Weston), wife of Lord Basil Fielding, see Alexander, *CLT*, p. 218; *CSPV*, *1632–1636*, p. 347.

[1159] Anne (Philipson), Baroness Arundell.

[1160] Anthony Smith.

[1161] The new foundation of Augustinian canonnesses at Paris, sponsored by Richard Smith.

[1162] Identity uncertain, but probably John Price SJ (rather than either Henry Hawkins SJ, alias Brooks, or Thomas Poulton SJ, alias Brooks). Panzani mentions that Price used the alias of Brooke. He described him as 'assai bono huomo'; VA, PD, fo. 89r.

[1163] For Sir Charles Smith of Wootton Wawen, Warwickshire, see *CSPD*, *1634–1635*, p. 97. He was executor to the countess of Buckingham. Susan Fielding, countess of Denbigh, petitioned successfully in mid-1634 for a protection for him from proceedings concerning his recusancy.

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suffer them to goe to confession unto any secular priest. Bonnam,[1164] the lady treasurers[1165] Jesuist, sayd that all seculer priest[s] did live unchastely here in England and that de facto they were soliciting his Holynes for dispensation to marrie, and, sayd he, I thinke it were not a misse that his Holynes should grant it, rather than that they should live as they doe.[1166] Ignoscat illis Deus quia nesciunt quid faciunt.

Sweet Jesus send you all happines in hart.

Your most obedient servant,

Roberts

Apr[il] 8 1634 [*sic* for 1635].

[*on p. 430*]

Addressed: A Monsieur Monsieur [*sic*] Lewys Amerine, marchant demeurant dans la Place Maubert.

Endorsed: Jesuits humors.

71. R[ichardus] C[halcedonensis] [Richard Smith] to William Laud, 15/25 April 1635[1167]

[*AAW, A XXVIII, no. 13, pp. 43–46*]

[*on p. 45*]

May it please your Grace,

The high ranke of favour and esteeme which your Grace most deservedly houldeth with both their Majesties, togeather with the renowne of that excellent temper of mind with which your Grace is commonly knowne to be indued, have emboulded me at this present, after some essaies in the like kind made upon occasion to others of his Majesties most honorable privie councell hertofore, to plead my innocencie in theise few lines before your Grace <and therin most humbly request that, through your Graces> powerfull mediation, the sincerity of my hart may be truly represented to his Majestie with an

[1164] John Alexander Evison SJ.

[1165] Frances (Waldegrave), second wife of Richard Weston, 1st earl of Portland. See Alexander, *CLT*, p. 29.

[1166] Smith had relayed this story to Biddulph in January 1634; AAW, B 27, no. 114.

[1167] This letter is undated. The compiler of the AAW, A series catalogue has annotated this letter's entry in the catalogue – 'date from another damaged copy' – but does not indicate the location of the copy.

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unfained expression of my fidelity and alleageance to his highnesse, being ready at all tymes to confirme the same with any oath that ever bishop of the Catholick profession tooke in England or that bishopps use to take in Catholick cuntries abroad.

It is not unknowne unto your Grace how much I have bin opposed theise yeares lately past by some domesticke (as I may terme them) adversaries of myne, antihierarchists, and no frends to bishops, who have sought not only to disgrace me in forraine parts but to make me suspected and hatefull to my king and country at home by casting most injurious aspersions both upon my person and clayme. And whereas, amoungst other imputations concerning my person, it hath bin objected that I ame wholy at the devotion of the French, I humbly beseech your Grace to beleive, and when occasion serveth to assure his Ma*jes*tie in the word of a bishop, that my devotion and affection is so truly English and my hart so deeply imbued with a naturall love and zeale towards my king and country, that no obligation or tye whatsoever from any forreine nation hath power to alter it, professing to rely so wholy uppon his Ma*jes*ties royall clemencie and goodnesse, as that I desire to receive no favour either from Spaine, France or other potentate ~~but~~ but what may stand with his Ma*jes*ties pleasure and good liking. And, as for the claime of that episcopall authority which hath bin conferred upon me for the good of English Catholicks, your Grace well knoweth how conformable it is to the practise of our religion in all places, and how necessary for the preservation of peace and holy discipline, both among preists and laicks, which cannot but by consequence redownd to his Ma*jes*ties greater service. And although, for my owne particular, as I never sought the place so is it to mee indifferent whether I retaine the same still or resighne it unto some other of the secular clergy as shalbe thought by others most conducing to God Almighty his honor and to his Ma*jes*ties service. Yet to shew that the authority which I or any other in my steed may clayme or exercise by vertue of this place over his Ma*jes*ties Catholick subjects cannot be justly offensive to his Ma*jes*tie or hurtfull to the State, but rather usefull to both, I make bould to tender to your Graces view theise few reasons, amongst many others that might be alleadged, which I have here breifly set downe in a paper a part, humbly beseeching your Grace in the prudentiall ballance of y*our* impartiall judgm*en*t, and with your accostomed pietie and moderation of mind, to ponder the same, not doubting but that in y*our* Graces most judicious and deepe understanding they shalbe found to have dew weight by meanes of your Graces most gratefull hand, they shall be honored [*p. 46*] with his Ma*jes*ties view also, and find that allowance which is so much desired not only by myself but by the far greater and more dutifull part of all his Ma*jes*ties Catholick subjects. And

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as by this so gratious a favour both I and they shall remaine most deeply obliged in duty to pray to Allmighty God for the encrease of your Graces power and greatnesse in this world, and for your eternall happinesse in the next, so shall it be with all Catholick princes abroad no smale addition of im*m*ortall honor and praise dew to y*our* Graces memory, above all your predecessors, for so many great and magnanimous exployts hitherto achived to the admiration of the Christian world, both in advancing the universall good of the English nation, and his Ma*jes*ties service generally, as most particularly in the suppressing or reducing to dew obedience the refractory spirits of those who have ever bene noted to be disloyall both to the Church and State.

And so with a most lowly and dutifull submission of my self to y*our* Grace, craving pardon for this bouldnesse, I rest, y*our* Graces most humbly ever at com*m*and,

R[ichardus] C[halcedonensis]

Paris 1635

Endorsed:[1168] My l*or*ds letter to my l*or*d bishop of Canterbury, 1635.[1169]

[*on p. 43*]

Addressed: Al m*ol*to ill*ustrissi*m*o* Sig*no*r Octavio. Prati.

Endorsed: L*ett*re of the bish[op] of Calcedon to the arch[bishop] of Canterburie.

72. Roberts [George Leyburn] to Leuys Amerine [Richard Smith], 8 May 1635

[*AAW, A XXVIII, no. 17, pp. 81–82*]

Most honored sir,

I have receaved yours of the 2 of Maye. M^r^ Bennet did not come up according to his appoyntement in soe much th*a*t the treaty of a peace w*i*th the munckes is deferred untill the next tearme. I am verely persuaded th*a*t it will not have any good successe; for the munckes now

[1168] In John Southcot's hand.

[1169] See also AAW, A XXVIII, no. 14, part of a draft of another letter from Smith to Laud, without date, thanking Laud for the 'honour your <Grace> did me in the favourable acceptance of one of myne w*hi*ch some tyme agoe I directed unto you', and praising the 'prudent moderation by w*hi*ch things are carried in our contrie', under the rule of the 'clement' and 'gracious' Charles, 'especially since [...] your Grace [had] the deserved honour to stand and command at the sterne'. Smith has endorsed it 'not sent'; *ibid.*, p. 47.

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doe carrie ther heads high, relying upon ther power with the b[ishop] of Canterbury[1170] and the secretary,[1171] and therfore will thinke to droe the clergie unto ther owne conditions, but they may deceave them selves. The b[ishop] of Canterbury some 10 dayes aggoe did aske of Fa[ther] Leander[1172] what was the definition of a bishope and whether the bishops of this country, albeit marryed, might not enjoye ther bishopricks, wifes and notwithstanding be promoted to holie orders. I have now gott a true copie of Fa[ther] Leanders answere unto Mr Curt[ney's] 20 arguments.[1173] I have lett M[r] Clerk[1174] have it to copie out and you shall receave it by Mr Plantyn.[1175] He doth deale very cunningly although with litle solidity. The Jesuists every daye more and more doe showe ther passion against Signor Gregorio,[1176] and say that his negotiation is the cause of this persecution,[1177] which I doe assure you faithfully as yett doth not appeare more than at other tymes. Onely I feare that the Spanish resident[1178] and cheefely M[r] Tayler,[1179] sett on by the Jesuists, doe dissuade Catholiques from comming unto ther houses for feare of the pursevants who to my knowledge have not any commissions.[1180] It is true that two priests have been of late taken

[1170] William Laud.

[1171] Sir Francis Windebank.

[1172] John (Leander) Jones OSB.

[1173] For Jones's reply to Edward Leedes's opinions on the oath, see Sitwell, 'Leander Jones's mission to England, 1634–5', pp. 148–149.

[1174] John Southcot.

[1175] Lawrence Platt.

[1176] Gregorio Panzani. In a letter of 13 June 1635, to Urban VIII, Panzani complained that 'the Jesuits' gave it out that 'he [Panzani] was not sent by the pope, but by Cardinal Richelieu', and, although he had 'given them more encouragement and tokens of confidence than to any others', they spread 'idle and personal reflections, casting my horoscope, and pretending to be privy to all the particulars of my life'. In particular, Robert Jenison SJ 'attacked me so briskly on account of partiality in their disfavour' that Panzani was 'obliged to make use of the strongest asseverations to silence him'; Berington, *The Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani*, p. 175. Panzani's diary frequently records messages from secular priests who claimed that the Jesuits were denouncing him to Rome; VA, PD, *passim*. In late October 1635, Panzani confronted Sir Tobie Mathew with these stories of Jesuit malice; PRO, 31/9/17B (transcript of Panzani's letter to Barberini of 31 October 1635).

[1177] On 24 April 1635 Panzani reported to Cardinal Barberini that the Jesuits were doing all they could to prove that the Catholics in the realm were suffering persecution. Sir Tobie Mathew had claimed that the privy council had decided to give the high commission pursuivants a free hand, though Windebank and Cottington absolutely denied it. Panzani confessed that there was undoubtedly not yet a liberty of conscience in England but conditions for Catholics were milder than they had ever been; PRO, 31/9/17B.

[1178] Juan de Necolalde.

[1179] Henry Taylor.

[1180] See AAW, A XXVIII, no. 18 (a paper dated 12 May 1635 and endorsed 'Declaratio Capituli circa Clementiam Regis', the copy of a formal document given under the hand of the dean and the seal of the chapter). This declaration denies the reports circulated abroad that Catholics were most grievously persecuted in England, and claims that they

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and dismissed agayne,[1181] and Secretary Windebancke [a] few dayes aggoe sent for one of the pursevants and did ~~word~~ chid[e] him fearefully.

M^r^ Clerke will accquainte you with the successe of the letter unto [the] b[ishop] of Canterbury,[1182] and hereafter we shall knowe more for he desire[s] to speake with the ambassadeur[1183] who sent it unto him, and this daye the ambassadeur intendeth to goe and M^r^ Plantyn is to be his interpreter. Long aggoe I did congratulate the grand ausmonier[1184] from you as soon as I did understand for certayne that he had receaved his breife from the king to be bishop of Anguileme.[1185] The letter sent unto the kings agent[1186] ther was from M^r^ Mountegue.[1187] I wounder that you write not any one word of warre declared against Spane; with which newes the ambassadeurs here have long aggoe acquainted the king. Our navie is shortly to sett forward and to keep upon the narrow seas as it is probably conjectured. Ther is also order given all over England that every family shall prepare armes and have them in readines.

The puretans doe feare a change in religion. The Jesuists are fearefully out with the bishop of Canterbury and says [*sic*] now that his Grace, to make him selfe more popular, doth greatly complye with the puretans and doth intend to change his course and herafter to run with them. I hope that M^r^ Car[1188] is with you before this.

now enjoyed, under the rule of King Charles, greater quiet, peace and liberty everywhere as regards the exercise of their religion than in former times was permitted to them.

[1181] Panzani names them as a Franciscan, Walter (Christopher) Coleman, and a Benedictine, Dunstan Everard. Panzani, however, records that they were kept incarcerated; PRO, 31/9/17B (transcripts of Panzani's letters to Barberini of 15 July, 22 July, 16 September, and 28 November 1635). Panzani said that John Wragge (appointed to carry out the duties of the recently deceased Humphrey Cross) made these arrests in order to demonstrate his zeal. Windebank assured Panzani that Archbishop Laud had had nothing to do with it, and that he, Windebank, would investigate. But they were arrested, so the Jesuit John Clarke had assured Panzani, because they had said publicly that Laud was a crypto-Catholic, while others claimed that it was because they had said that if the gunpowder plot had succeeded it would have been a good thing.

[1182] See *Letter 71*.

[1183] John Scudamore, 1st Viscount Scudamore. See *CSPV*, *1632–1636*, pp. 425–426.

[1184] Jacques le Noël Du Perron.

[1185] See Bergin, *Making of the French Episcopate*, p. 616; PRO, 31/9/127, p. 45.

[1186] Either Henry de Vic (see *CSPD*, *1635*, p. 88) or Réné Augier.

[1187] Walter Montagu left for Rome in the autumn; VA, PD, fo. 115r. On 30 January/9 February 1636 Peter Biddulph recorded Montagu's arrival in Rome. Cardinal Barberini lodged him in 'his owne pallace'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 99, p. 367.

[1188] Miles Pinckney.

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I wish you all happines who am your most obedient servant,

Roberts

May 8 1635.

Crosse[1189] the pursevant is dead, a Catholique.[1190]

The Jesuists give out that the king is greatly incensed against Signor Gregorio and that he hath commanded the secretary to wish him to [de]part the kingdome, but not a word true.

[*on p. 82*]

Addressed: A Monsieur Monsieur [*sic*] Leuys Amerin, marchant demeurant dans la Place Maubert a Paris.

Endorsed: F[ather] Leander.

73. Clerk [John Southcot] to [William Hargrave],[1191] 26 May 1635

[*AAW, A XXVIII, no. 22, pp. 105–106*]

Sir,

I had yours of the 14 April, by which I understand you receaved one of mine, but you specified not the date as I wish you ever to doe. I saw also yours to my lord,[1192] which I liked very well and I delivered your Latin letter to Signor Gregorio <Panzani>[1193] who saieth that he will send it to the Congregacion de Propaganda and desire them to give their answer to Mr Fitton.[1194] We wil commend your invention therin and thank you for your paines most hartely, not doubting but that it will do us good, and we shall desire Mr Strong[1195] to do the like for as much as concerns the second part about sending over priests to labour in this vineard. Mr Colleton receaved your last common letter to the deane and chapter but gave no order yet for the answering of it in common, neither have we yet a secretary for the purpose. I remember not the date, nor have the letter now by me; but I well remember (being present at the reading of it) that it gave good content to all.

[1189] For Humphrey Cross, see *NAGB*, pp. 43, 77, 89, 218–219.
[1190] Panzani repeated to Cardinal Barberini this rumour about Cross's conversion; PRO, 31/9/17B.
[1191] See Anstr., II, p. 146; CRS, 1, p. 108; *Letter 74*.
[1192] Richard Smith.
[1193] Panzani recorded that Southcot had visited him on 24 May; VA, PD, fo. 94r.
[1194] Peter Biddulph.
[1195] Matthew Kellison.

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I ame glad to understand by y*ou*rs to my l*or*d that the contract is in so good forwardnesse and that the founder[1196] is so favorable still. I pray God continew it ever, and send a good conclusion of the whole buissenesse quickly.[1197]

I hope there is sufficient order taken for the sending of schollars at the tyme appointed, and I suppose you y*ou*rself have taken order to provide a maister for them, as also for those that <shall> have ended their philosophy. Here o*u*r buissinesse goeth on but slowly by reason of opposition from all sides, and now lately some lay Catholicks (as they call them selves) have given up to Greg*ori*o a very spitefull and shamefull information ag*ain*st the having of a b*isho*p or any b*isho*ps officer,[1198] wherof I intend to send you a coppy, if not now at least by the next opportunity, that you may see what adversaries we have, and assist us with y*ou*r notes and advise to answer it. At the reading therof some of o*u*r freinds were so full of just indignation that at o*u*r last consult a motion was made to article publickly before the Sea Apostolick ag*ain*st the true authors of these com*m*otions, seeing there is no hope of prevailing otherwise ag*ain*st them, wherupon certaine articles were drawen, wherof I send you here a coppy desiring you to keep <them> privat to y*ou*r self till such time as we are compleatly furnished with proofs, and to assist us with as many particulers as you can towards the prooving of every one in particuler, and, if you think this forme not so fitting, advise us otherwise for, if we proceed this way, we must be wary what we say, and in what manner.[1199] Lett y*ou*r answer to this be wholy addressed to me and to no other. For newes, we have only this in generall that o*u*r fleet [*p. 106*] is ready and expecteth nothing but a wind to sett forth. The intent of it is not knowen, but the com*m*on ghesse is that it is to take possession of the narrow seas, and

[1196] Pedro Coutinho, a wealthy Portuguese gentleman who assisted with the foundation of the English seminary at Lisbon (the college of Saints Peter and Paul). See John Kirk and William Croft, *Historical Account of Lisbon College* (Barnet, 1902), pp. 3–4.

[1197] Coutinho had stipulated that the seminary should remain under the control of the English secular clergy. Cf. AAW, A XXVII, no. 57 (William Clifford to Richard Smith, 4/14 May 1633, concerning the problems of the Lisbon seminary). Eamon Duffy comments that the Lisbon college, 'a fully Tridentine seminary in its dependence on the bishop', became 'the principal centre for the propagation in England of Counter-Reformation ideals of a reformed priesthood'; Duffy, 'The English secular clergy', p. 225.

[1198] On 14 May Panzani noted that he had given George Leyburn 'le proteste contro il vescovo', so that he might examine the signatures. Sir Basil Brooke had given permission for this on 12 May; VA, PD, fos 79r, 92r, 93r.

[1199] See AAW, A XXVIII, no. 19 ('Capita quaedam a nonnullis Angliae Nobilibus Catholicis scripto proposita et oblata adm*odum* R*everen*do D*omi*no Gregorio Panzani', 15 May 1635); AAW, A XXVIII, no. 20 ('Responsio ad capita [. . .]', an answer to no. 19). The 'capita' were presented to Panzani on 16 May by Sir Thomas Shirley, Sir John Simeon (on behalf of himself and Sir Henry Neville, 2nd Baron Abergavenny), William Perle (on behalf of himself and the 2nd Baron Baltimore), and a Catholic physician; VA, PD, fo. 93r.

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to make all straungers vale bonnets to us; also to keep the French and Hollander in aw[e], in case they should attempt any thing on Flanders side. Some say they are to joine with a Spannish fleet. We also here stand uppon o*u*r guard, his M*aje*sty having <given> order that all the traine bands shalbe in a readinesse, inquiries also being made in all places of the number of able men from sixteen to threescore etc.

O*u*r times are still calme, God be thanked, and o*u*r good king. No more but with all woonted respects, I rest. 26 May 1635.

Y*ou*rs,

Clerk

M^r^ Tho[mas] Taylor died on the 24 of this May of a burning fever. Pray for him, as here we all doe.[1200]

No address or endorsement.

74. [John Southcot] to Louys Ameryn [Richard Smith], 27 May 1635

[*AAW, A XXVIII, no. 23, pp. 107–108*]

[Sir,]

Bycause I wrote lately by M^r^ Plantin,[1201] who went not from hence till yesterday, I have the lesse to trouble you now withall. By him I sent you certaine articles w*hi*ch in consult were mentioned to be putt up to the Sea Apost[olic] ag*ain*st the Molinists[1202] by the secular clergy of England wherin y*ou*r advise and furtherance is humbly demaunded, and it is desired that the matter may be carried with dew secresy till the buissinesse be ripe. I sent you before the coppy of a most spitefull informacion given up by their followers to Greg*ori*o,[1203] w*hi*ch he would have us to answer thoroughly, and therfor y*ou*r assistance was also demaunded therin by the whole consult. I sent also by M^r^ Plantin the clergies attestation in behalf of the queen to be shewed there as you please for the queens honor and the clergies good.

Now as concerning my l*or*d of Canterb[ury's] answer,[1204] although it be not altogeather so good as I had wrote in that letter, for I spake

[1200] See Anstr., II, p. 315. Thomas Taylor was the son of Robert Taylor (who had served as an interpreter for the Spanish ambassador in London) and brother of the Jesuits' friend, Henry Taylor, the infanta's agent in London.

[1201] Lawrence Platt.

[1202] Jesuits.

[1203] Gregorio Panzani. See *Letter 73*.

[1204] i.e. William Laud's reply to Richard Smith's letter of 15/25 April 1635. See *Letter 71*.

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my self two daies agoe with the French ambassador[1205] who tould <it> me ~~that~~ a little otherwise than I had understood it by M^r^ Plantin, yet it may justly give my l*or*d[1206] occasion to [*word deleted*] acknowledg his favor,[1207] w*hi*ch by the advise of freinds here is thought will better be expressed in a particuler letter to M^r^ Doctor Dupper, tutor to the prince (to whom my l*or*d is much obliged for the honorable mention he made of him in a publick sermon before the king on Good Friday last),[1208] than to Canterbury him self, and therfor it is wished by all meanes that my l*or*d would cause a good letter to be written to the saied Doctor Dupper, both to give him thankes for that favour and to acknowledge to him the gratious answer w*hi*ch my l*or*d of Canterb[ury] made by word of mouth to the French ambassador etc,[1209] and to desire the doctor to lett my l*or*d of Canterb[ury] know ~~how true and faithful a servant he is to his Majesty~~ so much. Withall, to send the doctor a coppy of those reasons for a b*isho*p and to entreat him to propose them privatly to the State for the greater good of the kingdom and service of the king. O*u*r freinds here conceave that such a letter from my l*or*d to Doctor Dupper, who is a moderat man, and a creature of my l*or*d of Canterb[ury] and favoured by the king, would do my l*or*d much good.

This being all that occurreth for the present I humbly rest.

27 May 1635.

I make bould to send the enclosed[1210] this once for M^r^ Hart.[1211]

[1205] Either Jean d'Angennes, marquis de Pougny, or Henri de Ferté Nabert, marquis de Senneterre.

[1206] Richard Smith.

[1207] An undated letter from Panzani to Urban VIII noted that Smith had written to Laud, offering that his jurisdiction should be modified. According to Panzani, Laud had gone so far as to say that he actually admired Smith, and that he had shown Smith's missive to Charles; Dockery, *CD*, pp. 44–45. Panzani's 'Relazione' also records Smith's letter to Laud; VA, Barberini MS LVI, 136, fos 45v–6r.

[1208] See *Letter 70*.

[1209] Panzani's 'Relazione' mentions that Laud had told the 'French ambassador that he greatly respected' Smith, and had referred the matter, favourably, to the king and claimed that 'he had always helped him'; VA, Barberini MS LVI, 136, fos 45v–6r (transcript and translation at ABSJ). However, Walter Montagu had told Peter Biddulph in early 1636 that 'the king for the present will nott permitt a b*isho*p in England, and [. . .] the b*isho*p of Canterburye tould the queen plainely, when she spake to him about it, that he would oppose it as much as he could'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 98, p. 365.

[1210] *Letter 73*.

[1211] William Hargrave. He had been appointed president of the college of Saints Peter and Paul at Lisbon in 1634; Anstr., II, p. 146.

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On Trinity Sunday at night M^r^ Thomas Taylor, the agents brother, died of a burning fever.[1212] The poor will have a great losse in him. We all pray for him as for a brother.

[*on p. 108*]

Addressed: A Mons*ieu*r Monsieur [*sic*] Louys Ameryn marchant demeurant dans la Place Maubert a Paris.

Endorsed: Canterb[ury] of the bishop.

75. [John Southcot] to Fitton [Peter Biddulph], 14 August 1635

[*AAW, A XXVIII, no. 32, pp. 131–134*]

Sir,

The post is not yet come this week, and so we have receaved noe letters from you since that short one of July the 18 to M^r^ Roberts[1213] w*hi*ch you sent by Paris, [and] the last w*hi*ch we had by the way of Bruxelles bearing date the 7^th^ of the same month.

