CAMPION IN THE THAMES VALLEY, 1580

by MICHAEL HODGETTS

Between July and October 1580, Robert Persons and Edmund Campion, who had landed at Dover in June, 'passed through the most part of the shires of England, preaching and administering the sacraments in almost every gentleman's and nobleman's house that we passed by, whether he was Catholic or not, provided he had any Catholics in his house to hear us'.[1] Between Christmas 1580 and Whitsun 1581 Campion went on a similar journey to the North, the itinerary of which can be recovered in fair detail from entries in the Acts of the Privy Council and from a summary of the subsequent examinations which was annotated by Lord Burghley.[2] The mission of Campion and Persons (and of the dozen or so others who accompanied them from Rome) has rightly been regarded as a pivotal event in the story of Elizabethan recusancy. But no serious attempt has ever been made to reconstruct their itineraries in 1580.

The reason for this omission is the seeming lack of evidence, which has been covered up by the inclusion of background material—skilfully by Evelyn Waugh, who was already an accomplished novelist when he wrote his *Edmund Campion*; more ponderously and aggressively in Richard Simpson's biography of 1867, on which Waugh's account is based. Both give much space to the political situation in 1580, to Campion's 'Brag' of July 1580 and to the printing of *Ten Reasons* at Stonor in the early summer of 1581. After that, they describe in great detail Campion's arrest at Lyford, his examinations and torture, his disputations with Calvinist divines in the Tower, and his trial and martyrdom. A casual reader might be left with the impression that the work of both Campion and Persons has been comprehensively dealt with—or else that it never can be.[3]

Persons himself says that between July and Michaelmas he travelled with George Gilbert through 'the shires of Northampton, Derby, Worcester, Gloucester [and] Hereford'.[4] A glance at a map will show that this itinerary cannot be complete, and I intend to explore Persons' journey in another article; but for an issue in honour of Professor Birrell (who lives in Oxford) it is appropriate to consider first the travels of Campion in Berkshire, Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire. The common view, however, as expressed by Waugh, is that 'the only names that can be given with any certainty as Campion's hosts during this journey are Sir William Catesby of Ashby St. Ledgers, Lord Vaux of Harrowden and Sir Thomas Tresham'.[5] The implication is that, because

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all three had houses in Northamptonshire, we can at least be sure that Campion was there in the late summer of 1580. But even this much has been questioned. All three also had houses in London, and, as Fr. Godfrey Anstruther commented, 'Persons apparently met and reconciled Tresham and Catesby at Hoxton, and he may have met Vaux there or at Hackney. It is only a presumption that any of them met Campion, and there is not a scrap of evidence that Campion ever set foot in Northamptonshire as a priest.... Out of the thirty-two people arrested on the charge of harbouring him, only Vaux, Tresham and Catesby denied it'.[6] It seems therefore that what we thought we knew is uncertain and that there is no way of adding to it.

This assumption, however, depends on another, also doubtful. After visiting the North in the first half of 1581, Campion returned from Lancashire to London about Whitsun (14 May), and he then had to be at Stonor for the printing of *Ten Reasons*, copies of which were left in the benches of St. Mary the Virgin's at Oxford for the *Encaenia* ceremony on 27 June. He was arrested at Lyford in Berkshire on 17 July. Subsequently a number of Catholics in London and around Oxford were accused of harbouring him, and it was assumed by both Simpson and Waugh that these charges must refer to the early summer of 1581.[7] Some of the houses mentioned are within easy reach of Stonor, but it seems less likely that he could have spared the time to ride to the Prices at Washingley, near Peterborough, which is more than eighty miles in each direction—particularly as he had arranged to go there after leaving Lyford, on the way to Norfolk.[8] In June he needed to be at Stonor to proof-read the text and the multiplicity of marginal references in *Ten Reasons*, and he could not do this in one go when the whole of the book had been set. Because the printers were acutely short of materials, the job had to be done in instalments, the sheets being printed off and the type distributed and reset three times during the production of a book which runs to only 20,000 words.[9] So the charges of harbouring Campion could refer to the late summer of 1580 or in some cases to December 1580: the first recorded information about his journey through the North is that, having left Uxbridge, he spent the twelve days of Christmas with the Pierrepoints in Nottinghamshire.[10]

Ironically enough, Simpson printed a good deal of relevant information but failed to exploit it because he did not translate names into places. Thus he mentions Lord Compton but not Compton Wynyates in Warwickshire; Sir Nicholas Poyntz but not Iron Acton in Gloucestershire; 'Mrs. Pollard' but not Toot Baldon in Oxfordshire.[11] Some of these names are also in Waugh.[12] But neither Simpson nor Waugh has an index, and both show the lack of interest in geographical matters which has been characteristic of much writing on recusancy. Both say, for instance, that the Prices' house was 'on the borders of Norfolk',[13] when it is, in fact, on the borders of Northamptonshire and Huntingdonshire, twenty miles from Norfolk.[14]

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That may seem a trivial point, but twenty miles was a day's ride and it was in terms of days' rides that Campion and Persons worked. In November 1580 Campion himself wrote: 'I ride about some piece of the country every day. The harvest is wonderful great. On horseback I meditate my sermon; when I come to the house I polish it. Then I talk with such as come to speak with me, or hear their confessions. In the morning, after Mass, I preach'.[15] Such a regimen could not have been sustained for three months if it meant a *long* ride every day. In Staffordshire and Derbyshire in January 1580–1, he seems to have travelled only a dozen miles a day, sometimes less.[16] This point is so important that it is worth giving some comparable examples.