This day fortnight being the last of our July I wrote unto you concerning a secrett buissenesse lately here resolved uppon, w*hi*ch is to send a lay agent to Ro[me] out of hand, but I understand that the Hollanders met with the post at sea and robbed him of all his letters. Yet I repeated somwhat about the same subject the week following, and I hope those letters will come safe to y*ou*r hands. As yet there is no more donn in that buissenesse than what I signified there, and so I have now the lesse to say.

With these you shall receave a coppy of Sig*no*r Panzanos testimoniales, wherby you may controll those reproachfull speeaches [*sic*] that you heare there of him in that kind. I send you also the forme of an oath[1214] w*hi*ch is like to be proposed here by the Catholicks to give the k[ing] satisfaction concerning their alleageance. It is verbatim almost the same with the oath of alleageance, the second and fift *section*s only excepted, as you <may> see by comparing them togeather. But you must know that this forme is originally proposed not by the clergy or any freind of theirs, but by a freind[1215] and speciall dependant of

[1212] See *Letter 73*.

[1213] George Leyburn.

[1214] See AAW, A XXVIII, no. 33 (two forms of allegiance oath proposed for English Catholics, 14 August 1635); AAW, A XXVIII, no. 34 (translation of no. 33).

[1215] Cecil Calvert, 2nd Baron Baltimore.

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the Molinists,[1216] by occasion of some troubles that he is otherwise like to fall into. And although he will not seem to have acquainted those his freinds with it, yet it may well <be> presumed they knew of it, but would faine have it ~~come to light~~ proposed by the clergy first, the better to save them selves in that court in case it should be disliked, and so the [*p. 132*] party interested shewed it first privatly to M^r^ Roberts, and wished him to shew it to Fa[ther] Phil[ip] and to know his advise; but Fa[ther] Phil[ip] will not meddle in it, one way or other. Yet he is of opinion (and so are divers others here) that it would be dissembled at Rome if it were once sett on foot here. I pray certify what you think therof by y*our* next letters, but take no notice to any there as yet, unlesse you find they have heard of it already otherwaies, and then be sure to lett them know ~~that~~ from whence it comes originally.

Here we say that the treaty of mariage is concluded between the k[ing] of Poland and the Lady Elizabeths daughter,[1217] and that my lord martiall[1218] is deputed to bring over the lady in September next, that the king may take her from hence as a daughter of England, but methinkes we should first heare of a dispensation from thence.[1219]

It is determined lately in councell that 45 shipps shalbe made ready against next spring with eleven thousand men. The charge will amount to 218^m^ pounds sterling to be generally levied throughout the kingdome.

O*ur* king is much disgusted both with the French and Hollanders for some affronts and abuses w*hi*ch they have lately offered to us at sea, and it is saied that o*ur* admirall hath order to pay them for it, if he meet with them fairly. Yet my L*or*d Scudamore is gonn over as ledger into France,[1220] and shortly my L*or*d Aston shall go in like sort

[1216] Jesuits. For Baltimore's complex relationship with the Jesuits, see Hughes, *HSJ*, pp. 355–359.

[1217] Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Elizabeth, Princess Palatine. See *CSPV, 1632–1636*, pp. 305, 316, 332, 379, 384, 416, 425, 456, 465, 466, 469; Berington, *The Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani*, p. 209; Laud, *Works*, VII, pp. 270–271; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 83 (Biddulph's letter to Southcot of 2/12 January 1636, concerning the marriage).

[1218] Thomas Howard, 2nd earl of Arundel.

[1219] In January 1635 Windebank had asked Panzani to make representations to Rome to facilitate the marriage; VA, PD, fo. 67r.

[1220] *CSPV, 1632–1636*, pp. 425, 426. On 30 December 1635/9 January 1636 Smith noted that 'I was with o*ur* embass[ador]', Scudamore, 'to give him the new yeare who rec*eiv*ed me very kindly as he doth al Cath[olics] and also priests and told me he heard that in England the Rhemes Test*am*ent was rec*eiv*ed by Prot*estant*s'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 81, p. 325. On 10/20 February 1636 Smith retailed that he was 'as welcome the second time to the embas[sador] as the first', but he, Smith, 'must not go too often for feare of jealousie of this State', since the French 'fear some breach with England'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 92, p. 351. On 23 May/2 April 1636, however, Smith complained that Scudamore's wife had been at the Jesuit William Talbot's sermon, although 'so muffled as she wold not be knowne', whereas before she had been present at a sermon preached by Smith's friend,

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into Spaine, although the king be not well pleased with the Spaniard for excluding the palatin[1221] in the peace ~~of~~ <with> Saxony.

I heare S*i*r Basil Brook and S*i*r John Winters lands are both extended for payment of those monies to the king ~~for~~ w*hi*ch may be [*p. 133*] both their undoings in a short time.[1222] Yet S*i*r Basil putteth a good countenance on the buissenesse outwardly. The rest to M^r^ Roberts.

Adieu. 14 Aug[ust] 1635.

It is intended to appropriat this oath wholy to o*u*r own king and his successors, and so that clause concerning the doctrin of murthering etc[1223] is to be qualified and restrained to o*u*r own prince.

To M^r^ Webster.[1224]

S*i*r,

You will understand by what I write to M^r^ Fitton that o*u*r letters miscaried a fortnight agoe.

[*on p. 131*]

Addressed: To M^r^ Fitton.

[*on p. 134*]

Endorsed: About an oath of alleageance which Catholicks may take.

Miles Pinckney; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 106, p. 385. (In July–October 1637 Biddulph sent a series of newsletters to Scudamore; PRO, C 115/109/8861–70.)

Smith tried in mid-1636 to establish good relations with the new English ambassador at Paris, Robert Sidney, earl of Leicester, and offered to visit him. Smith's first offer 'was nether accepted nor refused'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 125, p. 433. However, in January 1637, Smith referred, in a letter to Southcot, to a toleration tract which he, Smith, had published in 1603/4 (*Epistola Historica de Mutuis Officiis inter Sedem Apostolicam & Magnae Britanniae Reges Christianos, Anglice olim Scripta, ad Seren. M. Britanniae Regem Iacobum* (Cologne [imprint false; printed at Paris], 1637); ARCR, I, no. 1094), and reported that 'my l[ord of] Lecester saieth the epi*st*le to K[ing] James w*hi*ch was given to him hathe much wit and good Latin'; AAW, A XXIX, no. 5, p. 9. And, on 27 January/6 February 1637, Smith could enthuse that 'the other day the earl of Lecester came to visit me very courteously' to congratulate Smith on the grant to him, by his patron Richelieu, of the Benedictine abbey of St Sauveur at Charroux; AAW, A XXIX, no. 9, p. 19; Allison, RSGB, II, pp. 250–251. On 18/28 February Smith was invited to dine with Leicester; AAW, A XXIX, no. 15, p. 31. On 3/13 March 1637 Smith was pleased to record that Leicester had sent for him again, though Smith was too ill to go; and the countess of Leicester 'sent our nunnes [at the new Augustinian convent in Paris] some Lenten p*ro*vision'; AAW, A XXIX, no. 18, p. 39.

[1221] Charles Louis, Elector Palatine of the Rhine.

[1222] See *Letter 65*.

[1223] This is a reference to the clause in the 1606 oath of allegiance which stated 'I do from my heart abhor, detest and abjure as impious and heretical this damnable doctrine and position that princes which be excommunicated and deprived by the pope may be deposed or murdered by their subjects or any other whatsoever'; J.P. Kenyon, *The Stuart Constitution* (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 458–459.

[1224] Anthony Champney.

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76. Clerk [John Southcot] to [Peter Biddulph], 20 November 1635

[*AAW, A XXVIII, no. 46, pp. 175–176*]

Sir,

The last week I wrote not to you, neither have we had any letters these two weekes from you or M^r^ Champney, no post being come from those parts by reason of the contrary windes. These I write chiefly to informe you of the agreement w*hi*ch we made and sighned mutually on Tewsday last in the afternoon <being S^t^ Hugh of Lincolns and S^t^ Gregory Turronensis[1225]> at Gregorios[1226] chamber with the monkes and friars; and here I send you <a coppy of> the instrument, as also of the promises w*hi*ch were made before the subscription ore tenus. The buissenesse passed very fairely and freindly. When all the parties were come togeather we satt round in a ring by the fire side without any ceremony of place or order, and, Greg*ori*o sitting with us, I began to read the promises, w*hi*ch being read, Greg*or*io demaunded of us one by one if we consented therunto, and every one answered yea. W*hi*ch being donn I read the Instrument, and then Greg*ori*o demanded in like manner one by one for their consent therunto, w*hi*ch was graunted by every one. Then we proceeded to the sighning, and three coppies were sighned authentically by every one that were present, and afterwards delivered to eather ~~party~~ part and to Greg*ori*o, w*hi*ch, being donn, we saluted one an other freindly and so departed. The Carmelite was not present, but gave his voice to M^r^ Price[1227] and at his next coming to town will subscribe as the rest have donn, with his own hand.[1228]

[1225] St Gregory of Tours.

[1226] Gregorio Panzani.

[1227] William (Benedict) Jones OSB.

[1228] See AAW, A XXVIII, no. 41 ('Exemplar articulorum pacis et concordiae initae saeculares inter et regulares sacerdotes in Anglia in presentia [. . .] D*omi*ni Gregorii Panzani', 17 November 1635); Lunn, *EB*, pp. 125–126. (Panzani recorded that the Carmelite provincial came on 23 November to add his signature; VA, PD, fo. 120r.) A summary of the Accord described it as consisting 'in three things especially'. The first was 'to lay aside all former disagreeme*n*ts, and to cooperat hereafter joyntly to the advancemen*t* of Catholick religion in o*ur* country'. The second was to prevent the pope being 'misinformed' about 'the affayres of the Catho[lic] religion in o*ur* country', and the third was to 'defend and p*re*serve [. . .] the hono*ur* and reputac*i*on of both their Ma*jesti*es and of the State especially abroad'. The same document claimed that the Jesuits tried to disrupt the making of the Accord; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 59, p. 227. On 30 January/9 February 1636 Biddulph reported from Rome that 'the regulars who are agreed with us have allso sent up this week a Manifestation to satisfye the Jesuitts that they did nott intend any thing against them by this Accord'. This infuriated Biddulph because the seculars were given no notice of it, and the document stated that the religious were to exercise their faculties 'without depending upon the b*ishop* of Chalcedon'. The Benedictines' agent at Rome, Richard (Wilfrid) Selby OSB, had given

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In the doing of the buissenesse, there came a Jesuitt[1229] to speak with Greg*ori*o who went out to him to the next chamber and tould him what we were doing, inviting him to come in and joine with the rest. The Jesuitt replied that if they ~~should be~~ <were> invited they would p*er*haps joine with us also, but I doubt they would hardly joine although they were invited formally.[1230] And no doubt they will cavill and complaine there of o*ur* joining in this union without them. But we are all resolved to answer uniformely that none were p*ar*ticulerly invited but that the friars, hearing that the clergy and the monkes were treating of a peace, did offer them selves voluntarily to joine with them, w*hi*ch being notified to the clergy they accepted of their offer, wherfor the Jesuitts, knowing [*p. 176*] of this buissenesse, may offer them selves if it please them to joine with the rest in it, as others ~~of~~ <have> donn.[1231] This is the answer we are agreed uppon in case they complaine they are excluded, besides that there is an expresse clause in the instrument to invite both them and others. But the truth is the Jesuitts are so far from offering them selves that they have sought by all meanes to hinder this union, and wished Panzano not to be present at it, as Panzano tould me a good while since. I hope this agreement will produce much good in time, and be a strong bridle to the afflicted both here and there.

I have written a few lines to you by Arthure Brett to com*m*end him to your care and assistance uppon his first arrival.[1232] He is not yet gon

the document to Monsignor Boccabella; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 99, p. 367. According to Smith, in November 1636, Boccabella agreed with Thomas Fitzherbert that Smith had fully resigned his authority, and hence the English secular clergy had no immediate superior; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 195, p. 617. Southcot appears to have sent this document to Smith in January/early February 1636; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 89, p. 345; no. 92, p. 351, though, on 9/19 March, Smith requested a copy of it from Southcot again; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 102, p. 377. On 6/16 April he thanked Southcot for his letter of 23 March 'with the Manifest of the reg*ular*s wherin they manifestly wrong you'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 109, p. 391.

[1229] Robert Jenison SJ. See CRS, 75, p. 178.

[1230] Panzani noted this incident in his diary; VA, PD, fo. 119r; Dodd, III, pp. 133–134.

[1231] For correspondence between the Jesuit provincial Richard Blount and Panzani over the articles of the agreement, see AAW, A XXVIII, no. 47 (Dodd, III, pp. 134–135); AAW, A XXVIII, nos 49, 50, 53, 85. The Jesuit general, Muzio Vitelleschi, concluded in January 1636 that the Jesuits had been deliberately excluded from the agreement; ARSJ, Anglia MS 1/iii, fo. 428v.

[1232] For Arthur Brett, see Albion, *CI*, pp. 154, 157; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 80, p. 323; Dodd, III, p. 72. Windebank believed Brett to be inadequate for his allotted diplomatic mission; PRO, 31/9/17B (transcript of Panzani's letter to Barberini of 31 October 1635); Albion, *CI*, p. 157. On 20 February/1 March 1636 Biddulph reported that Walter Montagu, who was still in Rome, wanted news of Brett before he departed the city; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 95, p. 359. By 28 February/9 March, Biddulph understood, via a letter of 15 January 1636 from Southcot 'concerning the packett of letters delivered to M^{r} Price [William (Benedict) Jones OSB] to be sent to M^{r} Brett, that the Benedictines will have the greatest hand in him, and therefore it behooveth us to keep them our friends'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 98, p. 365.

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but hath all his dispatches expecting only the shipp w*hi*ch is not yet ready for Livorno. He carrieth with him two men, but no secretary, hoping to meete with one there, and, if you can, I pray procure him a fitt one against his arrivall w*hi*ch I feare will not be before Candlemas, seeing he goeth by sea. Sig*no*r Panzani was earnest with me to give him a short caracter of him w*hi*ch although I would have excused, as not knowing the party well nor the family, yet uppon his importunity I gave him this w*hi*ch I here I [*sic*] send you a coppy of, to y*ou*r self only.[1233] The instructions w*hi*ch Fa[ther] Philip gave him from the queen were these, that he should carry a <good> respect to all ecclesiastikes both secular and regular, and that he should particulerly favor the b*isho*p and the clergy when occasion served. And, as for a b*isho*p, that ~~he should tell the pope~~ she had written severall times to Rome in behalf of the bishop of Chalcedon[1234] and that she wished one or rather more b*isho*ps in England for the good of religion, and would be loath that England in that respect should fare worse since her coming than it did before. That the king liked the bishop of Chalced[on's] person and thought him an honest man, but for the present would have no b*isho*p here. This was the sum*m*e of all, w*hi*ch you may do well to putt him in mind of as you see occasion hereafter.[1235] O*u*r main labour now must be to solicit <there> for the confirmation of o*u*r deane and chapter, and for recovery of the English college there.

I referr occurrences to M*r* Roberts,[1236] and rest. 20 Novemb[e]r 1635.

Soli soli. The monks have gott Secret[ary] Windebank to write by Brett to their agent[1237] there, and to tell Brett that he might be confident with him.[1238] Take no notice to [*sic*] him nor any of theirs.

[1233] Brett had visited Panzani on 7 October and on subsequent occasions; VA, PD, fos 115r, 116r, 117r, 118r. On 13 November Brett called in on Panzani just before he left to take ship at Dover; *ibid.*, fo. 119r.

[1234] Richard Smith.

[1235] For the issues which Arthur Brett, as agent, was directed by the king (though he went as the representative only of the queen) to deal with principally – the question of the appointment of a bishop, and the oath of allegiance, see Albion, *CI*, pp. 155–156.

[1236] George Leyburn.

[1237] Richard (Wilfrid) Selby OSB.

[1238] On 18/28 April 1636 Richard Smith wrote to Southcot regretting Arthur Brett's recent death 'but I hope as good wil succeed him espe*ci*ally if M*r* [Charles] Wal[de]grave get his place'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 111, p. 395. Back in September 1635, Southcot and Waldegrave had visited Panzani, and Panzani noted that 'il detto Carlo [Waldegrave] si disegna mandarlo a Roma'; VA, PD, fo. 113r. (Charles Waldegrave appears to have been the East Anglian gentleman of that name who subscribed to a declaration of local gentry, dated 22 August 1632, in favour of Smith; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 15, p. 76. If Waldegrave is correctly identified as the former seminary student at Douai and son of Sir Edward Waldegrave of Stanninghall, Norfolk, then he was a relative by marriage of the Whites of Hutton, the Southcots, and Lord Treasurer Weston; Metcalfe, *The Visitations of Essex*, I, p. 514; BL,

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No address.

[*on p. 175*]

Endorsed: Clerk. Nov[ember] 20 1635.
About the agreement.
About instructions given to M^r^ Brett.

77. Laborne [George Leyburn] to [Richard Smith], 9 December 1635

[*AAW, A XXVIII, no. 54, pp. 195–198*]

Most honored sir,

This week I have receaved two of yours, one of the 21 November and the other of the 5^o^ of December. They are deceaved who thinke th*a*t M^r^ Mountegue shall be agent, albeit I am certayne th*a*t he will be of more authority than he[1239] who is gone, for any busines th*a*t shall concerne our queen. I beseech God to speed him well for I hope th*a*t his example will doe much good w*i*th many here, but the Jesuists doe much decrye amongst the Catho[lics] here. It is not true th*a*t his Ma*jes*ty putteth Catholiques to the oath. I much feare least the Jesuists and their freinds have noe good meaning in making our king in foraine partes a great persecuteur. As concerning what you saye M^r^ Chambers told you, part of it is true, and part is not. It is true th*a*t his Ma*jes*ty told the queen th*a*t he had a good opinion of you. But for any expresse order to deale for a b[ishop] I doe not believe [it]. It is very true th*a*t he haith order to signifie unto his Holynes th*a*t her Ma*jes*ty haith ever had an earnest desire for the setling of episcopall authority, and th*a*t she continueth still in this her good desire notw*i*thstanding she doth leave the busines wholy unto his Holynes to doe as he shall thinke good.

Additional MS 5524, fo. 156r; CRS, 10, pp. 84, 188. Charles Waldegrave's daughters, Anne and Frances, were professed, respectively in 1647 and 1648, at the Augustinian convent in Paris, which had been founded with the aid of the leading English secular clergy (see *Letter 46*). They had previously been pupils at the foundation's school. See Cédoz, *Un Couvent de Religieuses Anglaises à Paris*, pp. 32–33. I am grateful for this information to Caroline Bowden.) On 4 April 1636, Southcot recommended Waldegrave to Panzani as the best replacement for Brett, though Sir William Hamilton was appointed instead; VA, PD, fo. 133r. Panzani informed Cardinal Barberini that he had told Robert Philip about the objections to Brett. Panzani advised that Philip should recommend Waldegrave to the queen; PRO, 31/9/17B (transcript of Panzani's letter to Barberini of 31 October 1635).

[1239] Arthur Brett.

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As concerning our agreement with the regulars and what haith passed since, I doe referre you to the inclosed by w*hi*ch you shall perceave th*a*t the Jesuists for all ther former faire florish have now refused absolutely to come into the agreement[1240] w*hi*ch I thinke will not be much to the[ir] honor, for I doe assure you th*a*t many are infinitely [*p. 196*] scandalized. And I am much scandalized at their last letter unto Sig*no*r Gregorio full of lyes.[1241]

Yesterdaye was our queens chappell at Somerset House holowed. Her Ma*jes*ty was ther the fornoone and afternoone and, w*i*th the greatest demonstration of devotion th*a*t can be imagined, Mons*ieu*r Anguelame[1242] did sing Masse and preach w*hi*ch he did performe above all expression.[1243] I doe assure you faithfully th*a*t he is a rare man and one who truly respecteth you and yours here.[1244] I have acquainted him w*i*th all proceedings and w*i*th Fa[ther] Blunts last letter[1245] at w*hi*ch he was much astonished, and maketh the greatest express[ion] of his affection towards you and the cler[gy] th*a*t can be imagined. I beseech you to write unto him and lett him knowe what you [*word illegible*] and procure Mons*ieu*r Botelyer[1246] or some powerfull man to write unto him what they heare from you concerning him.

I cannot furnish you w*i*th any new occurrences. Onely it is much woundered at here th*a*t the French should refuse to give the title of prince elector unto the palsgrave and yett promise the[ir] assistance for the restoring of him; and the Spaniards, from whom litle assistance is to be exspected in th*a*t kinde, doe willingly style him prince elector.

[1240] On 26 November 1635, Gregorio Panzani had recorded that Robert Jenison SJ 'mi porto l'istrumento di ratificatione della Concordia fatta con questi sacerdoti', and that Jenison called again on 29 November to discuss the Accord, but on 10 December, when Jenison was with him again, the Jesuit absolutely rejected it; VA, PD, fos 120r, 121r, 122r.

[1241] Panzani had noted on 2 December 1635 that John Southcot had sent him 'le animadversioni alla lettera mandatami dal provinciale de' Giesuiti'; *ibid.*, fo. 121r.

[1242] Jacques le Noël Du Perron (bishop of Angoulême). See Birch, *CT*, II, pp. 313–314; Bergin, *The Making of the French Episcopate*, pp. 615–616.

[1243] Panzani recorded that he was present, and 'si esposero le 40 hore con bellissimo apparato'. The queen received communion at Whitehall and then proceeded to Somerset House 'ove stette alla gran Messa cantata solennemente dal Sig*no*r Abbate du Perron, et a servirla erano l'ambasciatori di Francia ordinario, e straordinario, et quel di Venetia. Vi fu straordinario concorso di popolo'. The queen later attended vespers. Du Perron, in his sermon, rejoiced with her 'che havesse ottenuto la fabrica di detta capella dal re, dicendo molte cose in sua lode, et lodò anche il re'; VA, PD, fo. 122r. On 30 December 1635/9 January 1636, however, Smith informed Southcot that he 'shold be sorrie that the k[ing] shold dislike the bishop of Angulems sermon'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 81, p. 325.

[1244] See Knowler, *ESLD*, I, p. 505.

[1245] Leyburn is probably referring to Richard Blount SJ's letter of 4 December 1635 (Dodd, III, p. 135), 'la riposta del P. Blondò' as Panzani called it, which criticized the Accord reached by the secular clergy and the religious orders (except the Jesuits), and which Robert Jenison SJ brought to Panzani on 5 December; VA, PD, fo. 121r.

[1246] Léon Bouthillier, comte de Chavigny, French secretary of State.

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Fa[ther] Fisher,[1247] who is with my lady duchesse[1248] for some tyme, did crye out to Mr Boisse[1249] against the meeting of the clergie and other regulars, saying that it was onely to yeeld unto the oath, to give the king satisfaction and by that meanes to procure a bishop.[1250] Your best lady[1251] doth present her respects unto you. She will not entertayne John[1252] before that she heare from you.

I wish you all happines who am your most obedient servant. December 9 1635.

God send you read what I have written for I was never in more hast.

No address.

[*on p. 198*]

Endorsed: Mr Laborne. Letters of Dec[ember] date. The k[ing] for Chalced[on] and Jes[uits] refuse agre[ement].

78. Relation of Thomas Green[1253] from Essex (1635)

[*AAW, A XXVIII, no. 62, pp. 239–242*]

Quis sit numerus sacerdotum tam secularium quam regularium.

Regulares sunt novem, omnes Jesuitis. Seculares 7.

Quis sit numerus Catholicorum laicorum.

Of earles and [*word deleted*] lords, there be 3 besydes the dutches of Buckingham,[1254] the countess of Portland,[1255] whose estates lye in Essex;

[1247] John Percy SJ. In August 1635 he had been released from prison at the instigation of the queen (an event which, said Panzani, astonished the whole of London); VA, PD, fo. 109r; PRO, 31/9/17B (transcripts of Panzani's letters to Barberini of 15 July and 26 August 1635).

[1248] Katherine (Manners), widow of George Villiers, 1st duke of Buckingham, who had recently married Randal MacDonnell, Viscount Dunluce. See *Letter 70*. She had attended the first day of the famous three-day debate (in May 1622) in front of James I between John Percy and several Church-of-England divines, a debate held for the benefit of her mother-in-law, the countess of Buckingham. Percy subsequently became the countess's chaplain. Panzani recorded in February 1635 that Percy was confessor also to Frances (Waldegrave), second wife of Sir Richard Weston, 1st earl of Portland; VA, PD, fo. 77r.

[1249] George Boyce. See Anstr., II, p. 33.

[1250] Three days after this letter was written, Percy was summoned before the privy council and ordered to leave the realm; *CSPD, 1634–1635*, pp. 352–353.

[1251] Anne (Philipson), Baroness Arundell.

[1252] Presumably either John Galmarch or John Legat, both of whom are mentioned in *Letters 81*, *82*.

[1253] Thomas Green served as chaplain to the Bendlow family at Brent Hall, near Finchingfield in Essex. See Anstr., II, p. 138.

[1254] Katherine Manners.

[1255] Frances (Waldegrave), second wife of Sir Richard Weston, 1st earl of Portland.

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and the old Lady Morley.[1256] Of knights, esquires with their ladyes and widdows, some 26. Of gentlemen and younger brothers, some 20. Of the inferiour rancke, some 50 families. What the severall number of these are ~~are~~ <is> not easily gathered, there being many in each family, as well children as servants.

Quot sunt notarii et officiales.

One archdeacon, your self, one rurall deane, my self, and one notary, M^r^ Bar[ker].[1257]

Si pauperes evangelizentur etc.

The poore for the most part are very ignorant, and rather want fitting instruction than the helpe of the sacraments. The cause is their poverty, they being not able to mentayne preists for themselves. As for such p[riests] as live with the ritcher sort, they cannot well assist their necessity. 1. because ther patrons are unwilling to have them to visitt them, fearing thereby the discovery of ther houses. 2^ly^ If their p[riest] doe assist them, it is but seldome and with much hast, without tyme and leasure to instruct them. The way to helpe this inconveniency must be to make a purse amongst the ritcher sort, to mentayne particular p[riests] [*p. 240*] for the poore. This way hath bene formerly used by good benefactours, of whose worth there is still a memory in two severall places ~~but not~~ <in this shire> who, for this end, allotted certayne yearly rents to continew for ever; but by <through> [*sic*] the avarice of the Jes[uits] those rents are eyther ceased or, as it is <more> probably thought, continued ~~in their~~ <to them> and by them onely collected, without any succour of the poore. It is true M^r^ Kele the Jes[uit][1258] calls him self the poore mans p[riest] and takes at tymes a long circuite, but yet performeth not well that office. 1. because his stay with them is but short, and usually upon working dayes, soe as the poore can neyther have leysure to receave the benifitt, nor he tyme to preach unto them. Where capacityes are but slender <and> rude, ~~and~~ there is neede of often instructions. And where there is scarcity of corporall foode it fitteth not to take away from them their tyme of labour, which must needs be done when on the working days onely they are called for help. 2. because his fashion of habitt suteth not with ~~the~~ <Gods> poore, he being well horst and apparrelled, they being on the other syde ragged and contemptible; and these two sute

[1256] Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Tresham, who had married William Parker, 13th Baron Morley and Monteagle (d. July 1622).

[1257] Thomas Barker. See Anstr., II, p. 16.

[1258] Thomas Keel SJ. See CRS, 75, pp. 219–220.

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not well togeather in the eye of strangers.[1259] To conclude, th*e* poore mans p[riest] must be a foote man, of an apostolicall spirit, zealous of soules, greedy of labours, no lover of his back or belly, dilligent to instruct, etc.

Quis sit status persecutionis

The greatest persecution is the 12^{d} th*e* Sunday,[1260] which none soe much feele as th*e* poore for of them it is oftentymes exacted with rigour. Some troubles arise upon christning of children, which also are most of all executed upon th*e* poore. [*p. 241*]

Concerning the qualityes of p[riests]

M^{r} Gooch[1261] was but a philosopher, yet of noble renowne, being 7 tymes arrayned at th*e* barr, and as often condemned. He hath brought into th*e* Church many noble families in Norfolke, Suffoke and Essex. His tallents of preaching very good and of great fame. His age 63. 2. M^{r} Wilks[1262] heard his divinity at Roome, <laboravit in Anglia 11 [*altered from* 10] annis; aetatis 43>.[1263] M^{r} Gr[een][1264] the like in Spayne, and had two publick acts, in each science; <aetat[is] 37; labora[vit] 11>. 4. M^{r} Bar[ker] the like in Sevill ~~and had publick act of his divinity~~. 5. M^{r} Hues[1265] came out of his 2^{d} yeare of divinity from Roome. 6. M^{r} Medcalfe[1266] is unknowne to me. 7. M^{r} Thorowgood[1267] heard but ~~one yeare~~ his grammar at S^{t} Omers, and at Roome after his logicke went to cases, in which study he was imployed divers years, and soe sent to us. A man of vertuous lyfe, but of weake parts and naturall judgment; aetatis 28; labor[avit] 3.[1268]

[1259] For further complaints about Keel made by Thomas Green, in particular concerning Keel's abuse of the Spiritual Exercises to insinuate himself into the exercitant's house as a chaplain and confessor, see AAW, A XXVIII, no. 15, pp. 66–67.

[1260] A reference to the one shilling fine imposed by the 1559 Act of Uniformity for absence from church on Sundays and holy days; G. Elton, *The Tudor Constitution* (Cambridge, 1972), p. 403.

[1261] Thomas Gooch. See Anstr., II, p. 132. Gooch signed an attestation in favour of Richard Smith in September 1631; AAW, A XXIV, no. 160, p. 619.

[1262] Robert Holtby, alias Ducket, Brett, and Wilkes. He was a nephew of the Jesuit Richard Holtby; Anstr., II, p. 161.

[1263] On his own account, however, Robert Holtby was aged thirty-seven; CRS, 54, p. 303.

[1264] Thomas Green, the writer of this 'Relation', was born about 1600. See Anstr., II, p. 138.

[1265] Edward Hughes. See *ibid.*, p. 164. He entered the English college in Rome in October 1626, and came to England in April 1633. He was named in Edward Bennett's will; AAW, A XXVII, no. 11, p. 40.

[1266] This may be Peter Metcalf. See Anstr., II, p. 219.

[1267] James Thoroughgood. See *ibid.*, p. 319. Anstruther suggests that he was probably a chaplain to the Mannock family at Gifford's Hall, Stoke-by-Nayland in Suffolk.

[1268] See CRS, 55, p. 383.

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For th*e* regulars they are not knowne to us. Onely thus much I can say of M^r^ Moore,[1269] he is a good getter of monyes. ~~Ten~~ 9 yeares agoe I heard him say th*a*t for his part he had gotten 2000^l^, since he arrived into England, for S^t^ Omers colledg. M^r^ Keele hath the like fame.

[*on p. 242*]

Endorsed: Relation of M^r^ Th[omas] Green. Essex 1635.

79. 'Instruction concerning the present state of the Protestant Church of England, May 1636'

[*AAW, A XXVIII, no. 119, pp. 413–420*]

Albeit the generall face of the Protestant Church of England be the same at this day both for doctrine and discipline w*hi*ch it was in the raigne of Queene Elizabeth and King James, for as much as they p*ro*fesse to retaine still the 39 Articles and the same forme of governem*en*t as before, yet some changes are noted to have bin brought in of late yeares w*hi*ch doe shewe not only lesse aversion in the p*ro*fesso*u*rs thereof from Catholick religion, and a greater moderation generally, but a certeine disposic*i*on also, or p*re*paring of mynd on their p*ar*tes, to unite this Church againe to the Church of Rome both in faith and manners. The chaunges w*hi*ch have been chiefely noted in this kynd both for doctrine and practise are these w*hi*ch followe. First concerning doctrine or matter of faith, besides that they have ever agreed w*i*th the Catholick Church in the higher misteries of the Blessed Trinity, and the incarnac*i*on of Christ o*u*r Savio*u*r, and p*ro*fesse to receave the 3 generall creedes, as also the fower first ecumenicall councells, they seeme now (as may appeare by some of their late printed bookes and sermons) to have left of[f] that fundamentall article of the Protestant beleefe concerning justificac*i*on by faith alone, and doe hould a necessity of good workes for justificac*i*on in a Catholiq*ue* sense. The like chaunge is also observed concerning the doctrine of grace and free will, the number and efficacy of the sacram*en*tes, the reall p*re*sence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacram*en*t of the altar, the nature of the sacrifice and some other pointes w*hi*ch may be gathered more p*ar*ticularly out of their said late printed bookes and sermons. Next concerning their practise of religion, they have brought into use againe the termes of holy Church, holy tradic*i*on, pennance,

[1269] Henry More SJ. In January 1636 Smith noted that More 'lived at my L[ord] Pet[re's]'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 81, p. 325. See Hibbard, *CI*, p. 41.

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satisfacc*i*on, holy vestmentes, holy altar and the like, and in the late edition of their s*er*vice booke they have chaunged the word *Minister* into *Priest* through out the whole booke. They cloath their tables like altars and place them againe at the upper end of th*e* chancell as they stood in Catholick tymes. In some cathedralls they sett great wax tapers upon the altar, and in the great east windowe they sett up againe in large and sumptuous forme the picture of the crucifix. At their coming into the church they bowe to the altar, w*i*th their faces to the ground, and com*m*end the same devotion to the people. They bowe reverently at the name of Jesus and stand up (turning towardes the East) at the *Gloria Patri* and the Creed. Their sermons for the greater p*ar*t, in court and chiefe audiences of the Citty, tend to vilify and confute the creditt and authority of *Luther* and *Calvin*, yea the famousest of their owne reformers in divers tenetes, especially touching Antichrist and the word of God interpreted against Church authority and tradic*i*on. Some of them, in their printed bookes and prayers afore sermon, doe not only make honorable menc*i*on of o*u*r Blessed Lady, the martyrs and other s*ain*tes (w*i*th whose pictures also, as also w*i*th th*e* crucifix, they adorne their chambers) but in plaine termes pray God to have mercy on all faithfull soules dep*ar*ted. They com*m*end much the great need and benefitt of sacramentall confession and penance, and some of them take paines to instruct themselves in the Catholiq*ue* formes of confession and absolution, acknowledging that no Church or religion can well subsist w*i*thout it.[1270] They acknowledge th*e* bishop of Rome for the b*ish*op of the first sea, Patriark of the West, and S^{t} Peters successo*u*r, and that noe Church can demonstrat it selfe to be apostoliq*ue*, or a member of it, w*i*thout a lyneall succession of b*ish*ops from S^{t} Peter derived to the Church of England as they affirme by the Sea of Rome, notw*i*thstanding the statute of 2^{o} Elizabethae, w*hi*ch makes it high treason to extoll or com*m*end by word or writing the popes authority in cases ecclesiasticall.[1271]

[1270] In January 1634 Richard Smith reported that 'one minister [recently] preached confession before the k[ing]'; AAW, B 27, no. 114. On 8 March 1635 Robert Philip informed Gregorio Panzani that on the previous Friday (6 March) a sermon was preached in the Chapel Royal commending confession. The preacher argued that no other sacrament had so much warrant in the gospel. Philip had spoken to a puritan lady at court, and she commented that for Protestants to have confession it would be necessary for their ministers to be unmarried, for otherwise they would reveal all to their wives. The sermon found favour at the court, where it was noted that since, in the Church of England's 'Rituale', confession was ordered at death, it could not be otherwise than good during life; VA, PD, fo. 83r. Cf. Davies, *Caroline Captivity*, pp. 23–24. See also Albion, *CI*, pp. 174–175; *CSPV*, *1636–1639*, p. 217.

[1271] i.e. the fourteenth branch of 1 Elizabeth c. 1 (An Acte restoring to the Crowne thau*n*cyent Jurisdiction over the State Ecclesiasticall and Sp*iri*tuall, and abolyshing all Forreine Power repugnant to the same'), *Statutes of the Realm*, IV, pp. 353–354.

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By these chaunges and approaches to the Catholique faith and practize, and by other their sayinges and p*ro*ceedinges, it seemeth to bee evident that an union or reconciliation w*ith* the Church of Rome is not only desired but alsoe aymed at <by> them; w*hi*ch p*er*haps the better to bring to passe, or rather to slide into [*p. 414*] it w*ith* lesse touch to their credites, they not only seeke to introduce the aforesaid doctrines and practizes by degrees, but would have it generally beleeved as a ground that there are noe fundamentall or essentiall differences in religion betweene the Church of Rome and them. Whereupon as they doe not hould themselves guilty of schisme or heresy, but true members of the Catholiq*ue* Church, condemning their p*re*decessors, the first P*rotestan*tes of England, whome they confesse ingenuously to have gon too farr in their p*re*tended reformac*i*on of the English Church, soe they desire to be accounted no other by the Roman Church, w*hi*ch they avouch to bee the mother of other Churches, and hould all other Churches adhering to her to be true members of the Catholiq*ue* Church. And as for other differences they thinke them not to bee of that reckoning as to devide them in faith from the Roman Church, judging them to be either in the man*n*er of speaking, or if it be greater in the thing it selfe yet that it is not (as their phrase is) in the fundamentalls of faith necessary to salvac*i*on and therefore thinke it not unreasonable for the Church of Rome to tolerate them in those differences, alleaging the example of the Florentine Councell, by w*hi*ch the Grecians were tolerated in many p*ar*ticular rites and opinions disagreeinge from the Latines. Moreover, many of them have beene heard in their private conferences w*ith* some learned Catholickes to expostulate why the bishop of Rome doth not invite and exhort the kinge and b*isho*ps here to the p*ro*curinge of an union, alleadging the example of Pope Eugenius to Paleologus the emp*erou*r, w*ith* the b*isho*ps of Greece,[1272] seing Brittaine is not a smalle portion of O*u*r Lordes flock, nor are there a fewe or unlearned b*isho*ps in it, and would easilier p*er*haps be united in a p*er*fect union, and, being united, would more firmely adhere, for they hould themselves to be true b*isho*ps and truly derived from the Sea Apostolique. And this seemeth to be the true state of the Protestant Church of England at this day.

Nowe the puritans who dissent from the Protes*tan*tes both in doctrine and discipline doe utterly condemne all the aforesaid doctrines and practizes of sup*er*stition, idolatry and the like, bearing noe lesse (if not more) aversion and malice against this sort of Protes*tan*tes

[1272] A reference to the agreement between Pope Eugenius IV and the Emperor John Palaeologus at the council which opened at Ferrara in January 1438; Pastor, *HP*, I, pp. 315–316.

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than they doe against the Catholiques. And these being in number most (because all citties, townes and corporac*i*ons are generally full of them), in minde refractory, and in power mighty, it is evident that one of the greatest impedim*en*tes to the foresaid union or reconciliation proceedeth mainely from them, whose power therefore, if it were diminished, there would bee farr better hopes not only of effecting this union both sooner and easilier but also that Catholickes would in the meane tyme be gentlyer dealt w*i*thall by the State. For, while the State, that is the kinge and th*e* more moderate councello*u*rs, are to struggle against the puritanes, it must bee that many impedim*en*tes will happen to hinder soe great a good.

From that w*hi*ch hath been said, it may be gathered that the p*re*sent cause of the English Protes*tan*tes seemeth to be farr different from the cause of the first Protes*tan*tes, and also from the cause of the Lutherans, Sacramentaries, Socinians, Calvinists, Anabaptists etc. from whome our moderne English Protes*tan*tes differr very much.

Seing therefore they p*re*tend soe earnestly to their supposed right in Godes Church, not in that large sence wherein other sectaries rather usurpe than use it but in a Catholiq*ue* sence, w*hi*ch argues manifestly that they doe desire a p*er*fect and unquestionable union, such as would fully quiett and satisfy their consciences the better to correspond to this good desire in them, and the better to helpe towardes this union on both sides, some thinges seeme necessary to be advertized and observed on the p*ar*t of Rome. [*p. 415*]

First it seemeth requisitt that these Protes*tan*tes should be dealt w*i*thall more fairely and mildly than their predecessors or the professors of other erring Churches, who shewe not soe good a disposic*i*on to reconciliac*i*on and union w*i*th the Church of Rome.

Secondly that nothing should be p*er*mitted to be done or written (not necessary for th*e* defence of Catholiq*ue* religion) w*hi*ch may alienat or exasp*er*at them, much lesse make them despaire of a reconciliation.

Thirdly that all acrimony and bitternes in writing be eschewed, especially against the p*er*sons and states of men, seing that more are made worse than better affected to the Catholick faith by such manner of writing.

Fourthly that all manner of writing aswell private as publick by any of th*e* kinges subjects concerning the extent of the regall jurisdicc*i*on be strictly forbidden. For wee see by experience that such treatises offend the kinge and State, and, although the authors thereof bee but p*ar*ticular men, yet the Catholiq*ue* cause in generall suffers much p*re*judice thereby aswell in the opinion of the State as of other moderate men.

Fiftly for as much as many learned and moderate Protes*tan*tes have been heard to complayne, and seeme to bee much distasted thereat,

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that divers matters yet controverted and in opinion (as they say) betweene the Catholiq*ue* devines themselves are by the p*re*cipitac*i*on or over much fervo*u*r of some of o*u*r men, or for some extrinsecall respect, obtruded (as they say) upon the consciences of the faithfull as matter of faith, whereof much use is made to the disadvantage of religion by the Socinians and others, who thereupon are bould to say th*a*t faction prevailes soe farr amongst us as that points of faith are cryed up by voices, and consequently many indifferent and judicious men left p*er*plexed what is truly Catholick, what not.

This being soe, it seemeth a thing not unworthy of consideraci*on* what meanes were fitt to bee used in this case, both to satisfy the moderate Protes*tan*t thus p*er*swaded in his understanding, [and] to take away the roote of any such p*er*suasion in him, by restrayning the p*re*cipitat or indiscreet zeale of such men of o*u*rs, whoe by their writing or otherwise have p*er*haps ministred occasion thereof, and it importeth soe much the more to give desired satisfacci*on* in this point by howe much it appeareth that the learned and moderate Protes*tan*tes doe take this for a great stumbling block in their way to union, having severall tymes complayned thereof w*i*th great feeling, whereupon some of them spare not to say in plaine termes th*a*t religion is not taught amongst us and union sought w*i*th that sincerity it ought, abstracting from interestes, p*ar*tiall respectes and affecci*on*s.

Lastly it is to be observed that those whoe are desighned to the functions of the apostoliq*ue* mission nowe in England ought not to thinke them selves sufficiently furnished w*i*th those disputaci*on*s or argum*en*tes wherew*i*th heretofore the errors of Lutherans, Sacramentaries and the like are ventilated in our schooles. For against o*u*r English Protes*tan*tes wee are to fight w*i*th other armes, especially w*i*th the tradici*on* of the auncient Church and the solid testimonies of authenticall doctors, for to these nowe doe they yeald soe much credit and reverence as that they professe simply they are ready to admitt any tenett w*hi*ch may be sufficiently shewed by those meanes to be necessary to be beleeved for eternall salvaci*on*.

[*p. 419*][1273]

[1273] Page 416 is blank, except for an endorsement which reads 'Instructions from Ingland'. Pp. 417–418 repeat material found on pp. 413–415 with a few alterations, notably the claim (p. 417) that 'in some partes they exact of the clergy to say over the whole service ev*e*ry day, and divers of them say the Romane breviary privately of their owne devoci*on*. Some of them pr*o*fesse that at their pr*e*tended consecraci*on* they elevate the B[lessed] Sacram*en*t as high as they dare for offence, and say secreately the wordes of the Masse for the oblaci*on* of a sacrifize.' The text of pp. 419–420 is also to be found in AAW, A in the form of a separate piece entitled 'Information touching the present state of the Cath[olic] Church in Ingland [May] 1636'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 118.

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There were better hopes of good for religion in England if in Rome they were made to understand rightly the condic*i*on thereof, and what course they might for their p*ar*te take to advance it, w*hi*ch the diversity and p*er*adventure the contrariety of informac*i*ons hath hetherto much hindered because there hath still wanted some p*er*son of quality, judgm*en*t and indifferency that could and would enforme trueth imp*ar*tially and w*i*thout respect to p*er*sons, p*ar*ties or private endes. This inconvenience may (wee hope) be now redressed by the employm*en*t of so noble and Catholiq*ue* a gentleman[1274] from the queene (not as wee p*re*sume w*i*thout the kinges allowance) to his Holynes, whose obligac*i*on therefore it wilbe to informe rightly the true p*re*sent state of religion and Catholickes here, w*i*th the cheefe impedim*en*tes of the p*ro*gresse thereof, for w*hi*ch it wilbe necessary that he consider religion, first in respect of the p*ro*fessed Catholiques themselves; 2^{ly} in respect of the kinge and State; 3^{ly} in respect of the Protestant clergy, especially those that are in dignity amongst them; 4^{ly} in respect of the rest of the people. In the first respect it rather p*ros*p*er*eth than decayeth (as wee conceive) for the p*ro*fesso*ur*s thereof rather encrease than decrease in number, aswell lay people as priestes. For priestes encreasing, fewe or none there are to whome God Allmighty p*re*sents not some occasion of converting some, and many more are daily converted than fall. This also p*ro*ceeds from the clemency of the kinge p*ar*tly, and p*ar*tly from the moderac*i*on of the cheefe men of the clergy. Lastly infinite multitude of sectes and opinions have even wearied them, and made understanding men discerne the inconvenience of rejecting the authority of the Church w*hi*ch bounded this liberty of broaching new opinions. Yet disunion amongst Catholiques themselves and some other occasions have somewhat cooled their primitive zeale and fervo*ur*, especially their wonted brotherly and charitable correspondence amongst the*m*selves, w*hi*ch coldnes hath originally p*ro*ceeded from the divisions and distractions amongst th*e* priestes, and these from emulac*i*on w*hi*ch inconvenience is p*ar*tly begun to bee remedied by a late Accord etc.[1275] But this can*n*ot be p*er*fected till the occasions of this emulac*i*on betweene the twoe greater bodies be taken away. Religion considered in the second respect is also rather bettered in condic*i*on than deteriorated. For, first, the king is a clement and mild prince and of his owne disposic*i*on not willing to

[1274] Sir William Hamilton. In May 1636 Hamilton went to Rome as an agent to represent Henrietta Maria (in place of the deceased Arthur Brett); *CSPV, 1632–1636*, pp. 547, 550, 555; Albion, *CI*, pp. 151f; VA, PD, fo. 139r. As Gordon Albion points out, Hamilton was brother of the earl of Abercorn, and a relative of the marquis of Hamilton, the duke of Lennox, and the king himself; Albion, *CI*, p. 157.

[1275] See *Letter 76*.

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force the consciences of his Catholique subjectes. His wantes indeed doe in some sort compell him to take money of Catholiques by way of composic*i*on for their recusancy, and although it be true that the burthen of these paim*en*tes be great and heavy, especially to the poorer sort, yet there want not considerac*i*ons of ease and benefitt that may in some sorte seeme to countervayle the burthen. This will appeare to such as knowe from the penalties of what statutes they are freed by their composic*i*on. This is the only generall molestac*i*on of Catholiques for recusancy, and these paym*en*tes are com*m*only racked very high by the diligence of the comissione*r*s, p*ar*tly out of aversion in some of them from religion, but principally out of a desire in all of them to advance the kinges pr*o*fitt. Besides this gen*er*all molestac*i*on there are many p*ar*ticular men and women in severall shires molested by informers, some also questioned (though not many) for marrying, and some for christning. The penalty of 12^{d} a Sunday is also in some places exacted, but all this is rather done by the officiousnes, covetousenes or malice of some inferio*u*r officers than by order from the State, w*hi*ch can*n*ot bee allwayes p*re*vented while the lawes remayne in force. Pursivantes also have still comissions, yet Catholiques are not gen*er*ally so much molested by them either in citty or countrey as they have beene, for they are not soe much countenanced by the State as they were wont to bee, nor hath any of them had comission by order from the State,[1276] and as an acte of State, these 3 yeares, for though some of the lordes be very averse from religion yet there be alsoe some of the cheefest councello*u*rs that are moderat men who would be content as occasion serves [*p. 420*] to further union and reconciliation, wherof there is so much the more hope <conceaved>, both for that the kinge is of a disposic*i*on apt to be obliged and wonn by reall curtesies receaved from princes abroad, and because he loveth the queene tenderly, by whose power, diligence and zeale the said union or reconciliation is principally to bee wrought in this co*u*rt, and wee hope that there would not want p*er*sons of worth and power to second her Ma*jes*t[i]es endeavo*u*rs and to serve her willingly in so good a busines.[1277]

The condic*i*on of religion in respect of the principall men in the Protestant clergy is allready insinuated in their moderac*i*on and the

[1276] On 15 May 1636 Gregorio Panzani met at court with Sir Francis Windebank and Robert Philip to discuss the problem of the pursuivants, and afterwards spoke to the queen on the matter; VA, PD, fo. 138r. Panzani's diary records how Windebank and Cottington were lobbied constantly to take action against the agents of the high commission; *ibid.*, *passim*. On 19 May Panzani learned that Charles had delegated the problem to Laud, Coventry, Coke, and Windebank; *ibid.*, fo. 139r.

[1277] The passage 'wherof there is so much [. . .] so good a busines', inserted on p. 420 after the main body of the text, replaces a similar passage in the text at the top of p. 420 which the copyist has failed to strike out.

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experience they have of the great inconvenience of the late liberty to dogmatize whatsoever novelty any fanaticall spirit doth fancy. But of this point there wilbe peradventure requisite a discourse by it selfe.

The people lastly are not so generally averse as they were wont to bee, for they alsoe observe a great change in the clergy and some in the State. The cheefe reason of this change is that whereas nothing hath more hindered the progresse of religion, and hath made indeed the profession thereof odious, than this opinion both in State and people that religion (as it is at least taught by the missionary priestes) doth alienate the affeccions of the subjectes from the prince and imbue them with opinions dangerous and pernicious to the kinge and State, in this matter both prince and people are better satisfied of late of the affeccions of Catholiques towardes their kinge and countrey, wherein if wee could fully prevaile the cause were halfe gained. One good medium for this end is the settlinge of good intelligence and correspondence betweene the State and his Holynes, for this of it selfe will take away all jealousy and suspicion of any practizes in that court against this State, which was the only pretended cause of putting priestes to death heretofore, for they were not punished for being priestes, ministring the sacramentes etc. precisely, but for returning into the land being made priestes[1278] with traiterous intention (as they termed it) of alienating the heartes of the subjectes from their obedience to their soveraigne, which they understood to be implyed in the reconciling or reducing to the obedience of the Sea of Rome, and therefore to be reconciled or to perswade any other to be so, whether he was priest or layman that did it, was made high treason 23 Eliz[abeth].[1279]

80. Laborne [George Leyburn] to [Richard Smith], 3 July 1636

[*AAW, A XXVIII, no. 134, pp. 455–456*]

Most honored sir,

I have receaved yours with divers inclosed which I have carefully disposed according to your owne desire. Mr Clifford[1280] doth not goe to

[1278] In the version of this text in AAW, A XXVIII, no. 118 (p. 412) there are added at this point the words 'in the seminaries erected by the pope and kinge of Spaine then enemies to the queene'.

[1279] For the two statutes, of 1571 (13 Elizabeth c. 2) and 1581 (23 Elizabeth c. 1), which dealt with the offence of reconciling to Rome, see Elton, *The Tudor Constitution*, pp. 418–424.

[1280] William Clifford. See Anstr., II, p. 63.

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M^rs Stoners[1281] but to M^r Sanders,[1282] a place w*hi*ch he desireth above all other him selfe in regard it is not far distant from his friends. M^r Musk[et][1283] hath desighned M^r Hyde[1284] for M^rs Stoners, but he is not at this present to be found and the place is voide. I send you here an answere of yours to M^r Gage.[1285] I perceave th*a*t he hath yeelded to y*ou*r proposition and will be shortly in thes partes, onely I heare that he ex[sp]ecteth your answer agayne. I had sent it the last Thursdaie if I had been in the towne and divers others of thes w*hi*ch now I send. Y*ou*r friends at River Parke[1286] doe exspect you w*i*th much impatience. It may fayle out th*a*t I shall wayte on you thither if I may have notise before 3 or 4 dayes.

I have presented y*ou*r remembrances unto y*ou*r best lady[1287] and M^r Harrington,[1288] who had presented you in theirs, and y*ou*r lady wisheth me in every letter to present her respects unto you. She is a litle sorrowfull at this present for the death of my Lord Baltamoores onely sunne.[1289] Sig*no*r Georgio[1290] is daily exspected here[1291] and he

[1281] It is not certain which member of the Stonor family (of Oxfordshire) is indicated here, but for the connection between the Cliffords and the Stonors, see Davidson, 'Roman Catholicism', pp. 99–100.

[1282] In c.1628 an informer reported that the priest John Bosvile 'did lately keep with Mrs Sandars at Wellforde in Northampton shire'; PRO, SP 16/529/94, fo. 146r.

[1283] George Fisher.

[1284] This may be a reference to William Bayaert, alias Hyde. He returned from Douai in 1636 and took up residence with Sir Walter Blount (at Sodington in Worcestershire), who was regarded by Richard Smith and his friends as a patron and supporter; Anstr., II, p. 19; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 128, p. 439. (Alternatively it might be a reference to the Hampshire priest Humphrey Hyde; *Letter 35*; Anstr., II, p. 166.)

[1285] George Gage. See *ibid.*, pp. 121–124.

[1286] The Browne family's residence at Tillington, West Sussex. It appears from *Letter 84* that, at this time, the ailing Edward Bennett was resident there.

[1287] Anne (Philipson), Baroness Arundell.

[1288] Mark Harrington. See Anstr., II, p. 147.

[1289] The 2nd Baron Baltimore, Cecil Calvert, had married Anne Arundell's daughter, Anne, in early 1628. They lived at Hook House in the parish of Donhead St Andrew, near Wardour; J. Anthony Williamson, *Catholic Recusancy in Wiltshire 1660–1791* (London, 1968), p. 185. Their first son, George, born in 1634, died in June 1636; GEC, I, pp. 393–394.

[1290] George Con.

[1291] On 26 April 1636, Biddulph wrote to Southcot that 'it is determined here to send Sig*no*r Giorgio [Con] into England, and I think he will depart from hence within these 10 or 12 dayes'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 112, p. 397. For an assessment of Con, see Hibbard, *CI*, pp. 38–39, 46–48. Con was a Scottish cleric who rose to prominence in the household of Cardinal Barberini, secretary of State in Rome, and had previously been a secretary to Cardinal Montalto, whom the seculars regarded as a friend; *NAGB*, p. 194. He sailed for England from Dieppe on 16/26 June 1636; Albion, *CI*, pp. 117, 159; *CSPV*, *1636–1639*, p. 303. Con was far more sympathetic to the Jesuits than Panzani had been; Hibbard, *CI*, pp. 47–48. But initially the seculars believed that he would be favourable to them. (Smith regarded Barberini as one of his supporters. In March 1637 he recorded that Biddulph had relayed the news that Barberini 'professed much to honor and respect me'; AAW, A XXIX,

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hath power to doe us good, an[d] Fa[ther] Ph[ilip] told me in private th*a*t he was obliged to doe us good.[1292] But this to y*ou*r selfe. Warres, plague and famine are very hott in foraine partes, and his Ma*jes*ty had letters th*a*t the French had defeated 3000 Spaniards nere unto Milane, surprised a strong place and taken 50 officers prisonners, and the prince of Coundy hath hath [*sic*] beseeged Dole in Burgundy.[1293] It seems th*a*t they intend to prisse the Spaniard this summer. The Spanish ambassadeur is expected howerly here.[1294] Here is come an ambassadeur from Ruschia. The earle of Arundell hath had audience of the emperor, and good hopes.[1295] My humble service unto y*ou*r most noble lady, w*i*th my best wishes to y*ou*r selfe.

In hast, y*ou*r harty obedient servant, Laborne.

July 3 1636.

If my cosen Sanford[1296] be there I beseech you to remember my respects. I have a letter for her sister of some importance and I knowe not wher she is.

No address.

[*on p. 456*]

Endorsed: 1636.
M^r^ Laborn of the 3 of July answered the 8 of the sam[e].

no. 18, p. 39.) On 18/28 May, Smith informed Southcot that the Jesuit William Talbot 'had letters from R[ome] that Sig*no*r Georgio was comming downe and that he could not sleep that night he first heard of it'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 117, p. 409. On 7/17 May 1636 Biddulph warned Southcot that Con would 'set forth from hence within these 10 days', and that he would 'have commission to gett the king his consent for a b*isho*p, butt this must be kept very secrett'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 114, p. 401. In June, Smith was repeating Biddulph's boasts that the seculars would achieve 'their desire' by Con's means; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 128, p. 439.

[1292] On 30 July/9 August 1636 Biddulph reported to Southcot that he supposed Con would by now have arrived 'safe there, and so I intend to answeare one of his letters by this post which I receaved from him at Paris, and withall I will send him a short writeing touching our pretension of a b*isho*p which writeing you may be pleased to take notice of when you see him, and desyre him to shew it you that you may conferr of it together, that he may accordingly deale with his Majestye aboute it'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 147, p. 489.

[1293] See PRO, C 115/105/8244; CRS, 1, p. 109. For Viscount Scudamore's account of the siege, see PRO, SP 78/101, fo. 264r.

[1294] The ambassador, Iñigo Ladron Velez de Guevara y Tassis, count of Oñate and Villa Mediana, arrived in July 1636; *CSPV*, *1636–1639*, p. 24. On 9 August 1636 Southcot informed Edward Bennett that George Fisher and 'M^r^ Worthington [. . .] were to kisse the new Spanish embasadors hands'. Southcot would have gone with them if he had been well enough; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 148, p. 494.

[1295] For the earl of Arundel's unsuccessful embassy to Vienna in April 1636, see Hibbard, *CI*, p. 73.

[1296] This individual may be a relative of Robert Ducket, alias Francis Samford (who came from Westmorland, as did Leyburn); Anstr., II, p. 90.

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81. J[ohn] Lovel [Southcot] to Edward Hope [Bennett], 26 August 1636

[*AAW, A XXVIII, no. 154, pp. 515–518*]

Deer cosen,

I have yours now of John <Legat> of the 22 August and uppon Wednesday in the afternoon I had a former packett from you of the 18. If this lat[t]er had come to my hands a day sooner I could have sent yours to Mr Layborne by John Galmarch, who went back to his maister this day with divers letters that I sent by him. I can not think anything amisse which is resolved on by your advise and direction. Otherwise I could have thought it somewhat straunge to see our former determination altered so sodainly concerning Mr Layborns going to Rome presently, and cannot but think still that it ~~was~~ is a made buissenesse, how cunningly soever contrived. Yet methinkes an other kind of stile would have better become that lord and would have effected his desire (if it be indeed his own desire) as soon and with lesse offence to others, which he giveth by this letter surely without cause or ground. Howsoever, I cannot but submitt to better judgments in this and all other things. If it be so indeed that Mr Fitton[1297] wilbe contented to stay there all this winter the daunger is the lesse in forbearing till spring. But the lord that is so earnest against his going now is like to be no lesse at spring, and I dare lay a good wager that the buissenesse will so fall out that from spring it wilbe further differred to the fall of the leaf. Since I requested that letter from you to Mr Button I heare Mr Fittons father is dead, in which respect I imagin it wilbe the easier to persuade Mr Fitton to stay this winter. And I wish you had written a few lines to him your self which would have had more authority than our letters, and I pray you do it yet and send it me by the next occasion. I ame glad you had so good satisfaction from the superior of the friars, and so many kind words from Mr Gray.[1298] Ne crede, he is one of the subtilest foxes they have. It is well that Mr Gage wilbe the secretary.[1299] I pray God he performe it well. Mr George Fenwick[1300] wrote lately to me to offer his humble service to you, and is [*p. 516*] willing to be employed by you in any service in these parts and surely he would do much ~~here~~ <good> were he employed, for he is very active, diligent and humble, and one thing particulerly he were good for which is to keep a dew correspondence

[1297] Peter Biddulph.
[1298] Lawrence Anderton SJ.
[1299] i.e. secretary to the episcopal chapter. See Anstr., II, p. 122.
[1300] George Warwick; see *ibid.*, pp. 340–341.

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at home with the vicars and archdeac[ons] who complayne much for waunt of intelligence concerning the com*m*on affai[res] and therfor are so loath to contribute or collect monies for the com*m*on use wherof we stand more in need now than ever, both for Lisbon[1301] and for the agent at Rome. Wherfor he that is secretary here must needs undergo this tasque to keep once in three weekes or a month correspondence in all countries with the vicars and archdeacons, else o*u*r affaires will go on but slowly.

M[r] Ghilmett[1302] is come from Lisbon lately and left M[r] Eldrington[1303] procurator in his place. He saieth the college beginns to flourish extraordinarily, and M[r] Hart is respected there as an oracle. But it greeves him much that from hence the pension is not dewly payed, according to promise, wherwith he is so much disgusted sometimes (at o*u*r unkindnesse, as he interpreteth it) that it hath caused him some sicknesses. For the love of God therfor lett some effectuall course be taken for the dew setling of this pension that it may be dewly payed, collected and sent at the two great termes.

I know no better way than that every archdeacon should be writt unto to moove the priests of their district to contribute every one something more or lesse as they have donn in Yorkshire and Lancashire already. And it were good for example sake to send into every quarter a coppy of what others of [*sic for* have] donn and to ~~prefix~~ add the names of those that give greater som*m*es, beginning with y*ou*r own and M[r] Muscots.[1304] There are letters from Lisbon, but we cannot yet come by them, being still in the shipmaisters hands. Still the founder[1305] demaunds a clock. This week the bill of the sicknesse hath 429 but I hope [*p. 517*] when the weather groweth coulder it will decrease as fast as it encreaseth now. M[r] Southworth followeth his task stoutly and is much com*m*ended even by some of the French.[1306] M[r] Muscot and I spake to the superiour of the Capucins to depute one of theirs,

[1301] The college of Saints Peter and Paul at Lisbon.

[1302] Henry Shirley; see Anstr., II, p. 295. He had been appointed procurator at Lisbon in 1634. See also Duffy, 'The English secular clergy', pp. 226–227.

[1303] Edward Elrington. See Anstr., II, p. 94. He was vice-president at Lisbon from 1636 to 1637, when he was dismissed by the cardinal protector. He was later expelled from the college.

[1304] George Fisher.

[1305] Pedro Coutinho, founder and benefactor of the college of Saints Peter and Paul at Lisbon.

[1306] While Richard Smith urged John Southcot to avoid London and the plague, he recognized that it presented a propaganda opportunity. On 9/19 September 1635 he wrote that he was 'exceding glad' that the secular priest 'Mr [John] Southworth undertaketh that heroical work' of tending plague victims. 'He escaped one martyrdome' (in 1628, when he was condemned at Lancaster) 'and now he is in danger of an other'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 161, p. 535. Southworth's activities in ministering to plague victims brought accusations that he was using the epidemic in order to proselytize; Anstr., II, p. 306.

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but it seemes by the answer that the queen will not give them leave. There is one Mors[e] a Jesuitt deputed also, but <I> do not heare what visitt he hath made yet.[1307] I pray cause all o*u*r friends in those

For other instances of the secular clergy's use of the plague to publicize how seriously they took their pastoral duties, see George Fisher's report of 5 August 1625 to Thomas Rant (AAW, B 47, no. 160) that 'London is now a mapp of misery left desolate' by the plague, but 'I am here to attend the sicke and cheifly to releive the necessity of the poore'. There was 'an other of ours apointed by my l[ord] [Richard Smith] to visit them'. 'We ar[e] called uppon daily. The nu*m*ber of the sicke is so greate.' The 2nd Viscount Montague's manuscript tract ('An Apologeticall Answere [. . .]', completed in 1628 in support of Smith), asked of the regulars, 'will they yet be pastours cum honore w*i*th the exemptions and priviledges thereof, and not cum onere, with the burthen and charge thereunto belonginge? Who did in the tyme of the last plague discharge the tender care of pastours to the sicke and whole in this towne? Concear[n]inge the sicke, the care was through the charitable provision of my lord bishop, and with noe smale charge undertaken by one of the archdeacons with an other of the cleargie, and one only [*sic for* only one] Benedictine whose labours for about five monthes were exceedinge greate in that good worke, without any healpe of the fathers of the Societie, notwithstandinge promis made for two of them to helpe in this kinde.' One Carmelite had been involved in tending plague victims. Montague did not deny that 'some other regulars might have remained in their owne particular residences about this towne [London] and some others mo[r]e might also have resorted theither to some particular freind'. But there were many others, resident in London, who had 'many honorable and wealthie dependents'. And they left 'the poore infected persons in theire soe greate extreamitie', even while Smith's archdeacon 'was inforced severall tymes to ride into the cuntrie to visite the infected there who were under the charge of the fathers of the Societie'; Anthony Maria Browne, 2nd Viscount Montague, 'An Apologeticall Answere [. . .]' (Gillow Library manuscripts, on microfilm at the West Sussex Record Office), pp. 127–129. In October 1636 Southcot and George Fisher signed and published a 'declaration' 'to the Catholickes of England' to urge them to relieve plague victims. They stressed that 'the example of the Protestants, both in the citty and the countrey (which is well knowne to all) may bee no small inducement unto Catholicks to imitate their care, providence, and bounty in this behalfe'. For 'if those who acknowledge no merit in good workes, out of a generous minde, or naturall compassion are so ready to assist their distressed brethren so plentifully; it may seeme that no lesse, but rather much more, should bee expected at the hands of Catholicks who, professing to believe the doctrine of merit, have thereby a farre higher motive than Protestants have to performe workes of charity and to open the bowells of mercy, especially in a time of so generall and pressing necessity, towards their poore and desolate brethren, who have no expectation of hope or reliefe from any, but from them alone'; AAW, SEC 16/1/10 (formerly AAW, A XXVIII, no. 165).

For puritan usage of the plague as a polemical weapon to emphasize the superiority of some ministers' pastoral ministry over that of others, see P. Slack, *The Impact of Plague in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 233–236.

[1307] The Jesuits, especially Henry Morse, were swift to exploit plague as a means of demonstrating the quality of their own ministry. In late January 1635, two Jesuits told Gregorio Panzani that there was no need in England for bishops and parish priests, and, in addition, 'si pigliorono sopra di loro ad assistere alli appestati'; VA, PD, fo. 70r. (In April 1635 Matthew Wilson SJ had arranged with the seculars that they would each appoint one representative to see to the needs of those unfortunate Catholics who were struck down by the disease; Dockery, *CD*, p. 43.) On 18 May 1636 Panzani asked the Jesuit Robert Jenison to request the Jesuit provincial, Richard Blount, to assign some London Jesuits to tend plague victims, although, Panzani claimed, Jenison made no direct response, 'anzi si lamenti delli

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parts to pray for M^r^ Fittons fathers soule lately departed.[1308] It is an office we ow[e] to him for his sonns sake so well deserving and I promised to procure so much.

I ame glad you resolve to send up the jubily[1309] almes to be devided betwen the college and the poor here, for there is need in both. I have ventured to lend the house 200^l^ w*hi*ch lay dead in my hands till Michelmas terme, being the mony of one of o*u*r brethren.[1310]

M^r^ Ghilmett wisheth us to send xx^l^ for a token to M^r^ Hart, by this shipp that now goeth, to encourage him the better, having sent him nothing since he went thither, and I like the motion well. But I assure you o*u*r rents for the present are not able to spare it nor to afford half the mony. Yet I tould him that, if M^r^ Muscot or M^r^ Curtese[1311] could procure the mony, I did hope in Michelmas terme to make it good, as soon as my rents come in. I gave 5^l^ to M^r^ Ghilmett by the advise of o*u*r brethren here, and have promised him 5^l^ more when we have it in part of recompence for his paines there. We must of necessity

secolari che pensano a questo, quasi che usurpino giurisdittione'; PRO, 31/9/17B. On 16/26 September 1636 Smith enquired of John Southcot how John Southworth was faring and whether 'any Jesuit really assist the infected'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 163, p. 541. However, on 6 October 1636, Southworth and Henry Morse SJ issued a joint appeal to English Catholics for money to assist plague victims, *To the Catholickes of England* (London, 1636); ARCR, II, no. 726.

[1308] On 25 June/5 July 1636 Peter Biddulph had written to Southcot that he understood that 'my father is exceedingly decayed of late, and for that reason I desyred to returne into England as soone as may be, but now I feare I shall nott have the comfort to see him by reason of my stay here this sum*m*er, which is likely to be very prejudiciall to mee, for you must know that as yett he hath nott settled anything upon mee and I doubt nott butt the Jesuitts doe what they cann to hinder him from leaving mee anything'. Biddulph asked Southcot to get Richard Button, archdeacon of Staffordshire, to deal with Biddulph Snr 'in my behalf', since his father would not live long, and he believed that 'it may be he is much incensed at my being here in Rome, butt I am sure he hath no reason if he consider what I have negotiated here, for no Catholike cann chuse butt rejoyce at this resolution of the pope his sending one [George Con] into England, and the queens keeping another [Sir William Hamilton] [. . .] here, in regard of the greate good that must needs follow upon it'. Biddulph believed that 'if I had nott sett this business first on foote here and sollicited the sending of Panzani it had nott been effected'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 135, pp. 457–458. On 24 September/4 October Biddulph acknowledged Southcot's notice of Biddulph Snr's death 'which news I had receaved before from the Jesuitts here. I cann now only desyre you to pray for his soule. As for the meanes left mee by my father I know nothing, because my brother in his letter doth only give mee a bare notice of his death'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 177, p. 571. On 2/12 October 1636 Biddulph wrote to Southcot that he was content to stay in Rome for the winter, 'and indeed the chiefest motive of my returne is taken away by my father his death, whom I desyred to see before he dyed', though Biddulph wanted to leave Rome 'at the end of March' 1637; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 169, p. 553.

[1309] See AAW, A XXVIII, no. 137 ('Conditions for the gaining of the present jubily granted by his Holynesse the xi of July 1636').

[1310] See Allison, RSGB, II, pp. 246–247.

[1311] Peter Curtis. See Anstr., II, pp. 78–80.

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gratify o*ur* freinds, though we streatch o*ur* selves farther than we are well able.

I have wearied my self and you also, I feare. Pardon my scribling. My service to all there.

Y*our* most af*fectiona*te cosen and serv*an*t,

J[ohn] Lovel

26 Aug[ust] 1636

[*on p. 518*]

Addressed: To my honoured cosen M^r^ Edward Hope.

Endorsed: M^r^ Lovells of the 26 of Aug[ust] answeared the 29.

82. Jo[hn] Clerk [Southcot] to Edward Farrington [Bennett], 2 September 1636

[*AAW, A XXVIII, no. 156, pp. 521–522*]

Dear cosen,

I have but a short warning to write unto you by this bearer John Galmarch and therfor must be brief. I wrote unto you my mind at large by John Legatt, but that was in confidence to y*our*self. I send you here enclosed M^r^ Fittons[1312] letter w*hi*ch hath bin shewen to Fa[ther] Philip who promiseth to speake to the queen effectually about it. What newes is at court I suppose M^r^ Layborne will informe you by this bearer. Other newes I have none but what I signified in my last from Lisbo[n][1313] brought by M^r^ Ghilmett[1314] who is gonn down on foot into Norfolk, and by the way I wished him to call uppon o*ur* brethren in Essex and Suffolk and gett their names to a paper of contribution for Lisbo[n] to w*hi*ch [I s]ett down mine ~~first~~ for five pounds yearly as I promised at first. I hope they will all help a little. Otherwise we shall not be able to make good the nine score pounds w*hi*ch we have promised during the founders[1315] life. I feare o*ur* letters from Lisbo[n] are lost by the negligence of the shipman that brought them, for as yet we heare nothing of them. These enclosed M^r^ Ghilmett gave me, who remembers his service to you and desires you to send that to

[1312] Peter Biddulph.
[1313] The college of Saints Peter and Paul at Lisbon.
[1314] Henry Shirley.
[1315] Pedro Coutinho.

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M^r^ Pugh[1316] when you send into Walles next. M^r^ Layborne is come to Richmond, where I wish you were also that we might sometimes meet togeather to conferr about o*ur* affaires. We have nothing of moment from my l*or*d.[1317] This from M^r^ Fitton I desire you to send me back againe by the next.

My service to all with you, and in hast I rest. 2 Septemb[er] 1636.

Y*our*s ever being but to serve you ever,

Jo[hn] Clerk

Lett us have that Latin letter againe I pray w*hi*ch was written in y*our* name to the Span[ish] ambassador[1318] lately that we may putt it uppon the register as we use to doe.

[*on p. 522*]

Addressed: To my much honoured cosen M^r^ Edward Farrington in Sussex or elsewhere.

Endorsed: 1636.
M^r^ Lovells of the 2 of September.

83. Laborn [George Leyburn] to Farrington [Edward Bennett], 3 September 1636

[*AAW, A XXVIII, no. 157, pp. 523–528*]

Most honored sir,

You had heard from me long before this if I could have been furnish[e]d with any convenient opportunity to convey my letters unto you. The plague continuing and increasing in London taketh away all meanes of correspondence, in soe much that I am enforced to send at this tyme my owne servant to give you an accoumpt of all passages since my departure from you.[1319] On Weddensday last I parted from Oxeford w*i*th Sig*no*r Georgio[1320] and Sig*no*r Panzano[1321]

[1316] This may be a reference to the priest Stephen Pugh. See Anstr., II, p. 374.

[1317] Richard Smith.

[1318] Presumably a reference to Iñigo Ladron Velez de Guevara y Tassis, count of Oñate and Villa Mediana.

[1319] See *Letter 81*.

[1320] George Con.

[1321] Gregorio Panzani. Panzani's diary records his visit to Oxford. He arrived there on 19 August, and met the Benedictine provincial, Robert Sherwood, and also William (Benedict) Jones OSB. On 20 August he visited All Souls, the Schools, and Bodley's library, and then, after meeting Leyburn and Christopher Davenport OFM, he went to see

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and on Thursedaye night we arrived at Hampton towne a myle from Hampton Court wher they intend to continue untill it shall please God to free London of the sicknes.[1322] Their Ma*jes*ties parted also the same daye, the king towards New Forest, and the queen towards Otelands. Wher [*sic*] and [at] Hampton Court she intends to continue thes 2 moneths or longer if the plague do not cease. They were most gloriousely receaved at Oxeforde.[1323] They were mett two myles from the towne by the cheef citizens, aldermen, batchlers of divinity, doctors of phisike, doctors of divinity in their scarlett roabes, bishops, mayor and chancellor (viz the archbishop of Canterbury), all w*hi*ch ridde in great state before their Ma*jes*ties coache unto Christ Church Colledge wher they were lodged, and after supper intertayned w*i*th a new comedy called the Passions Calm*e*d, or the Floating Iseland,[1324] in w*hi*ch was represented a king whos name was Prudentius (you may imagine our most prudent prince) and an Intellectus Agens, a person active and wise (you may imagine his Grace of Canterbury); by the passions you may understand the puritans and all such as are opposit to the courses w*hi*ch our king doth run in his goverment. Thes passions were very unrulye and disobedient unto Prudentius['s] goverment in soe [*p. 524*] much th*a*t they resolved noe longer to ~~endure~~ <suffer> him to be their king, w*hi*ch the Intellectus Agens, perceaving, persuaded Prudentius to yeeld his crowne quietly, w*hi*ch he did. Thes disordered passions, having now the crowne, consulted together on whom they should bestowe it, and election was made of Lady Fancy, under whos goverment they fell into bitter discords and discentions amongst them selves, plotting to kill each other. At length, beeing wearie of thes differences, they resolved to aske counsell of Desparato what to doe,

St John's. Over the next couple of days he saw another twelve colleges. Following a trip to the court at Woodstock, Panzani returned to Christ Church to see the rehearsals for William Strode's *The Floating Island* which Leyburn describes in this letter; VA, PD, fos 146r, 147r; PRO, 31/9/17B.

[1322] On 30 May Panzani had noted in his diary that he went to reside at Hampton, where he could both avoid the plague and visit the court regularly, and see, among others, Jacques le Noël Du Perron, Robert Philip, and Leyburn; VA, PD, fo. 139r. He negotiated, in June, with Windebank, for two rooms at the palace; PRO, 31/9/17B (transcript of Panzani's letter to Barberini of 17/27 June 1636).

[1323] For this event, see K. Sharpe, 'Archbishop Laud and the University of Oxford', in H. Lloyd-Jones, V. Pearl, and B. Worden (eds), *History and Imagination* (London, 1981), pp. 146–164, at pp. 150–152; Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment*, p. 48.

[1324] See William Strode, *The Floating Island: A Tragi-Comedy, Acted before His Majesty at Oxford, Aug. 29. 1636. By the Students of Christ-Church* (London, 1655); B. Dobell (ed.), *The Poetical Works of William Strode [. . .] to which is added The Floating Island a Tragi-Comedy [. . .]* (London, 1907), pp. 137–263. Strode was the Public Orator in the university. The play had been written at Laud's own prompting. Leyburn's account of the performance gives us a different perspective from the description in Sharpe, 'Archbishop Laud', pp. 156–157, 160. Panzani had been taken to see a rehearsal of the play on 26 August; VA, PD, fo. 147r.

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who would make noe answere butpresented unto them many naked knyfes and roapes. They were not pleas[e]d with this, wherupon they thought good to advise with Intellectus Agens who persuaded them to submitte them selves unto Prudentius and returne the crowne agayne unto him, which counsell, beeing in this extremity, they did willingly embrace. Prudentius receaved the crowne agayne from the passions and accepted of their submission with an acknowledgement of their foule errors and made a speech unto them full of sweetnes, signifying that the courses which he ran in his goverment was [*sic*] for their good, and as for the navy it was to defende them and the kingdome.[1325] Ther was represented a puritan minister who made very good sport, and their Majesties laugh[ed] hartely. His name was Malancholico and he was marryed to Concupiscence. When he came with the passions to tender his submission to Prudentius, he kneel[e]d doune and sayd, O King, I kneele not to thee but to the [*sic for* thy] power, neither doe I adore thee.[1326]

The next daye their Majesties were feasted by his Grace of Canterbury at St Jhons Colledge and [*p. 525*] ther was most great entertainement as ever I did see in all my life. His Grace did shew him selfe most noble, kept 14 tables, as many as are kept in the court, and one table for the queen, almener,[1327] Fa[ther] Philip and some of the cheef French who they should bring with them. His Grace invited the grand almener by Sir Jhon Tunstall who did signifie also [that] his Grace durst not invite Signor Georgio. Notwithstanding, if he would come he should be hartely welcome,[1328] soe that he was ther ad [*sic for* at] dynner. And Panzano[1329] and I went with Fa[ther] Philip and I doe assure you that I never see [*sic for* saw] such store of flesh and fish and sweet meates as was at that table and all curiousely drist after the French fashion.[1330] This manner of inviting Signor Georgio did much please, more than if he had been invited directly. After dynner their Majesties was [*sic*] entertayned with an other new comedy called Loves Hospitall[1331] which gave great content and, after supper, with

[1325] See Dobell, *Poetical Works*, p. 234. This was a reproof directed at those who were already expressing criticism of the Ship Money levies.

[1326] *Ibid.*, p. 235 ('I kneel not/To thee, but to thy power; I kneel to thee/But not adore thee').

[1327] Jacques le Noël Du Perron.

[1328] Albion says that Laud's invitation was sent via Du Perron; Albion, *CI*, p. 161.

[1329] See VA, PD, fo. 147r.

[1330] See A.J. Taylor, 'The royal visit to Oxford in 1636: a contemporary narrative', *Oxoniensia*, I (1936), pp. 151–158, at p. 157.

[1331] Laud informed the vice-chancellor on 15 July 1636 that he undertook to pay for the production of this play, written by George Wilde; see Laud, *Works*, V, p. 147; Taylor, 'Royal visit', p. 157; J.L. Funston (ed.), *A Critical Edition of Love's Hospital* (Salzburg, 1973). For Laud's patronage of Wilde, see *ibid.*, iv.

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an other at Christ Church Colledge.[1332] Sig*no*r Georgio did onely see the first where he was much honored by both the king and queens chamberlaine[s][1333] who did earnestly invite him to sitt w*i*th them w*hi*ch he refused. And at the comedy at St Jhons Colledge their Ma*jes*ties, not seeing him their, sent a gentleman to enquire for him.[1334] He hath been much honored by all the nobility about the court.[1335] And on Sundaye last at Woodstock he did conferre almost an hower in private with the king, [*p. 526*] at which many did wounder, but to y*ou*r selfe this, for although his passage is knowne, as also the manner of the archbishops inviting of him, notw*i*thstanding I would not have us publish them, for our adversaries will take advantage against us upon every litle busines.

I doe assure you faithfully th*a*t I am confident that Sig*no*r Georgio will be able to doe great good here if he doe setle a firme correspondence, w*hi*ch is th*a*t he doth ayme at, but to y*ou*rselfe this. And I am certayne th*a*t he desireth noe thing more than 3 or 4 bishops for this country, but I doe see that my lords returne[1336] will not be much urged unlesse it may appeare gratful to his Ma*jes*ty. Yett before his return to Rome nothing will be done. Howsoever I have desired Fa[ther] Philip to move her Majesty to some present order unto Sir William Hamleton[1337] to deale about bishop[s], th*a*t his Holynes may see th*a*t her Ma*jes*ty is still myndfull of th*e* busines.

[1332] This play was William Cartwright's *The Royal Slave*. See Taylor, 'Royal visit', pp. 157–158; Sharpe, 'Archbishop Laud', pp. 151–152. Laud complained to the vice-chancellor that the university was unwilling to contribute to the cost of the entertainment at Christ Church; Laud, *Works*, V, p. 144.

[1333] The lord chamberlain of the household was Philip Herbert, 4th earl of Pembroke. Henrietta Maria's chamberlain was Edward Sackville, 4th earl of Dorset.

[1334] Con and Panzani did not attend the play performed at St John's college, allegedly because they wanted to avoid seeming too forward in seeking royal favour; Albion, *CI*, p. 161.

[1335] For the contacts which Con was making among the nobility at this time, see *ibid.* He was entertained by Bishop Juxon, and the earl of Holland invited him to meet the marquis of Winchester and other leading Catholics at Holland's own residence in Hyde Park; *ibid.*, p. 162.

[1336] i.e. the proposed return of Richard Smith to England.

[1337] Richard Smith reported to Southcot on 25 May/4 June 1636 that he had spoken with Sir William Hamilton as he passed through Paris. Smith gave him 'instructions such as I thought good', and Hamilton told Smith that Henrietta Maria had commanded him (Hamilton) to consult Smith; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 121, p. 423. Smith believed that Hamilton would negotiate at Rome on their behalf, though, as Smith learned in August 1636, Hamilton would not do so without specific instructions from the queen; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 151, p. 509. On 9/19 July 1636 Biddulph reported that Hamilton had been well received by the pope, and had made a very good impression in Rome. Cardinal Barberini had 'presented him with two very faire horses for his coach'. Hamilton kept correspondence with Secretary Windebank, and, as Brett had done, used the Benedictine agent in Rome, Richard (Wilfrid) Selby, to convey his letters; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 139, p. 467. On 24 September/4 October Biddulph noted that Hamilton was 'our trew friend and affected to our business as well as cann be'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 177, p. 571. The secular clergy supported Hamilton out of their scarce financial resources. On 4 January 1638 Champney remarked to Biddulph that

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Sig*no*r Georgio as also Panzano doe present their respects unto you and will be glad to see you, and I desire that it may be as sodainely as y*ou*r occasions will give you leave, for Fa[ther] Price[1338] and the superior M^r^ Sherwood[1339] have been alreadie w*i*th him as also Fa[ther] Francis,[1340] and Father Roberts[1341] from the superior of the Jesuists,[1342] as I went to him from you. Fa[ther] Price and Fa[ther] Sherwood did promise to write unto Fa[ther] Jhon[1343] their agent at Rome about the Accord[1344] and to cause him to goe to our protector[1345] and to signifie the generall consent a*n*d acceptance of all the Benedictines here in England. The increase of the plague is a great hindrance unto all our affayres. If M^r^ Lane[1346] and you doe resolve to come to Hampton I will meet you wher you please, but I would not have you come unlesse you [*word obscured*: can (?)] make 2 dayes jorney of it, for it is too far for you in one daye. The superior of the Benedictines[1347] did please Sig*no*r Georgio very much in th*a*t he did showe great willingnes and readines to remitte himselfe to his Holynes in all poyntes.[1348] This is all, onely humble respects and best wishes for y*ou*r happines. You may communicate w*i*th M^r^ Lane thes contents. He will be secrett.

My best respects. Sep[tember] 3 1636.

Richard Worthington 'will write unto you about the 1000 crownes taken up there long since of the colleges pension for the use of S*i*r William and not yet repayd, to the great hurt of the howse, wherfore I pray you secure a letter from him to his agent here to pay the money to M^r^ Jhon Morgan who shall present the letter'; AAW, A XXIX, no. 38, p. 151. See also AAW, A XXIX, no. 37 (a note of 4 January 1638 from Richard Worthington to Biddulph concerning Hamilton's money).

[1338] William (Benedict) Jones OSB.

[1339] Robert Sherwood OSB was a chaplain to the Browne family at Kiddington; Lunn, *EB*, p. 228; *idem*, 'Benedictine opposition', pp. 8–9. He had in 1628 'sayd to the bishops [i.e. Richard Smith's] face, and in the presence of his owne superiour, that he would sinke, yea die rather than aske the bishops approbation'; AAW, A XX, no. 159, p. 602.

[1340] Christopher Davenport (Francis a Sancta Clara) OFM.

[1341] Robert Jenison SJ.

[1342] Richard Blount SJ.

[1343] Richard (Wilfrid) Selby OSB.

[1344] See *Letter 76*.

[1345] Cardinal Francesco Barberini.

[1346] Probably the priest Richard Lane (see *Letter 23*), but possibly Valentine Harcourt, alias Lane, who was a cousin of Peter Biddulph. Harcourt had returned to England from Rome in 1634; Anstr., II, p. 144.

[1347] This seems to be a reference to Robert Sherwood OSB (cited already in this letter under his own name), who had been the Benedictine provincial of Canterbury since 1633; Lunn, *EB*, p. 232; *Letter 84*.

[1348] Biddulph, however, reported back to Southcot on 24 September/4 October 1636 that 'the Benedictines are the men who doe [. . .] hinder us of haveing a b*isho*p by averting my l*or*d of Canterbury and Secretarye Windebank from it, although they make to us a faire shew to the contrarye'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 177, p. 571.

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I have noe tyme to read my letter over, and therfore I beseech you to make good sense of it as you can.

[*on p. 524 in margin*]

I beseech you to present my humble service unto noble M^r^ Fortescue. I thinke th*a*t I shall be able to make an end of his troublsome busines according to his desire. After he was gone from Sherborne, Petites wife came to the Vyne[1349] to speake w*i*th me w*hi*ch she did before M^r^ Sands, M^rs^ Atkins and M^rs^ Savage.

[*on p. 525 in margin*]

I had the honor to speake w*i*th my lord of Carnarvon[1350] twise, once at Woodstock and an other tyme at Oxeford. I did see also his two brothers and M^r^ Dormer of Peeterley who did aske kindly for you and will be glad to see you.

[*on p. 528*]

Addressed: To his most honored friend M^r^ Farrington present thes. Ryver Park.

Endorsed: M^r^ Laborn 1636 the 3 of Sept[ember].

84. R[oberts] [George Leyburn] to [Richard Smith], 7 September 1636

[*AAW, A XXVIII, no. 158, pp. 529–530*]

Most honored sir,

I have receaved none from you since I writte my former by the last weekes post. I presented y*ou*r remembrances to Sig*no*r Georgio[1351] and y*ou*r good friends in the court who returne theirs w*i*th harty thankes. Such occurrences as thes tymes doe afforde are signifyed in the inclosed to M^r^ Mountegue w*hi*ch you may please to peruse and

[1349] The Vyne, Hampshire, residence of the Sandys family. See N. Pevsner and D. Lloyd, *Hampshire and the Isle of Wight* (London, 1967), pp. 634–638. For Fortescue, see *Letter 92*.

[1350] Sir Robert Dormer, 1st earl of Caernarvon. The Dormer family were prominent patrons of the secular clergy. In July 1632 Smith had sent on two packets of letters from Biddulph in Rome to the earl; AAW, B 27, no. 101. Allegedly Caernarvon disliked Strode's *Floating Island*, and 'sayd it was the worst that ever he sawe but one that he sawe at Cambridge'; Taylor, 'Royal visit', p. 156.

[1351] George Con.

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after seale it. Fa[ther] Ph[ilip] did move her Ma*jes*ty to give order to Sir William Hamleton as was desired in M^r^ Fittons[1352] letter, but she wish[e]d him to exspect yett for some litle tyme. I perceave that noething will be done before a firme correspondence be setled, w*hi*ch I hope will be very shortly; and after that I am confident that our affayres shall succeed prosperousely. Two dayes aggoe I mett w*i*th Fa[ther] Price[1353] and we had much speech concerning the Accorde[1354] w*hi*ch, as Sig*no*r Panzani told me yesterdaye,[1355] is generally approved at Rome, and they [*sic for* the] Jesuists ther dare not speake against it. He and his superior, Father Sherwood, have writte unto Father Jhon[1356] their agent to stand firmely for it, and that, in case he hath sayd any thing to the cardenall protector[1357] by w*hi*ch his eminence may have occasion to suspect that their order is devided in the approbation of it, to unsaye it agayne. And he told me that both his judgement and power shall fayle him if Father Rudisinde[1358] shall be able to hinder it, and wish[e]d me to signifie thus much to M^r^ Bennett. I see clearely that the moncks and fryers here doe desire nothing more than union w*i*th the clergie, for they see that the Jesuists doe but comply w*i*th them for their owne ends. This daye I have receaved a letter from Ryver Parke to acquainte me that M^r^ Bennett is falne very sick, and not w*i*thout some danger of death, for w*hi*ch I am hartilie sorie, for if he should dye it would be a great losse unto us. I have delivered M^r^ Hanmors[1359] letter to Sig*no*r Georgio. But as yett I have not gott his answere. To morrowe I intend to be w*i*th him, and then I will not fayle to urge him. When I have his answere I will write unto him.

I wish you all happines who am y*ou*r most obedient servant,

R[oberts]

September 20 1636.

No address.

[*on p. 530*]

Endorsed: Accord with monks.

[1352] Peter Biddulph.
[1353] William (Benedict) Jones OSB.
[1354] See *Letter 76*.
[1355] VA, PD, fo. 148r.
[1356] Richard (Wilfrid) Selby OSB.
[1357] Cardinal Francesco Barberini.
[1358] William (Rudesind) Barlow OSB.
[1359] William Claybrook. He had been rector of Pwllcrochan, Pembroke (1628) and of English Bicknor in Gloucestershire (1630). He was tonsured in Rome in March 1637, though he did not enter the English college there. He was later involved in the conversion to Catholicism of Godfrey Goodman, bishop of Gloucester; see Anstr., II, p. 61.

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85. [George Leyburn] to [Richard Smith], late October/early November 1636

[AAW, A XXVIII, no. 211, pp. 655–658]

Most honored sir,

I have yours of the 17 of October and I have presented y*ou*r respectfull remembrances as you wish[e]d me. I am certayne that the monkes in England will never recall the agreement,[1360] but as for Fa[ther] Rudicind[1361] and Father Clement,[1362] who governe thos on the other syde, I knowe not what to saye nor thinke. D[octor] Kell[ison] doth write unto me that they doe in a kind oppose, notw*i*thstanding Fa[ther] Price[1363] wish[e]d me (as I writte unto you in a former letter) to assure M^r^ Benett from him that Fa[ther] Rudicind should never be able to hinder or hurt the sayd agreement. What I writte concerning Sir Jhon Thimbleby his servant ther hath been noe more speech made of it; and Sir Jhon hath been w*i*th the king and graciously used publiquely before many of the lords of the councell, for he kissed the kings hands att the breaking up of the councell. Yett the poore man continueth prisonner in the Tower and peradventure shall come to his tryall as well [as] the fryer.[1364] Ther have been great complaintes made to Sig*no*r [*p. 656*] Georgio[1365] concerning my cosen Holdens conclusions,[1366] and as I probablely [*sic*] conjecture, by Fa[ther] Knott[1367] or Fa[ther] Blunt.

[1360] See *Letter 76*.

[1361] William (Rudesind) Barlow OSB.

[1362] Clement Reyner, who had been president of the English Benedictine congregation since 1635 (in succession to John (Leander) Jones), and was now at Douai. See Lunn, *EB*, pp. 171–172, 232; Sitwell, 'Leander Jones's mission to England', p. 135.

[1363] William (Benedict) Jones OSB.

[1364] Sir Thomas Puckering was informed on 28 September 1636 that 'a poor man, Bumsted by name, sometime serjeant to Sir John Thimlebee, was sent a prisoner from Oatlands to the Tower of London [. . .] for saying he would cut off the king, or the king must first be cut off'; Birch, *CT*, II, p. 250; CRS, 1, p. 109. For the 'fryer', Arthur McGeoghan, see *Letter 53*.

[1365] George Con.

[1366] Henry Holden had been a member of the English secular clergy's writers' institute in Paris, the Collège d'Arras, and in mid-1625 was offered a post in the household of Michel de Marillac, Richelieu's minister of finance. At some point shortly before the end of 1635 he left the Collège d'Arras and went to England to join his friend Thomas White who was residing with his own patron, Sir Kenelm Digby. In March 1636 Holden and White came back to Paris, and Holden returned to the college; Allison, 'An English gallican', pp. 323–324. On 4/14 November 1636 Richard Smith wrote to John Southcot that 'this is noted th*a*t D[octor] Holden spake far more freely against Jes[uits] since he returned out of Engl[and] than before and said that the [secular] clergie was tyranized over, and manifest wrong was done to me, w*hi*ch kind of speches he never uttered befor but rather reprehended men for such'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 186, p. 595. In December 1637 Holden left for Rome.

[1367] Matthew Wilson SJ.

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He thinketh that they will be displeasing at Rome and give some litle advantage to our adversaries. I replyed that I thought that ther was noe error in poynt of doctrine contayned in the conclusions. Agayne, they were the act of a privat man, and therfore, ~~and therfore~~ if not soe discreetly done, and with that respect and foresight of thes corrupted tymes in which we live, it is not to be imputed to the whole body of the clergie. I feare that in tyme we shall not dare to entertayne a good opinion of episcopall jurisdiction least the regulars (who are not to be offended for their multitudes) be displeased. I also had speech with Signor Georgio concerning the report of his proceedings in the busines of the oathe,[1368] and he had been inform[e]d that it should come from you, but I did give him good satisfaction by showing him your owne letter to the contrarie. [*p. 657*] He knew well that the Jesuistes had reported a litle before his comming over that he was sent from Rome to receave our king into the Catholique Church.[1369] Thes speeches are given out on purpose to make him odious to the [*word omitted*: State (?)]. But I am persuaded that the authors of them will misse of their marke. Concerning the Jesuist prefect of the mission[1370] and the promise made unto him, Mr Lovell[1371] will endevour to enforme him selfe very exactely. I had also speech with Signor Georgio about a report concerning your supposed renunciation, of which he was made the author. And he did protest unto me seriously that he never did signifie to any since his comming into England that you had renounced and that his Holynes had accepted it. But he told me how planely he had delt in his discourse with your selfe in privat. I perceave both by him and Signor Gregorio[1372] that in this poynte they desire to walke clarisis oculis, and that it should not be touch[e]d upon. I told [*p. 658*] them both planely that, in case it should be called in question, that [*sic*] our friends would mentayne it and stand for it as pro aris et foris. And I did alledge many reasons which I doe suppose Mr Clerk[1373] will signifie unto you. By occasion of this discourse we fell into an other concerning the breve[1374] procured by the regulars which was the most dishonorablest act that ever was done by the Sea Apostolique quot

[1368] On 7/17 October 1636 Smith informed Southcot that 'we heare here' in Paris 'that Mr Con [...] hath perswaded our k[ing] that the oathe of alleageance [of 1606] is unlawful for Cath[olics] to take, and that there is hope it shall no more be proposed to Cath[olics]. But nether you nor Mr Font[aine] [George Leyburn] write any such thing, which maketh me suspect it as a rumour for to disgrace Mr Con with the k[ing]'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 171, p. 557.

[1369] See Hibbard, *CI*, pp. 47–48.

[1370] Thomas Fitzherbert SJ.

[1371] John Southcot.

[1372] Gregorio Panzani.

[1373] John Southcot.

[1374] Urban VIII's breve *Britannia* (29 April/9 May 1631).

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verba tot injuriae illatae clero et cleri ep*iscop*o. I am of opinion that M^r^ Fitton[1375] did greatly prejudice us in not presenting the exceptions, I meane the supplication[1376] w*hi*ch is an excellent peece, and I perceave thus much by the discourse that I have. This is all, onely I am to present unto you y*ou*r best ladyes[1377] respects and to imparte a busines w*hi*ch concerning [*sic for* concerns] her ladiship. When Sir Jhon Gage,[1378] our good friend, was upon his deaths bed, a proposition was made unto him of a marriage between his eldest sonne[1379] and one of her ladiships doughter[s]. He did very greatly relish the proposition, as M^r^ Anderton[1380] knowes, and although he thought it not fitting to marrie his sonne soe young, notw*i*thstanding he wish[e]d M^r^ Anderton to lett his sonne knowe, when he should attayne unto riper yeares, that it was his desire that he should match ther if soe be he could affect the gentlewoman and she him. That noble family was ever true to the clergie and peradventure if we should louse him in his marriage we should louse him [*word deleted*] <altogether>. And I perceave that my lady his mother hath a designe to provide a wyfe for [*word omitted*: him], as also some of the executeurs. They have a designe and thinke to keep him ther very long for their owne ends.[1381] Wherfore y*ou*r best lady and our best desireth y*ou*r advise how to bring this busines about. I have writte to M^r^ Car[1382] and M^r^ Plantyne[1383] to the same effect, w*i*th whom you may be confident. And as for the young gentlewomen [*sic*], I knowe not in England more hansome or more vertuous. And for a portion ther will be noe dispute.

[*in margin of p. 657, and continued on top of p. 658*]

I beseech you send a copie of M^r^ Mountegue[s] letter for Fa[ther] Ph[ilip] doth much desire to see it. Thes inclosed [are] to himselfe. I have seen D[octor] Mayler. He is now with my Lord Mountegue[1384]

[1375] Peter Biddulph.

[1376] The 'Humillima Supplicatio' (6/16 July 1631), the secular clergy's petition to Urban VIII to delay publication of the breve *Britannia*. See AAW, A XXIV, no. 127; *Letter 1*.

[1377] Anne (Philipson), Baroness Arundell.

[1378] Sir John Gage (d. 4 October 1633). For his will, see PRO, PROB 11/164, fos 433v–4v, and for his inquisition post-mortem, see PRO, C 142/500/35.

[1379] Sir Thomas Gage, who succeeded his father as 2nd baronet.

[1380] Perhaps this is a reference to George Gorsuch, who used the aliases of Talbot and Anderton. He was a supporter of Richard Smith. See Anstr., II, p. 134.

[1381] In the event Sir Thomas Gage married Mary, daughter of John Chamberlain (of Shirburn Castle in Oxfordshire) and Catherine Plowden; Davidson, 'Roman Catholicism', p. 115. For the marriage settlement (dated 29 January 1638), see ESRO, SAS/G19/27.

[1382] Miles Pinckney.

[1383] Lawrence Platt.

[1384] Francis Browne, 3rd Viscount Montague. Mayler would almost certainly have met Francis Browne in Spain in 1623. Browne had been sent to stay at the Spanish court while

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who hath bestowed a good house on him and, as I am privately informed, would willinglie give him 100[li] p*er* ann*um* to staye with him if he though[t] that they should agree together.[1385] I thinke that he cannot have a greater portion in any noble Cath[olic] family. I beseech you to take this busines to hart.

[*on p. 655*]

Endorsed: About the breve to the bishop of Chalced[on] in relation to the contest between him and reg*ular*s.

[Hen]ry Mayler.

86. [George Leyburn] to Leuys Amerine [Richard Smith], 2 November 1636

[*AAW, A XXVIII, no. 179, pp. 577–580*]

Most honored sir,

By the last weekes post I commended unto you a pacquett w*i*th others inclosed to M[r] Mountegue and M[r] Car.[1386] And I shall [be] very glad to understand of the receipte of it in respect I did touch on divers businesses of some importance. Since, I have <had> more serious discourse w*i*th Sig*no*r Georgio[1387] concerning the breve as also the supposed renunciation.[1388] As for the first he mentayneth the proceedings of the court of Rome, and greatly complayneth of the

the negotiations for the proposed Anglo-Spanish dynastic treaty were in progress, while Mayler was actually involved in the negotiations; James Wadsworth, *The English Spanish Pilgrime* (London, 1629), pp. 48–49; Anstr., I, p. 224; *Letter 17*.

[1385] On 16/26 September 1636 Smith had written to Southcot that 'this day sevennight M[r] D[octor] Mailer' came to bid Smith farewell, as he prepared to go to England on the following day, but 'I heare he intendeth not to staye unles he finde entertainment to his liking and p*er*haps he wil speak with the k[ing]'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 163, p. 541.

[1386] Miles Pinckney.

[1387] George Con.

[1388] On 14 October 1636 Leyburn had issued a circular letter concerning a rumour that 'it is certified from Rome lately [. . .] not only that my l*or*d bishop of Chalcedon hath resighned up his authority', but also that the pope 'hath accepted of the resignation'. Con was thought to be the author of the rumour, 'although wee doe not easily beleeve it'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 170, p. 555. On 22 October/1 November Peter Biddulph notified John Southcot that he had recently written to Leyburn that Thomas Fitzherbert SJ, the rector of the English college in Rome, 'told mee that he would nott address any more priests that goe from hence to M[r] Bennett or any other in England, because he sayeth they have no more authoritye over the priests, because by the b*isho*p of Calcedon his resignation all their authoritye allso expired'. (Since mid-1633 Fitzherbert had been sending priests from Rome 'with this clause that they shold obey the archpriest'; AAW, B 27, no. 123.) Biddulph recommended that a memorandum should be sent to Cardinal Barberini to desire him to declare that the authority of Richard Smith's officials should 'continue over the secular priests without

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clergies negligence and bacwardnes in their informations at that tyme. I did acquainte him with the true reasons of this neglect, but withall told him plainely that this negligence would not excuse the unjust proceedings of the court of Rome in that busines, which both in honour and justise was obliged not to decree altera parte inaudita. Moreover in that decree the cheef poynt of the controversie was not determined but divers other poyntes which were never called in question, most injuriousely and to the great prejudice of the b[ishop] and clergie. For whosoever shall read that decree (unlesse he be particular[ly] acquainted with the b[ishop's] proceedings) shall be made to believe that the b[ishop] his designe was to invalid[at]e confessions heard or to be heard by regulars without his approbation, as also to infringe their priviledges et[c]. Moreover he shall be made [*p. 578*] to harbour a hard opinion of the appellants in former tymes, whom Clement the 8 did justifie by a speciall briefe,[1389] and of whom some were glorious martyres. I doe assure you faithfully that I cannot speake of thes passages without great griefe and truble of my mynd. As for the second, I told him the author of that report; notwithstanding he did seriousely protest unto me that he did never speake any such wordes as that the b[ishop] had renounced and that his Holynes had accepted his renunciation. I told him freely the many inconveniences which would happen if his Holynes either by word of mouth or any other act should give an occasion wherby the regulars might informe the Catholiques of this country that the b[ishop] had renounced his authority and that his Holynes had accepted it, and therfore wish[e]d him in his next letters to touch somewhat upon that poynt to prevent further inconveniences, and I knowe he will. Signor Panzani is not as yett certayne when to beginne his jorney because he hath not receaved the letters which contayneth his bills and order to returne. I am certayne that we shall find him a true friend to his power and readie to assist in our affayres.[1390]

I cannot furnish you with any occurrences, onely that the king and queen are come to Hampton Court, but I feare that they will make noe long stay ther, for this night I heare that there is a howse shutt up at Hampton towne, a myle from the court and wher many of your courtyers are lodged. And it is thought that the plague will encrease much this week at London.

meddling with the regulars or laitye for the interim untill the controversye be ended'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 178, p. 575.

[1389] For Clement VIII's breve (of October 1602), see *NAGB*, p. 5.

[1390] Gregorio Panzani took his leave of the queen on 10 December. He left London on 15 December. On 13/23 and 17/27 January he saw Richard Smith in Paris, although he went to visit the leading Jesuits there as well; VA, PD, fos 154r, 156r.

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I wish you all happines who am y*ou*r obedient servant. All Soules daye. [*p. 579*]

The lady abbesse[1391] busines of Brussells hath been much commended unto Sig*no*r Georgio, as also to Sir William Hamleton, in soe much that I hope that it will be ended shortly and to her ladiships desire;[1392] and then I hope M^r^ Champney may be spared ther to attend unto other affayres of greater importance.[1393]

[*on p. 580*]

Addressed: A Mons*ieu*r Monsieur [*sic*] Leuys Amerine dans la Place Maubert a Paris.

Endorsed: Of the breve and the b*isho*p.

87. G[eorge] Fountayne [Leyburn] to Leuys Amerine [Richard Smith], 24 November 1636

[*AAW, A XXVIII, no. 194, pp. 613–616*]

Most honored sir,

I have receaved yours of the 14 of November and I will not fayle to acquainte M^r^ Lovell[1394] and M^r^ Musk[et][1395] w*i*th y*ou*r great expences for

[1391] Mary Percy, daughter of Thomas Percy, 7th earl of Northumberland.

[1392] For an account of the troubles at the Convent of the Glorious Assumption at Brussels, see Guilday, *The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent*, pp. 259–264; Lunn, *EB*, pp. 200–201; Arblaster, 'The infanta and the English Benedictine nuns', pp. 512, 525 nn. 4, 17, 18; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 188, p. 599. The nuns at the convent in Brussels had once used the services of a Jesuit chaplain, but when the gallican Anthony Champney was appointed in 1628 as a replacement for the resident secular priest now in post, some of the nuns refused to accept him; Allison, 'The English Augustinian convent', p. 457. Nineteen of the fifty-five nuns would not submit to his direction; Lunn, *EB*, p. 200. In June 1632 John Pory had retailed the salacious rumour that in the dispute between the 'English nunnes' and 'their abbesse', they 'threw her downe a payer of stayers', and when the archbishop of Mechlin subsequently arrested the miscreants he 'found many of them bigg with childe'; JPN, p. 279. On 19/29 November 1636 Champney remarked that Mary Percy was wholly relying on Sir William Hamilton 'to move the card*ina*ll in her sute'. Southcot had advised her to commend her cause to Panzani who himself was returning to Rome; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 196, p. 619. On 7/17 January Biddulph confirmed to Southcot that he had received letters from him, in the name of the chapter, in which Southcot recommended Mary Percy's cause. Biddulph himself was supporting her at Rome, but 'the Jesuitts doe now seek to gett the queen to write in behalfe of the separated nunns, and therefore diligence must be used there that they gett no surreptitious letter from her Maj*es*tye'; AAW, A XXIX, no. 4, p. 7.

[1393] Anthony Champney became dean of the secular clergy's episcopal chapter in succession to Edward Bennett (who died in November 1636) and returned to England. This allowed the rebel nuns to go back to their convent; Lunn, *EB*, p. 201.

[1394] John Southcot.

[1395] George Fisher.

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letters. But I doe assure you faithfully that I never knew us in a worse estate for moneys. Litle summes comes [*sic*] in, and thos Lisboa[1396] doth devoure. Now our cheef friends never thinke of procuring any charityes for the discharge of common expences; and M[r] Fitton[1397] haith been mentayned w*i*th the moneyes of Dow[ay] thes two yeares together and not any satisfaction as yett made. Our ruine is the want of a superior amongst us. Sweet Jesus send us one of thos two you mention, and as for D[octor] Stratford[1398] he is greatly desired by the cheefe Catholiques of this country and a man against whom there <are> not any exceptions. Whatsoever M[r] Benett writte unto you I am certayne that Sig*no*re Georgio[1399] gave him wish[e]d content, and in the poynt of jurisdiction to be setled in this country. And assure you[rself] that you are wrong[e]d in y*ou*r information concerning his Holynes designe to give us an archpriest, albeit you saye that you have it from a good ground. And some of our best friends here are to blame to be jealous of Sig*no*re Georgio before ever they have seen him or spoken w*i*th him, giving too much creditt to M[r] Price[1400] his informations; who to my knowledge, w*i*th thos who run the same courses w*i*th him, as Fa[ther] Francis[1401] [and] Preston,[1402] have done us more hurt since they begunne [*sic*] to tamper w*i*th the State than ever the Jesuists did, and now most violently under hand oppose the setling of ordinarie jurisdiction. Moreover it may be that the sayd party and his [*p. 614*] adherents doe knowe that the sea of Rome doe dislike their courses and proceedings, and are jealous that Sig*no*re Georgio doth [*word deleted*] <likewise> soe, and dispaire of working him as they have wrought Sig*no*re Panzani. If this be true our cheef friends have noe great reason to give creditt to the sayd partyes informations. Howsoever I knowe this to be true, that by their meanes <and> through the secretary[1403] his power w*i*th Panzani (who hath a great opinion of him) if Panzani be asked by his Holynes whether he doth judge it expedient to grant bishops, rebus sic stantibus, he will answere negative, notw*i*thstanding Sig*no*re Panzani is a good friend of the clergies and hath done good offices, but he hath been infinitely fooled by thes meanes to my knowledge, and hath medled wher he had noe order to medle. And it was never his Holynes intention that he should aske the secretary of State here whether the king would be drone to

[1396] The college of Saints Peter and Paul at Lisbon.
[1397] Peter Biddulph.
[1398] Edmund Lechmere.
[1399] George Con.
[1400] William (Benedict) Jones OSB.
[1401] Christopher Davenport (Francis a Sancta Clara) OFM.
[1402] Roland (Thomas) Preston OSB.
[1403] Sir Francis Windebank.

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suffer bishops. His order was to deale with the queene and medle noe farther. I knowe what I saye, and many other passages which I dare not committ to writing; and I beseech you not to imparte what I write to any one friend. And I shall advise our friends in their proceedings here as conveniently as I can. But thes passages and many more are imparted to me with such secrecy that I dare not communicate [them] as yett <by writing>. [*three lines deleted*] <When the plague will suffer [*word deleted*] us to returne to London I shall give some light to our cheef friends how to proceed. But the want of a superior is very prejudiciall unto us.> I am confident for all this that our affayres will succeed happely if we will proceed discreetly. Some thing will be done for the present for our content and assurance of more hereafter. As [*p. 615*] concerning the report with which M^r^ Lovell[1404] acquainted you formerly, I doe assure you that Signore Georgio hath often tymes since protested unto me that he never spoke such words to M^r^ Price.[1405] Since, on purpose, he hath discoursed with him about bishop[s] and told him that he could not imagine wherfore he and his adherents should refuse to admitt of bishops. M^r^ Price replyed that ther were bishops alreadie in England and they would not suffer any. He answered that now the ministers doe style themselves priests, therfore noe priests must be in England. Then Fa[ther] Price answered that the State would not suffer bishops, and withall protested that if his Holynes should send a bishop with ordinarie jurisdiction that he should not make him obey him. He would first l[eave] England and retyre him selfe into his monestery. I could acquainte you with many passages and with the rest to [*sic for* of] their discourse, but I am unwilling to write thus much least my letter should miscarrie. Father Knots booke[1406] hath given great disgust to the State and will doe the Jesuistes more hurt than they can imag[i]n. The secretary hath delt with Signore Georgio about it who doth much condemne Knott for his indiscretion. But all thes passages to your selfe. The king and queen went yesternight to Richmond, and this daye they are gone to Greenwich with intention to returne at

[1404] John Southcot.

[1405] William (Benedict) Jones OSB. On 20/30 November 1636 Peter Biddulph wrote to Southcot that he was suprised by the news about Con, for Biddulph had received a letter from him in which he showed himself very 'reall for the [secular] clergye', 'and indeed I cannott upon small grounds be persuaded to the contrarye, since he is governed altogather by F[ather] Philip; and therefore I would not wish the clergye to give any shew of mistrust in him unless they see very manifest arguments of it'. 'If the Jesuitts have really any hand over him it will be worse for him, especially if the queen and his Majestye should perceave any such thing'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 197, p. 621. See also AAW, A XXVIII, no. 201 (Biddulph to Southcot, 27 November/7 December 1636).

[1406] Matthew Wilson SJ, *A Direction to be Observed by N.N. if Hee Meane to Proceede in Answering the Booke intituled Mercy and Truth, or Charity maintained by Catholiks &c* (np [printed secretly in England], 1636); ARCR, II, no. 820.

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night to Richmonde, but they would take Somersett House on their waye, and to morrowe they are to come to Hampton Court agayne.

I write in hast. God grant that you may read my hand. Sweet Jesus send you all wish[e]d happines.

Y*ou*r obedient servant,

G[eorge] Fountayne

November 24 1636.

[*on p. 616*]

Addressed: A Mons*ieu*r Monsieur [*sic*] Leuys Amerine dans la Place Maubert a Paris.

Endorsed: About Price and Knot.

88. [George Leyburn] to [Richard Smith], 27 December 1636

[*AAW, A XXVIII, no. 212, pp. 659–660*]

Most honored sir,

I writte unto you by the last post a very long letter[1407] wherin I did signifie divers passages concerning Sig*no*r Georgio,[1408] and if I were with you I could acquainte you with many more. I have reason to imagine that M^r^ Clerke[1409] hath sent you informations contrarie to myne, for he hath ben credulous to Fa[ther] Price[1410] his discourses, and I feare continueth soe. Also M^r^ Blun[t][1411] frequenteth too much Fa[ther] Francis.[1412] I perceave also th*a*t the foresayd persons, M^r^ Price and Fa[ther] Francis, doe see th*a*t they cannot worke Sig*no*re Georgio as they wrought Panzani and therfore they desire to carrie the clergie w*i*th them in opposition against him. I doe protest before my B[lessed] Saviour that I doe intimate thus much onely to prevent many inconveniences w*hi*ch will happen unto us if we doe proceed according to M^r^ Clerks informations. Notw*i*thstanding I doe not wish you to believe my informations, nor our friends here, onely

[1407] *Letter 87*.
[1408] George Con.
[1409] John Southcot.
[1410] William (Benedict) Jones OSB.
[1411] Identity uncertain; but see Anstr., II, pp. 30, 370.
[1412] Christopher Davenport (Francis a Sancta Clara) OFM.

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my desire is that they may prevaile soe far as to make us deale warely, that is to complye with Sig*no*re Georgio howsoever we doe imagine him to be Jesuited and not to decrye him before we have greater grounds of his disaffection towards us.[1413] You cannot imagine how he was trubled at M^r^ Chambers letter wherin [*word deleted*] <were> mentioned divers speeches of yours concerning him. But I am confident that he is well satisfyed now, and th*a*t he doth not impute it a falt to you but to y*ou*r informers whosoever they were, for you did speake onely what you heard. For Fa[ther] Ph[ilip], first you may please to knowe th*a*t I doe noething without him. And he hath the same opinion of Sig*no*re Georgio that I have, besyd[e]s by occasion of what M^r^ Chambers writte concerning y*ou*r speeches. He tould me in these words: I am of opinion that if you have any good done it must be by Sig*no*re Georgio his meanes and therfore doe not louse him. But I wonder who informeth you th*a*t Sig*no*re Georgio hath a designe to make the clergie to quitte ~~*your*~~ <the> b[ishop's] authoritie and not to stand for it. I doe assure you faithfully that after th*a*t I had given him many reasons wherfore it was necessarie to mentayne y*ou*r authority, he writte to the cardinal protector[1414] that he thought it convenient that you should be mentayned in y*ou*r authority alleadging the reasons. But to deale planely with you I perceave by Sig*no*re Georgio that it was held generally at Rome th*a*t you had resigned, th*a*t y*ou*r resignation was accepted, and that the clergie knew soe much, and that they would not stand upon th*a*t poynt. And therfore he blameth much Panzani who never did intimate to Rome as th*a*t the clergie did stand for the b[ishop's] authority. I am in hast. The earle of Arundell is com[me]d.[1415] 10 27 1636. M^r^ Lovell[1416] is sickelie still.[1417]

[1413] On 28 January/7 February 1637, Peter Biddulph notified John Southcot that he had received two or three letters from Leyburn 'who doth still continue in good conceate' of Con. Leyburn hoped that by Con's means the dean and chapter would be confirmed, 'which would be a greate establishment to our clergye; butt in this buisness wee must entreate Sig*no*r Giorgio to deale with the card*ina*l [Francesco Barberini] as from himself, for so it will be obtained sooner, and the negotiation will be kept more secrett than if I should deale [with] it here in the name of the clergye'; AAW, A XXIX, no. 10, p. 21. Smith, however, opined to Richard Lascelles at Rome in a letter of 13/23 March 1638 that, 'as for the hope you have of confirming the chapter, I know not what good will come therby to the clergy' because 'I think thereby they shall have but the archpriest and assistants changed into the names of a deane and canons'; AAW, B 27, no. 136.

[1414] Cardinal Francesco Barberini.

[1415] The earl of Arundel returned from the Hague on 27 December 1636/6 January 1637; *CSPV*, *1636–1639*, p. 126.

[1416] John Southcot.

[1417] Back in March and April 1636 Smith had several times warned Southcot to take care of his health; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 102, p. 377; no. 104, p. 381; no. 106, p. 385.

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No address.

[*on p. 659 at top of page*]

For the <love> of God be secrett in what I write, neither lett M[r] Clerke knowe any thing. I have delt planely with him and I thinke he will be of an other opinion. And he is very friendlie to me and I desire not to take notise of anything [?].

[*on p. 660*]

Endorsed: Sig*no*r Con for the b*isho*p.

89. Rob[erts] [George Leyburn] to [Richard Smith], 19 January 1637

[*AAW, A XXIX, no. 6, pp. 11–14*]

Most honored sir,

I have receaved yours of the 18 of Jan[uary] and I have imparted to Fa[ther] Ph[ilip] and M[r] Conne what you writte concerning [*sic*] and they were both well satisfyed for they had receaved letters at the same tyme from M[r] Chambers to the same effect. I am very hopefull, as also Fa[ther] Ph[ilip], that some good will be done by his meanes as I have signifiyed in my former letters. He continueth very gracious both with the king and queen with whom he is daily. I am sorrie that none of our cheef friends would ever yett make a jorney to Hampton to see him. The superiors of all other religious have often visited him ther, especially Father Blunt, Fa[ther] Price[1418] and Fa[ther] Frances[1419] who, as I heare, is made superior in Father Perkins[1420] place. The court will now be shortly here at London and then I hope that we shall make amends for all this neglect. I doe not wounder if Sig*no*re Gregorio[1421] did speake coldely of episcopall authority, and the reasons I have intimated in my former letters. And I doe assure you faithfully that he told Sig*no*re Georgio (if he be to be believed), fearing least he should harken too much to the clergie (by reason of Fa[ther] Ph[ilip]) whom he knew for the most part neither to approve Fa[ther] Leanders[1422] proceeding nor Fa[ther] Frances, first that I was a good man but he was not to heed my informations because they were not good, secondly

[1418] William (Benedict) Jones OSB.
[1419] Christopher Davenport (Francis a Sancta Clara) OFM.
[1420] John Gennings OFM. See Anstr., I, pp. 128–129; *NAGB*, pp. 108, 111; Dockery, *CD*, p. 36.
[1421] Gregorio Panzani.
[1422] John (Leander) Jones OSB.

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that M^r^ Muskett[1423] was a collericke and passionate man (w*hi*ch indeed to my knowledge he had spoken before). Thirdlie that M^r^ Lovell[1424] was a turbulent man. And is it not strange he used to confesse to me sometymes, but never when Fa[ther] Frances was in company or Fa[ther] Price? Thes two complye greatly with Sig*no*re Georgio but will never gayne him as they gayned the other. He will employe them between him and the secretary[1425] when he has any busynes. He will goe himselfe rather when he hath any busynes w*i*th the king. He will not use any to breake it unto his Ma*jes*t[i]e but him selfe. Fa[ther] [*p. 12*] Price some 6 dayes aggoe, complying much with Sig*no*re Georgio, and knowing well that he had taken some disgust at Sig*no*re Panzani, tooke occasion to speake of him, and told him that he (Panzani) was a proude man, a malencholie man and a simple man. This I doe protest unto you, before my B[lessed] Saviour, Sig*no*re Georgio tolde me with his owne mouth. How can any man trust such an one? And one daye Sig*no*re Georgio tooke occasion, before Panzani, to speake unto him[1426] about episcopall jurisdiction, and asked him wherfore he thought it not convenient to admitt of bishops, and he replyed that ther were bishops alreadie. By that reason, replyed Sig*no*re Georgio, you should not admitte of priests, for the ministers doe stile them selves priests. With that he told him that the State would not permitt bishops, as Panzani says he can witnes, whom I carryed to the secretary, who declared the kings mynde in that poynte. But, sayes he to Sig*no*re Georgio, doe you thinke it convenient? For my parte (says he) if his Holynes should send in a bishop w*i*th ordinarie jurisdiction I would returne to my monestery before that I would obey him. W*i*th many such passages as thes I could acquainte you if I were with you. This Fa[ther] Price, as also Fa[ther] Francis, are very gratious with the secretary[1427] and frequent the court very often and, to my knowledge, endevour to doe us many bad offices, and strive to gayne freinds on the French syde, but, if our freinds will be advised, they shall never be able to hurt us. But for the love of God keep to y*ou*r selfe all thes passages w*hi*ch I have signifyed. Otherwise I shall suffer prejudice.

I have presented the grand almener[1428] and the superior of the Capucins[1429] w*i*th one of y*ou*r bookes as from you. It is a worke that

[1423] George Fisher.
[1424] John Southcot.
[1425] Sir Francis Windebank.
[1426] i.e. William (Benedict) Jones OSB.
[1427] For Christopher Davenport (Francis a Sancta Clara) OFM's contacts with Windebank, see Dockery, *CD*, *passim*.
[1428] Jacques le Noël Du Perron.
[1429] Jean-Marie Trélon. See Hibbard, *CI*, p. 56.

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takes greatly in the court and [*p. 13*] [is] most proper for thes tymes, and it will be gratfull at Rome.[1430] Fa[ther] Ph[ilip], the grand almener and all *you*r friends did showe a great joye for the grace the king had done you and Mons*ieu*r Almener wish[e]d me to present his humble service and signifie how glad he was, as also that you were to be his neig[h]bour. I sent one of *you*r bookes unto a doctor of divinity,[1431] sole chaplaine to our prince, and he gave me great thankes and protested that the bishop of Calcedoyne was a brave man. As concerning M[r] Clerke[1432] I doe protest unfainedly before my Blessed Saviour I desire as much to gayne his affection and give him content as I desire any earthlie thing. He was first displeased with me because I did not goe to Ro[me] and cheefly in regard of a letter that *you*r best lady[1433] writte at that tyme, w*hi*ch was very sharpe, and therin he did declare that he would never give his consent that I should goe, and M[r] Clerk thought him selfe touched in that letter because he did attribute my going to some of our cheef men. I doe assure you faithfully that I was most ignorant of that letter and, if I had imagined that *you*r best lady and her husband would have taken my going as they did, I would not have taken my leave w*i*th them rather than to have disappointed our friends. But afterwards all were against my going untill the spring, and then *you*r best lady told me that she would give way and helpe to my maintainetance [*sic for* maintenance], as I acquainted both M[r] Benett (who was also much against my going then by reason of Sig*no*re Georgio his coming) and M[r] Clerk. For my parte whither soever you shall commande me to goe or runne, I doe assure you faithfully I will not refuse, although all the friends I have in this world dissuade me.

This is all, onely my best wishes, w*hi*ch I present in all harty manner who [am] *you*r most obedient servant,

Rob[erts]

Jan[uary] 19 1637

No address

[*on p. 14*]

Endorsed: The b*isho*ps booke.

[1430] It is not clear which of Richard Smith's works is meant, but it could well have been his *A Brief Inquisition into F. Nicholas Smith his Discussion of M.D. Kellison his Treatise of the Ecclesiasticall Hierarchie* (Douai, 1630), attacking Matthew Wilson SJ's tract against Kellison. However, on 10/20 February 1636, Smith, in Paris, had asked Southcot to send him some copies of Smith's own *Prudentiall Ballance of Religion* (St Omer, 1609), as well as other books; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 92, p. 351.

[1431] This is, presumably, a reference to Brian Duppa, who was the prince's tutor. See *Letters 70*, *74*. I am grateful to Kenneth Fincham for advice on this point.

[1432] John Southcot.

[1433] Anne (Philipson), Baroness Arundell.

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90. Rob[erts] [George Leyburn] to Leuys Amerine [Richard Smith], 23 February 1637[1434]

[*AAW, A XXVIII, no. 94, pp. 355–358*]

Most honored sir,

I have yours of the 20 of Febr*uary* for w*hi*ch I humbly thank you. Thos good offices you doe in favor of our English are well taken here. What you writte concerning M[r] Yates[1435] I did cause it to be signifyed to his father who is in this towne exspecting to heare of the enlargement of his sonne. He sent unto me this morning, the post beeing com[me]d. Notwithstanding, as yett I have not receaved any letters. Many here are glad that the king and his brother[1436] are soe well accorded. It will be advantageous to the present designes of this State, for I perceave great signes of a future breache with Spane. If M[r] Fitton[1437] will not staye any longer, some one of the clergie to succeed will be necessarie, for I would not have it appeare at Ro[me] that we are soe unfurnish[e]d with men that we are enforced to employe a secular and soe young as he is. We did suffer noe litle prejudice by leaving[1438] M[r] Skynner.[1439] But in this busynes I doe remitte you to M[r] Clerke.[1440] If ther be any faith in M[r] Conne he meaneth well towards us. He told me the other daye that he never mett yett with any Jesuist who would saye that they thought it not fitting to have bishops in thes tymes. I confesse they complye mightely with him. Before, in their speeches to Sig*nor* Panzani, noething was soe frequent in their mouthes as persecution, hard conditions of Catholiques, and the kings rigour against them; but now they sing a contrarie song, for Fa[ther] Blunt in his letter [which] he writte lately in waye of satisfaction for Knotts booke[1441] dothe greatly extolle the kings clemency, and speaketh much of the ease and quietnes w*hi*ch Catholiques now enjoye in respect of former tymes, and, as for the booke, he and his doe disclaime from it as ignorant of the writing of it.[1442] This proceeding is much against their owne principals w*hi*ch

[1434] Dated 23 February 1636 in the AAW, A series catalogue.
[1435] See *Letter 91*.
[1436] Louis XIII and Gaston, duke of Orleans.
[1437] Peter Biddulph.
[1438] i.e. losing.
[1439] See *Letter 32*.
[1440] John Southcot.
[1441] Wilson, *A Direction to be Observed [. . .]*.
[1442] In margin of p. 355: 'I beseech you to acquainte M[r] Fitton with thes passages because I dare not write unto him. I wounder that he gives us noe better informations from that great city. He might give us great light how to proceede here if he would but learne our passages. His letters are alwaise very maigre. I praye write to him soe, for I doe intend [*subsequent words concealed in binding of volume*]'.

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are to mentayne whatsoever they doe although never soe bad. But this will not suffice. The secretary[1443] doth much urge to have him banished, to w*hi*ch they [*word illegible*] [*p. 356*] and they tell Sig*no*re Georgio[1444] that he is a sickelie man and therfore if he doe commaund him out of England his blood shall lye on him, and Sig*no*re Conne is too yeelding to favour them in thes wayes w*hi*ch, as I have often told him, will make the State here jealous of him if he doe not prevent [it], and also make him incapable to doe good for the Catholique cause. For believe it that [*sic*] they are much hated by the State, as also Sir Tobye Mathew, for they and he cheefely have done bad offices in the emperors courte w*hi*ch they now strive to excuse, and doe use Sig*no*re Conne to deale for them, w*hi*ch I, understanding, advertized Fa[ther] Ph[ilip] and wished him to deale roundly w*i*th Sig*no*re Conne and tell him that if he did embarke him selfe in their quarrells he would louse him selfe. Some days before, Fa[ther] Ph[ilip] spoke unto him about confirming of the d[ean] and ch[apter] and alleadged new reasons for the necessity of it, and he told me that he found him as willing to performe that act as any one of us could be. I have delivered a sylver bazin an[d] eure unto M^ris^ Salesbury and I wish that it were better, and truly your best lady[1445] would have made it more rich if I had not dissuaded her ladyship, for I am confident that this is as good as you will desire.[1446] I cannot acquainte you with more occurrences than I have alreadie signifyed in my former, onely here is newly published a declaration of the faith of [the] Palsgraves churches[1447] soe contrarie to the religion professed in the Church of England that I wounder that such a worke should be permitted here. Y*ou*r best lady wishes me to present unto you her best respects as also y*ou*r friends at the court.

And thus with my best wishes, I rest, who am your obedient servant,

Rob[erts]

Febr*uary* 23 1636.

[*p. 357*]

[1443] Sir Francis Windebank.

[1444] George Con.

[1445] Anne (Philipson), Baroness Arundell.

[1446] On 9/19 March 1636 Smith had noted that Anne Arundell would 'entertain' Edward Bennett, the new dean of the episcopal chapter in England; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 102, p. 377.

[1447] *A Declaration of the Pfaltzgraves: concerning the Faith and Ceremonies professed in his Churches* (London, 1637); CRS, 1, p. 110.

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I wish that Mr Mallyer[1448] were ther agayne. This country is not for him. I doe assure you that he will disgrace him selfe and us. He is soe addicted to company. But to your selfe this. Onely conferre with my cosen Houlden[1449] how to gitt him over agayne.

[*in margin of p. 356*]

Concerning affayres at Dow[ay] I did showe Mr Plantyne[1450] divers letters from Mr Strong[1451] and Mr D[octor] Stratford[1452] and he undertooke to informe you truly. This inclosed is from Mr Strong.[1453]

Humfry is com[me]d. I have sent away Mr Bolds pacquett for Mr Ireland.[1454] I beseech you to remember my respects unto him.

[*on p. 358*]

Addressed: A Monsieur Monsieur [*sic*] Leuys Amerine marchant dans la Place Maubert a Paris.

Endorsed: Jesuits for a bishop and Knots booke.

91. Roberts [George Leyburn] to Louys Amerine [Richard Smith], 19 May 1637

[*AAW, A XXIX, no. 21, pp. 47–50*]

Most honored sir,

I have receaved yours of the 21 of Maye, and I have presented your respects to our best lady[1455] who was most glad to heare from you as also to understand what you writte concerning Sir Thomas Gage, who I perceave by Mr Anderton[1456] writte to the executeurs that he was resolved to returne this summer into England, and they have alreadie writte backe to dissuade him. Notwithstanding, Mr Anderton told me that he would wish him to continue in his resolution to returne, by reason a jorney into Italy at this tyme is very dangerous.[1457]

[1448] Henry Mayler.

[1449] Henry Holden was a relative of George Leyburn; Anstr., II, pp. 158–159; Allison, 'An English gallican', p. 320.

[1450] Lawrence Platt. He must have recently arrived in England, though Smith had noted on 13/23 January that Platt would 'goe to England after Easter'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 89, p. 345.

[1451] Matthew Kellison.

[1452] Edmund Lechmere.

[1453] This sentence is in Anthony Champney's hand.

[1454] Edmund Dutton. For Richard Lascelles, alias Bold, see *Letter 91*.

[1455] Anne (Philipson), Baroness Arundell.

[1456] A reference, perhaps, to George Gorsuch.

[1457] According to Smith, on 27 January/6 February 1637, Gage had been imprisoned in the Bastille, for an unspecified offence, at the same time as one Mr Yates (whom Smith

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M^r Anderton told me also and wish[e]d me to acquainte you that he and the executeurs are much trubled that Garnett, M^r Peeters man, was suffered to treate with Sir Thomas soe much as they heare he did, for he was expressely sent over by his sister Peeters[1458] att the entreaty of the padres,[1459] w*i*th whom she is gracious and they with her, to move a marriage between him and the Lord Peeters doughter and a great portion is offred. If Sir Thomas doe come over this summer, as I hope by y*ou*r meanes he will, it will behove M^r Plantyne[1460] to carrie the busynes discreetly and secretly, for if his sister Peeters and my lady his mother[1461] gett notise they will applye all their forces to droe him their owne wayes. I writte unto you in my former of my Lord Peeters death.[1462] I doe heare credibly that he hath left to the Jesuists [*word deleted*] 15 thousand pound[s], and some saye that he hath left amongst secular priests 500^li^ but I see noething given as yett. Monsieur Anguilaime will be with you before this, for we have understood of his arrivall at Deepe.[1463] Good [*p. 48*] M^r Clerk[1464] is now past all hopes. Father Symons the Jesuist[1465] and his owne father,[1466] as thos who were about him saye, have in a manner killed him. For, upon Sunday last in the afternoone, they did assaulte him (Symons cheefely) most furiousely prissing him upon his salvation to repent him selfe of his proceedings and urging his obligation to be a Jesuist.[1467] They preach[e]d unto him noething but damnation for the space of one hower and more in soe much that he was

described first as a son of Sir Thomas Yates and then of Sir Edward Yates) was similarly incarcerated, as it was reported to England, for coining. The English ambassador, the earl of Leicester, had made representations on behalf of both of them; AAW, A XXIX, no. 9, p. 19; no. 12, p. 25. Sir Thomas Puckering was informed on 14 February 1637 that the Jesuit William Talbot had 'sent his despatches' to Spain 'sometimes by Sir Thomas Gage, and othertimes by Mr Yatts, besides the suspicion of Yatts's rounding of pistoles'; Birch, *CT*, II, p. 280.

[1458] Probably Sir Thomas Gage's sister, Ann, who married Henry Petre, 5th son of William Petre, 2nd Baron Petre. See Berry, *Sussex*, p. 295.

[1459] Jesuits.

[1460] Lawrence Platt.

[1461] Penelope, third daughter and co-heiress of Thomas Darcy, 1st Earl Rivers; Berry, *Sussex*, p. 294.

[1462] William Petre, 2nd Baron Petre died on 5 May 1637; *CSPD, 1637*, p. 71.

[1463] See *ibid.*, p. 22.

[1464] John Southcot.

[1465] Henry Floyd SJ.

[1466] John Southcot Snr (the eldest son of the judge of the Common Pleas, of the same name, who died in 1585). He was known to be a favourer of the Society. Smith wrote to John Southcot Jnr in October 1636, 'God forgive y*ou*r father who I think is a laye Jesuit'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 171, p. 557. Southcot Snr's will, made in June 1615, names Baron Petre, a great patron of the Jesuits, as a trustee for some of his property; CRS, 1, p. 114.

[1467] See also *Letter 93*. Southcot may originally have had some inclination towards the Society. Back in June 1614, Anthony Champney reported from Paris to Thomas More that 'M^r Southecoates alias Daniell ys thought to be retired to some religious [house ?] for he

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absolutely spent in answering them, and tould them that they had killed him, howsoever he was resolved to dye in perfect obedience to his lawfull superior the bishop. And with that they parted. The daye after, he tould me that never such cruelty was used towards any in the like extremity, and, as for his beeing a Jesuist formerly, he protesteth that it is a calumnie. Did ever living creature heare of such proceedings?[1468] Thes inclosed are from Fa[ther] Ph[ilip]. I cannot acquainte you with any occurrences, onely the prince elector and his brother are to staye. Ther are hopes that the busynes concerning the palatynate shall be accommodated. Madame S[t] George[1469] her two sonnes are newly arrived here.

And thus with my best wishes, I rest, who am y*our* most obedient servant,

Roberts

19 Maye 1637.

It is resolved that M[r] Bolds[1470] shall goe to succeed M[r] Fitton.[1471] I beseech you to remember my respects unto him and to worthie M[rs] Salesbury, y*our* nephew[1472] and good M[r] Car.[1473]

hathe beene absent these 5 or 6 dayes', and 'yt ys like he ys with the Jesuites'; AAW, A XIII, no. 127, p. 323.

[1468] For a longer account of the treatment of Southcot in his last illness by his father and the Jesuit Henry Floyd, see AAW, A XXIX, no. 23. The first page (p. 55) is in Richard Smith's hand, the second (p. 56) in another's. See also *Letters 92*, *93*. Following Southcot's death, there circulated 'A coppy of a *lett*re, written by D[octor] Southcott, upon his death-bead, unto his brother, M[r] Ed[ward] Southcott, concerninge the due obedience to bee yealded by Catholickes unto b*isho*ps'; AAW, A XXIX, no. 27.

[1469] Mary (Grey), wife of John St George, of Hatley St George, Cambridgeshire. Their second son, William, entered Douai in 1610 and was ordained at Arras in 1614. He briefly entered the Society at Liège in 1615 but returned unwell in late 1616. He became a supporter of Richard Smith; Anstr., II, p. 275; CRS, 75, p. 189.

[1470] Richard Lascelles. He returned from Rome in 1638 in order to enter Cardinal Richelieu's entourage. On 4 January 1638 Anthony Champney wrote, from England, that Smith had sent word that 'Cardinall Richlieu hath called M[r] Lassells back into France intending to imploy him there and that M[r] Lassells will accept thereof'; AAW, A XXIX, no. 38, p. 151. See also AAW, A XXVIII, no. 207, p. 645 (Smith's warning to Lascelles of 5/15 December 1637 that Richelieu was intending to take him into his service).

[1471] Peter Biddulph.

[1472] Thomas Smith. See Anstr., II, p. 301. On 31 March/10 April 1636 Richard Smith asked John Southcot to advance a loan to his nephew, who 'yesterday [. . .] parted from hence for England'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 108, p. 391. On 26 May/5 June 1636 Smith remarked that his nephew (whom he complained about having to maintain financially; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 125, p. 433) had arrived in Paris two days before with Miles Pinckney; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 121, p. 423; and, on 12/22 August, Smith noted that his nephew had 'departed yesterday', with Thomas White and Mrs Salisbury, 'for England'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 151, p. 509. Thomas Smith had evidently lived with Mrs Salisbury while he completed his not entirely conventional education; AAW, A XXIX, no. 18, p. 39.

[1473] Miles Pinckney.

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I beseech you to make much of M^r^ Touchett.[1474] He is a vertuous gentleman. I could wish that after that [*sic*] he had been ther some tyme he would goe to Dow[ay], and to goe forward ther.

Humfry will bring y*ou*r truncke. I could gitt noething to passe with Madame Peroune.[1475] The French are fearefull. I caused Fa[ther] Ph[ilip] to [*word illegible*] as also for 2 for M^r^ Cars house.

[*on p. 50*]

Addressed: A Mons*ieu*r Monsieur [*sic*] Louys Amerine dans la Place Maubert a Paris.

Endorsed: F^r^ Floids [*word obliterated*].
M^r^ Lovel.[1476]

92. Roberts [George Leyburn] to Leuys Ameryne [Richard Smith], 26 May 1637

[*AAW, A XXIX, no. 22, pp. 51–54*]

Most honored sir,

Yesterdaye I receaved yours of the 29 of Maye, and was glad to heare of good Father Vietts[1477] safe arrivall as also of y*ou*r bulles. I would not wish you to goe in person to take possession, the tymes beeing soe dangerous. For as I heare the Croates doe greatly infest thos quarters of France wher y*ou*r abbey is.[1478] As concerning the report of his Ma*jes*ties proceedings in the busynes of M^r^ Mosse[1479] a Jesuist, I thinke that I have alreadie in a former letter mentioned as particulars: he was not condemned, onely areigned; it was not a private judge but the lord cheef justice[1480] who was to pronounce sentence of condemnation, and had done it if the king had not sent to hinder him. He is not put out of his place. It is true his Ma*jes*t[i]e did checke him for areigning him without first advising with him; to w*hi*ch he replyed that before he came upon the bench he did not knowe that ther was a priest to be

[1474] This may be a reference to George Touchet, who in 1643 was professed as a Benedictine.

[1475] Henrietta Maria's midwife. See *CSPD, 1635–1636*, p. 279; *ibid., 1636–1637*, p. 124; *ibid., 1637*, pp. 71, 112, 143.

[1476] John Southcot.

[1477] Pierre Viette, Oratorian chaplain to Henrietta Maria.

[1478] The Benedictine abbey of St Sauveur at Charroux. See Allison, RSGB, II, pp. 250–251; PRO, C 115/105/8212; *Letter 75*.

[1479] Henry Morse SJ. See Anstr., II, p. 227.

[1480] John Bramston, lord chief justice of King's Bench since April 1635.

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areigned, and this is the truth of the busynes. I am sorie that ther are noe better signes of a generall peace. The busynes of the Palatinate is the greatest hinderance, and this will enforce our king to joyne with France though much against his will, and breake with Spane, for the Spaniards doe continue to feed him with good words without any reall effects. Good M[r] Lovell[1481] on Mundaye last in the ~~afternoone~~ <evening> about 8 of the clocke departed to the great greife of all his friends. He never held up his head after that Father Symons[1482] the Jesuist and his owne father did use that great cruelty towards him as in my former I have expressed.[1483] He made a very blessed end, calling upon Jesus and our B[lessed] Lady even to the last gaspe. I beseech you to cause [*p. 52*] him to be remembred by our friends ther. Two dayes aggoe I commended thither, at the entreaty of Sig*no*re Conne, a falne priest.[1484] He was of Valdelide,[1485] and as soone as he came into England he marryed and soe continued for divers yeares, non [*sic for* not] prejudicing any but him selfe. Now at leng[t]h it hath pleased God to touche his hart and to make him penitent. Sig*no*re Conne his desire [is] that he may be restored to the altar and spend some yeares ther living on his Masses in w*hi*ch he desireth y*ou*r charitable assistance. Our friends here were very unwilling to medle with him in regarde he was made and sent by the Jesuistes, thinking it fitting that thos who made and sent him should relieve him. Wherupon I made a proposition to Sig*no*re Conne that hereafter such men should returne to the places from whence they [*word deleted*] came: a Jesuist to the Jesuistes, a fryer to the fryers, a moncke to the monckes, a secular priest of Dow[ay] to the colledge of Dow[ay], a secular priest of the Romane colledge to the Romane colledge et[c]. And he hath promised to procure that such an order may be made, judging it very unreasonable that the poore clergie enjoying but one colledge should be charged with all the drugges [*sic for* dregges] of other orders and other colledges where the Jesuistes are superiors. And if such an order be procured it will be to good purpose. Our cheife adversaries have informed principall persons of this State that the secular priests doe take an oath of fidelity to the b[ishop] of Calcedoine[1486] prejudiciall to his Ma*jes*t[i]e. Notw*i*thstanding, I doubt not but, when the truth shall appeare, their malice will be discovered and his Ma*jes*t[i]e [*p. 53*] well satisfyed. Howsoever you may see by this proceeding that the b[ishop]

[1481] John Southcot.
[1482] Henry Floyd SJ.
[1483] See *Letters 91*, *93*.
[1484] Anthony Smith.
[1485] E. Henson (ed.), *Registers of the English College at Valladolid 1589–1862* (CRS, 30, 1930), pp. 107–108.
[1486] Richard Smith.

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of Calcedoine is still feared by them. God forgive them. This is all, onely I have presented all your remembrances to your best lady[1487] and friends in the court. I doe keepe your sylver bazen untill Mr Fortescue doe returne.[1488] Mr Touchett is very vertuous and if he were at Dow[ay] I thinke that he would proceed to the ends of the colledge, and many of his friends desire that he would take such a course. I praye assist him with your best advise and present my respects unto him.[1489]

And thus with my best wishes to your most honored selfe, I rest, your obedient servant,

Roberts

Maye 26 1637

[*in margin of p. 52*]

Mr Carpenter,[1490] Fa[ther] Blunts kinsman whom Mr Fitton[1491] commended from Rome is falne and showeth great malice.[1492]

I send you here inclosed a letter from a lady[1493] with whom formerly you have lived. She speaketh much good of you.

[*on p. 54*]

Addressed: A Monsieur Monsieur [*sic*] Leuys Ameryne dans la Place Maubert a Paris.

Endorsed: Of Mr Lovels death.

[1487] Anne (Philipson), Baroness Arundell.

[1488] George Fortescue was a friend of the secular clergy. He employed John Jackson as a confessor-chaplain, and corresponded with, among others, the priest Nicholas Strickland; AAW, A XXIX, no. 30, p. 71; Anstr., I, p. 187. (Fortescue was also a correspondent of Galileo Galilei, Gregorio Panzani, and Cardinal Francesco Barberini. Some of his letters survive in the secular clergy's Roman agent's papers.) He had been at the English college, Douai, and the English college in Rome (until 1614). In August 1633 Smith recorded that the Paris nuncio, Bichi, had sent to Rome a long letter written to him by Fortescue in favour of the restoration of bishops in England. But, Smith noted, Oliver Burke OP had told him that 'in R[ome] Mr Forscue is called a castrato'; AAW, B 27, no. 125.

[1489] See *Letter 91*.

[1490] Richard Carpenter. See Anstr., II, pp. 45–46. He was a nephew of Richard Blount SJ and had been converted to Catholicism by the Benedictine Peter Wilford.

[1491] Peter Biddulph.

[1492] In January 1636 Smith had recorded that Carpenter, using the alias of Dacres, had arrived in Paris from Rome, short of money; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 81, p. 325, and that he was 'thought to be a true sec[ular] preist'; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 84, p. 329. There is a copy in the secular clergy's Roman agent's papers of a letter by Carpenter describing his motives for his change of religion; AAW, A XXV, no. 75.

[1493] Identity uncertain. For Smith's itinerary when he was in England in the later 1620s, see Foley, I, p. 138.

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93. Roberts [George Leyburn] to [Richard Smith], 14 June 1637[1494]

[*AAW, A XXIX, no. 26, pp. 61–62*]

Most honored sir,

I have this daye receaved yours of the 19 June with the inclosed for M[r] Webster[1495] w*hi*ch I have delivered. Good man, he taketh very great paynes. This inclosed is a copie of a letter written by M[r] Lovell[1496] to his brother some 2 or 3 monethes before his death, but was not to be sent untill after his death, and as yett it is not delivered in regarde his executeurs have a litle busynes with his father in respect of his debt w*hi*ch as soon as it shall be ended then it shall be delivered unto his brother signed with his owne hand. It is well composed and will be a strong argument against Symons[1497] his proceedings who pretendeth onely this excuse that M[r] Lovell told him some yeares aggoe (beeing putt in mynde by him of his proceedings against the Jesuistes, who as he says was a Jesuist) that he would not dye as he lived. Of w*hi*ch speech he beeing informed some 10 dayes before his death did protest that he was calumniated. More particulars I knowe not, onely that Symons did often presse him upon his salvation to repent him selfe of his former proceedings and become a Jesuist; and did soe laboure him in that weakenes as also his father that, not able to replye any longer, perceaving his spirits to fainte, [he] desired them both to speake noe more unto him for, says he, you have killed me, and after that he never held up his head. And D[octor] Turner, comming to see him immediately after this conflict, and perceaving in him soe great an alteration, and understanding how it came, sayd planely that they had killed him. Y*ou*r best lady[1498] continueth infirme, afflicted with a cancer in her brest. Both she and M[r] Mountegue, as also Fa[ther] Ph[ilip], doe often remember you. I doubt not but that M[rs] Salesbury her truncke will come safely thither in regarde of my Lord Sturton his sunne.[1499] [*p. 62*] As concerning y*ou*r newes reported by a Capucin I dare sweare it was very false both for the number of Catholiques as also for the number of coaches. I wounder that such reportes should

[1494] Dated 19 June 1637 in the AAW, A series catalogue.
[1495] Anthony Champney.
[1496] John Southcot.
[1497] Henry Floyd SJ.
[1498] Anne (Philipson), Baroness Arundell.
[1499] A reference, presumably, to Sir William Stourton. See *Letter 22*.

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be published ther. I shal not fayle to put Mr Lane and Mr Cape[1500] in mynde as you wish me. Sig*no*re Conne had an order from Rome (as I writte in a former letter) to suppresse Knots booke[1501] as also to correct him; and he hath delt with the provinciall about both, who hath written a circular letter unto all the Jesuists to suppresse the booke, and he him selfe hath commaunded Knott not to come to this towne without his leave, and, since, he hath onely been once here with his leave. This palliated correction doth not give satisfaction. Our occurrences here are that our State is like to make a league offensive and defensive with France, but, although I heare that the articles are signed by the king of France, they are not as yett signed by our king.[1502] The prince elector beginneth his jorney towards Holland with his brother on Mundaye next.[1503] Yesterdaye Prymme,[1504] Burton[1505] and an other archpuretan[1506] were censured in the starre chamber first to paye 5000li a peece, secondly to loose their eares, but, wher as Prymme had lost his eares before, he is to be marked with a hott yron in the forehead and in both sides of his face with an S and an L, signifying slanderous libeller. Thirdly they are to be perpetually imprisoned in 3 divers corners of this kingdome.

This is all, onely my best wishes for y*our* happines who am y*our* most obedient servant,

Roberts

June 14 1637

My best respects to good Mrs Salesbury, Mr Bolds[1507] and Mr Handsome.[1508] The Lord Mountegue is to be marryed the next weeke with the Lady Elizabeth Somersett. They are fully agreed, 1000l portion, and 1500l joynture.[1509]

No address.

Endorsed: Of Knotts book[s] condem[nation].

[1500] For the Cape family, who were retainers of the Browne family of Cowdray (Viscounts Montague), see A.F. Allison, 'Franciscan books in English, 1559–1640', *BS*, 3 (1955), pp. 16–65, at pp. 46–47, 48–49.

[1501] See *Letters 87*, *90*; Wilson, *A Direction to be Observed [. . .]*.

[1502] See *CSPV*, *1636–1639*, *passim*.

[1503] See *ibid.*, pp. 234, 237, 247, 248.

[1504] William Prynne.

[1505] Henry Burton.

[1506] John Bastwick.

[1507] Richard Lascelles.

[1508] Thomas Smith, alias Hansom.

[1509] The marriage licence was dated 6 July 1637; Berry, *Sussex*, p. 354.

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94. Roberts [George Leyburn] to Leuys Amerine [Richard Smith], 9 August 1637

[*AAW, A XXIX, no. 29, pp. 69–70*]

Most honored sir,

The last letter that I receaved from you was written the 31 of July and, since, I have not receaved any. Neither M^r^ Anderton[1510] nor M^r^ Plantyne[1511] have ever sent unto me to excuse their proceedings concerning Sir Thomas.[1512] But now I feare that they shall misse of their marke. For the Lord Stafford is newly dead, and I doe assure my selfe that the earle of Arundell who had the wardship of the young lord, and now agayne of his sister, will marrie her to his second sunne Sir William Howard, especially if the king will suffer the honor to go with the doughter.[1513] Men propose, and God disposeth. I am hartely sorrie and soe are many more for the losse of the young lord, for in him is a most noble Catholique family extinguished. I have receaved letters from M^r^ Fitton[1514] of the 18 of July wherin he says that the popes sicknes hath been the cause of the delayes in our affayres. But his Holynes is now recovered, soe that I shall beginne to hope well agayne. This daye morning I was with Sig*no*re Conne as also M^r^ Mountegue who presenteth their respects. The first is sure (as it is believed by thos who should knowe) of a red cappe. I am myndfull of my [*p. 69b*] ladyes[1515] legasie and I am confident that, although I feare I shall not gitt what was intended, notw*i*thstanding I shall procure a good part. God knowes my lord[1516] now will not be governed and I much feare that he will marrie agayne. Here are not any new occurrences at the court. The king is gone his progresse towards Salesbury and the queen continueth at Otelands.

[1510] George Gorsuch.

[1511] Lawrence Platt.

[1512] Sir Thomas Gage.

[1513] Henry Stafford, 5th Baron Stafford, died on 4 August 1637 at Ankerwyke in Wraysbury, Buckinghamshire. Con reported that he 'met death like an angel'. His wardship had been granted to the earl of Arundel in November 1625. Mary, his sister, inherited the family estates and was created Baroness Stafford in 1640; GEC, XII/i, p. 187. For her marriage to Sir William Howard, fifth but second surviving son of the earl of Arundel, see *ibid.*, pp. 187, 189. Sir William Howard, created Viscount Stafford after the marriage, was executed in 1680.

[1514] Peter Biddulph.

[1515] Anne (Philipson), Baroness Arundell. She had died on 28 June 1637.

[1516] Thomas Arundell, 1st Baron Arundell.

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And thus with my best wishes for y*ou*r happines I rest who am y*ou*r obedient servant,

Robertse [*sic*]

Aug[ust] 9 1637

This inclosed I receaved since I writte this. Her ladiship[1517] writte a most kinde letter to me. I beseech you to doe her all the honor you can and provide a place for her sunne.[1518] For she will relye on you. I will write to M^r^ Carre[1519] by her ladiship because I desire that he may have the spirituall care of the young lord.

[*on p. 70*]

Addressed: A Mons*ieu*r Monsieur [*sic*] Leuys Amerine dans la Place Maubert a Paris.

Endorsed: La[dy] Warders[1520] legacie.

95. Webster [Anthony Champney] to Clarkson [Richard Smith], 22 February 1638

[*AAW, A XXIX, no. 44, pp. 165–168*]

Most r*everen*d and my very good lord,

Yesterday (w*hi*ch was the first tyme I stirred out of my chamber these 6 weekes) M^r^ Hammon,[1521] M^r^ Musket,[1522] <M^r^ Layborn> and my self were w*i*th S*ign*or Con and sayd unto him thus: S*ir*, we are come to you in the name of the rest of our bretheren to complayn of wrong and injury done not agaynst our p*er*sons (for then <we> would by patience and humility <have> indeurred to have made our p*ro*fit of it) but agaynst our order and function w*hi*ch we cannot w*i*th <but> [*sic for* but w*i*th] the offence of God suffer. This wrong hath beene done us <by> the exhibiting of a scandalouse and, as we are tould by

[1517] This appears to be a reference to Elizabeth (Howard), widow of William Knollys, 1st earl of Banbury and now the wife of Edward Vaux, 4th Baron Vaux. See GEC, XII/ii, p. 225.

[1518] The countess of Banbury's eldest son, Edward, born on 10 April 1627, in the lifetime of the the countess's husband, the earl of Banbury, but known by the name of Vaux; *ibid.*

[1519] Miles Pinckney.

[1520] i.e. Anne (Philipson), Baroness Arundell.

[1521] John Jackson.

[1522] George Fisher.

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some that were p*re*sent, a lascivious play composed by M^r^ Flecknoe <preist> and acted [*word deleted*] <upon> the publike theatre by the ordinary comediantes of the towne, the whole [*word deleted*] howse knowing before hand that it was a preistes play and inquiring of on[e] th*e* [o]ther where is the preist th*e* author of [*word deleted*] this play? Is he not to be seene? And he him self haveing invited many p*er*sonages of ~~both~~ either sex to see it (as <of> his co*m*pasinge) and to some he had read all or part of it before it was acted. And the relation hereof being made to the king he sayd, what have preistes no ~~other~~ better imploymentes for them selves than to make playes? The wrong therefore done unto us seminge so great (he being reputed one of ours[1523] and, as we are tould, hathe sayd unto yo*u*r self, in excuse of his fact, that he was forced through necessity to doe it, the seculer clergy haveing not p*ro*vided him any residence where to live) we doe declare unto you and desire that you will declare it unto him and also to those to whome he p*er*taynes that he is none of ours nor ever wilbe admitted as one of ours. For neither was he p*re*ferred to preisthood by us nor sent into Ingland by those of our body but by the Jesuites, haveinge first made his noviship at Watten and after studied and [*sic for* at] Liege, and after five or sixe yeares was dismissed and so came into Ingland w*i*thout either testimony of his mission or of his life and manners and therfore was rejected for his faculties by M^r^ Muskett two or three severall tymes. This was the summ of our co*m*playnt.[1524]

Whereunto he answered that we <had> great reason to complayn [of] the wrong being done to our order and function. That he had already told him that he could <not> serve both the stage and th*e* alter and that he had tould the Jesuites who gave him testimony for his life and manners (whereupon he gave him faculties) that he deserved not only to lose his faculties but also to be suspended from th*e* alter. What he will doe in th*e* end I knowe not. We shall see in tyme and, as we have occasion, he shall heare from us.

We seyd further unto him that upon this occasion we desired to lett him knowe the greife we hadd to see our body so quite neglected by our pastor that after so long sute and so great expense we could not have

[1523] i.e. of the secular clergy.

[1524] In March 1638 Richard Smith passed this information about Richard Flecknoe to Richard Lascelles and added that George Fisher refused faculties to Flecknoe 'becaus he wold not acknowledg my auth*orit*ie'. Flecknoe then obtained faculties from George Con, 'and now lately hath made a lascivious and scandalous playe w*hi*ch he caused to be publikely used, and now seeketh to be of o*u*r bodie', a request which Anthony Champney had refused. For he was 'no seminarie priest'; AAW, B 27, no. 136; Anstr., II, pp. 112–113. For Flecknoe's philological interests, see D. Katz, 'The Language of Adam in seventeenth-century England', in Lloyd-Jones, Pearl, and Worden, *History and Imagination*, pp. 132–145, at pp. 141, 142.

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any answer at all but [*word deleted*] <remayn> still as a body without a head and <as> a scorn to all others. He answered that he was [*p. 166*] as sensible thereof as our selves, but <it> lay not in his powre to help it though he had not omitted any thing; and other words, as often tymes before. Whereupon we asked of him, what then, must we dispayre of any remedy from the Sea Apostolique? He answered, noe. The last letters I had, sayd he, signifyed that after the popes recovery (whose sicknesse hindred all things) Monseignior Boccabella,[1525] who is president of the Congregation of our Inglishe affayres, fell dangerously sick which continued so long that the cardinall ordayned that another prelate should be chosen in his place for the dispatch of our businesse and that Cardinall Balneo[1526] was sent for <to Rome> for the same purpose. We asked him of what date these letters were. He answered, of January. We replyed that this putt us in some hope that wee were not wholly forgotten. You are not only <to> hope, saythe he, but you may be assured of the grant of your businesse and if I live but two monethes I hope to see it. These were his words. What wilbe the event, God knowethe. We will have patience for these two monthes more. And, if nothing come, I shall dispayre of all good from Rome but not lose my trust and hope in God qui in altis habitat et humilia respicit. I see our pore body groweth weake and decrepid every way. Our colleges <abroad> goe to ruine. Our clergy at home is without life and spirit as it seemeth to me. Wherefore our only hope must be in the goodnesse of God to revive in us his spirit which I wishe hartely but my hands are to[o] weake to help it up. Other things I leave to others to write.

And with due respect take ~~lease~~ <leave> this 22 of Feb[ruary] 1638.

Your l*ordship*s ever at com*m*and,

Webster

After I had writen this I received yours of the 26. M^r^ Price[1527] shall knowe what you write. And I ame gladd he had noe occasion to complayn. For I had rather suffer wrong than doe wrong. And though I think it litle prudence to be very confident yet I would not have them think us so opposit as that we cannot or will not live in good peace with them. For M^r^ Hammon there is small or no meanes to force him to do more than he shall be willing to doe by persuation, which hath prevayled with him thus farr as that he hath given up [*p. 167*] bands of

[1525] For Boccabella, see Dockery, *CD*, p. 74.
[1526] Cardinal Giovanni Francesco Guido del Bagno.
[1527] William (Benedict) Jones OSB.

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1800[li] reserveing 500 for the use w*hi*ch he saythe the fownder[1528] hath his hand for. So that the 800 above the 1000 is for the frutes of the first capitall w*hi*ch he sayth was only 1000 for the end of Arras Colledge, thother 500 being for an nother [*sic*] end. This will not enrich the clergy otherwayes than to help to bring up ~~men~~ able men for the clergy so farr as I can co*n*ceive.[1529] What is become of M[rs] Mary Ward and hers?

[*on p. 168*]

Addressed: For M[r] Clarkson. Parise.

No endorsement.

96. Rob[erts] [George Leyburn] to Louys Amerine [Richard Smith], 15 March 1638[1530]

[*AAW, A XXIX, no. 19, pp. 41–44*]

Most honored sir,

I have yours of the 10 of March with the enclosed to M[r] Thomas Roper[1531] w*hi*ch is carefully delivered as also the gazett w*hi*ch is contradicted by the Spanish party, and all letters from Brussells doe speake of Duke Bernards defeat. Some two dayes more will manifest the truth.[1532] Sig*no*re Conne doth now seem to admire the [*word deleted*] slowe proceedings of the court of Rome as well as wee. The French ambassadeur[1533] told me that he had written to the cardenall[1534] and

[1528] Thomas Sackville, fourth son of Thomas Sackville, 1st earl of Dorset. See *NAGB*, pp. 85–86.

[1529] For the foundation of the Collège d'Arras, see *ibid.*, *passim*. For its troubles at this time, see Allison, 'An English gallican', pp. 320–324. Allison notes both the incessant quarrelling among the members and also the problems created by the war with Spain. The college was leased from the Abbey of St Vaast in the Spanish Netherlands and was seized by the French crown as enemy property. For a time there were threats of distraint against the English clergy occupying the college.

[1530] Dated 15 March 1637 in the AAW, A series catalogue.

[1531] For Thomas Roper (son of Sir William Roper, and cousin of the secular clergy's former agent in Rome, Thomas More), see *NAGB*, p. 254. Roper was still active at this time in lobbying for the restoration of a Catholic bishop in England; VA, PD, fo. 91r.

[1532] For Bernard of Saxe-Weimar's military victories in early 1638, and notably his defeat of Johann von Werth at Rheinfelden, see *CSPV, 1636–1639*, pp. 388, 393; C. Burckhardt, *Richelieu and his Age*, 3 vols (London, 1970), III, pp. 194–195.

[1533] Pomponne de Bellièvre.

[1534] Cardinal Richelieu.

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to y*ou*r selfe. He hath but poore councelleurs here. M[r] Hammon is very ill in the night often tymes and is affrayd least he may dye sodainely as his brother M[r] Volentyne[1535] did, but I hope it is onely a strong apprehension and that ther is noe just cause. I heare that now he hath delivered up 800[l] more w*hi*ch maketh in all 1800[l] and this is all the accompt that he is like to make of all the rents of 1500[li] for soe many yeares togeather receaved by him. I doe wounder that Fa[ther] Talbott hath been suffered soe long to continue in thos partes. The countesse of Banbury intendeth to be ther shortly after Easter as also the countesse of Newport.[1536] The puretans in Scotland are very obstinate and turbulent, and I heare that they have possessed themselves of the two cheef castles, Sterling and Edenborough.[1537] A great disaster lately happened in our court. Archy[1538] is deprived of his fooles coate and discarded for calling the bishop of Canterbury[1539] trayter.

This is all, onely my best wishes w*hi*ch I present unto you in all hartie manner who am y*ou*r most obedient servant,

Rob[erts]

March 15 1637

The earle of Northumberland[1540] is made admirall of England untill the duke of Yorke come to his full age.

[*on p. 44*]

Addressed: A Monsieur Mons*ieu*r [*sic*] Louys Amerine dans la Place Maubert a Paris.

Endorsed: D[octor] Laborn of moneys given up.

[1535] Hammond was the usual alias of John Jackson. I assume that, here, 'Hammon' denotes Jackson's brother, the Franciscan, Bonaventure Jackson and, in the text, the term 'his brother M[r] Volentyne' refers loosely to his Capuchin (Franciscan reform movement) confrere William (Anselm) Valentine, who had died in 1634; Bellenger, *EWP*, p. 117. (Bonaventure Jackson was imprisoned in Newgate in 1633; Dockery, *CD*, p. 22.) For Valentine, see *CSPD, 1633–1634*, p. 315; Foley, I, p. 519; AAW, A XXVIII, no. 10, p. 36.

[1536] For the conversion in 1637 of Anne (Boteler), wife of Mountjoy Blount, 1st earl of Newport, see Hibbard, *CI*, pp. 55, 57; Albion, *CI*, pp. 208, 212, 227.

[1537] See P. Donald, *An Uncounselled King: Charles I and the Scottish Troubles 1637–1641* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 129–130.

[1538] Archibald Armstrong, court jester.

[1539] William Laud.

[1540] Algernon Percy, 10th earl of Northumberland.

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97. Ro[berts] [George Leyburn] to Louys Amerine [Richard Smith], 10 May 1638

[*AAW, A XXIX, no. 58, pp. 203–204*]

Most honored sir,

I have been holden with a feaver for a 12 dayes togeather w*hi*ch hath been the occasion of my silence. At the same tyme my Lady Shrewsbury[1541] was visited with the small poxe. God be praised both of us are upon recovery. I have been free thes 4 dayes. Y*ou*r last letter, as also the former, I delivered unto M[r] Webster[1542] and wish[e]d [him] well to consider with our other friends of the cheef poyntes therin contayned, espetially concerning the setling of Arras house.[1543] But M[r] Blacloe[1544] hath onely receaved a 1000 of thos moneyes, and I see noe hopes of [any] more. M[r] Hammon[1545] says that the other 500[l] belongeth to him to dispose, and, as for the profitt of thes moneyes for soe many yeares, I dispayre of any. I doe assure you unfainedly I am hartely ashamed at his proceedings. Y*ou*r letter to the embassadeur[1546] I sent unto one of his gentlemen. He and his whole family are in the country about Richmond soe that I have not as yett re[c]eaved any answere. About an hower aggoe M[r] Mountegue was here to see me who presenteth his respects unto you. He telleth me that Pere Joseph[1547] is dying. If it be true, y*ou*r friends will find the ambassadeur more curteous hereafter. This morning we have newes that Don Pedro[1548] is dead and that he hath provided well for the house w*hi*ch will be some ease to our friends here.[1549] The stirres in Scotland continue very bad. Now the Marquis Hamleton is going thither with some other of the Scotch nobility sent from our king to compose all differences, but I see litle signes of any good. They are soe insolent, and lately they have deposed divers ministers, some for speaking in his Ma*jes*ties behalfe, others for giving the communion to the people kneeling. My humble service to my most noble lady the countesse of Bannbery, and noble Sir Kenelme[1550] if he be ther. I doe omitt to write because I am

[1541] Frances (Arundell), second wife of John Talbot, 10th earl of Shrewsbury.
[1542] Anthony Champney.
[1543] The Collège d'Arras.
[1544] Thomas White.
[1545] John Jackson.
[1546] Presumably the French ambassador, Pomponne de Bellièvre.
[1547] François Joseph le Clerc du Tremblay.
[1548] Pedro Coutinho.
[1549] For Coutinho's death in April 1638, see Kirk and Croft, *Historical Account of Lisbon College*, p. 15.
[1550] Sir Kenelm Digby.

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weake, and I heare that he is exspected here sodainely. My lord of Northumberland,[1551] as it is thought, will not escape this sicknes. My respects to good M^rs^ Salesbury whose letter is delivered to M^r^ Blunt who was with me yesterdaye and sayd he would answere. Also to M^r^ Car[1552] and M^r^ Hansome.[1553]

And my best wishes for y*our* happines, who am y*our* most obedient servant,

Ro[berts]

May 10 1638

Sir Thomas Roe is to goe ambassadeur into Germany and it is reported that we shall joyne with France and Swed[en] for the recovery of the Palatinate.[1554]

[*on p. 204*]

Addressed: A Mons*ieu*r Monsieur [*sic*] Louys Amerine dans la Place Maubert a Paris.

Endorsed: M. Lovel.[1555]
Of 1000^l^ to M. Blaclo.

[1551] Algernon Percy, 10th earl of Northumberland.
[1552] Miles Pinckney.
[1553] Thomas Smith, Richard Smith's nephew.
[1554] See *CSPV*, *1636–1639*, pp. 401, 405, 410, 411, 429, 431; Hibbard, *CI*, p. 79.
[1555] 'Lovel' had been John Southcot's alias. The endorser of this letter, Richard Smith, meant to refer to George Leyburn.

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