On 13–14 February 1584, John Owen, a seminary priest and brother of Nicholas Owen the hide-builder, rode from London to Winchester, staying the night at Guildford and 'bating' on the second day at Alton.[17] The first day's journey was about thirty miles and the second about thirty-five (though the first included the crossing of Putney Ferry and a stop at Hampton Court to watch 'the coursing of a doe'). In the first week of March 1587, St. Swithin Wells rode from Ufton Court near Reading to Michelgrove in Sussex. The stages were to Herriard, between Basingstoke and Alton, on the Monday; to Buriton, near Petersfield, on the Tuesday; to Warblington Castle, on Chichester Harbour opposite Hayling Island, on the Wednesday; to Slindon, between Chichester and Arundel, on the Thursday; and to Michelgrove, on the Downs between Arundel and Findon, on the Friday.[18] Each day's journey was between ten and twenty miles. In the late summer of 1605 Henry Garnet and others went on pilgrimage to Holywell. Rounded to the nearest five miles, their daily stages through the Midlands were: Gayhurst (Sir Everard Digby's) to Daventry (presumably the Catesbys' at Ashby St. Ledgers), thirty-five miles; Daventry to Norbrook (the Grants'), twenty-five miles; Norbrook to Huddington (the Wintours'), twenty miles; Huddington to Kinlet (the Lacons'), twenty-five miles; Kinlet to Shrewsbury, thirty miles; Shrewsbury to Holt Castle, near Wrexham, thirty miles; and Holt Castle to Holywell, twenty miles.[19] In *I Henry IV*, Peto and Prince Hal 'have thirty miles to ride yet ere dinner-time', starting before Falstaff's breakfast; but in *Cymbeline* Imogen asks 'How many score of miles may we well ride, 'Twixt hour and hour?' and is told, 'One score 'twixt sun and sun, Madam, 's enough for you, and too much too'.[20]

During his escape after the Battle of Worcester in 1651, Charles II twice rode forty miles on two successive days: on 10–11 September from Walsall to Long Marston and from Long Marston to Cirencester, and on 13–14 October from Salisbury to Hambledon and from Hambledon to Brighton.[21] But on all four days the weather was fine, and the journey from Salisbury was mostly across downland; heavy rain or clay would have slowed them considerably. On the evening of 13 October, Col. George Gunter was anxious to get Charles away from his drunken host

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and into bed, since 'the King had rid near forty miles that day and was to undergo a very hard journey the next'.[22] So we should assume, I think, that Campion and Persons rarely had to ride more than twenty miles in a day, or their congregations walk for more than a couple of hours. Conversely, it is doubtful whether they could have visited more than one house a day, though Persons does say that sometimes he had to preach twice a day.[23]

The primary sources for any reconstruction are various writings of Persons: his memoirs,[24] his 'Letters and Memorials',[25] and his *Life and Martyrdom of Father Edmond Campion*.[26] These contain the names of some of their converts;[27] the names of the young men who escorted priests about the country;[28] and the names of Catholics who were imprisoned in 1580–1.[29] They can be filled out from seven other sources: two lists compiled in 1574 and 1582 and printed in C.R.S. 13,[30] the 1577 returns from the dioceses of Oxford and Salisbury (for Campion) and from Gloucester, Hereford, and Coventry and Lichfield (for Persons);[31] the examinations of those accused of harbouring Campion;[32] two indictments for saying and hearing Mass;[33] a list, dated February 1583/4, of 'receivers and entertainers', mostly in the Thames Valley;[34] an Oxfordshire list of 1592;[35] and the deposition of George Snape, also of 1592, which contains information from 1583 onwards about priests and their harbourers in Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Berkshire.[36] Waugh thought that, 'rarely stopping anywhere for more than one night' (though 'sometimes', says Persons, 'there was longer and more liberal stay'),[37] Campion must have visited 'fifty or more houses during the three months'.[38] This seems a fair deduction and in this article I shall put forward a list of about sixty. It has been compiled on the assumption that where there is evidence of recusancy or priest-harbouring by 1580 or soon after, it is reasonable to suspect that he called there, especially where there are links of kinship or friendship with his other known contacts.

First, however, is a question about his mode of working. Persons went on a continuous circular tour, and so did Campion in the North in the first half of 1581. But if we go by the names of those accused of harbouring him, Campion's work in 1580 was more or less confined to the area covered by Christopher Saxton's map of Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Berkshire (1574)—a rough square of about fifty by fifty-five miles which in fact became an archdeaconry under the Old Chapter in 1649. By the calculations given above, this could be crossed in any direction within a couple of days; if he had a safe house somewhere towards the middle, few places within the three counties would have been more than one day's ride away and he could therefore have made short excursions in various directions, rather than a single long one.

Now a month after Campion, Colleton, Ford and Filby were arrested at **Lyford Grange** on 17 July 1581 it was reported that three Oxford dons had

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been there during the search.[39] One of them was Henry Russell, formerly a colleague of Campion's at St. John's College and Principal of Gloucester Hall (now Worcester College), which was then an annexe to St. John's. The other two were almost certainly Robert Yate and Justinian Stubbs: both, like Russell, were Fellows of Gloucester Hall, and Stubbs was later tutor to Russell's sons at Little Malvern in Worcestershire.[40] Some time later there was a protracted lawsuit over the lease to Russell of a farm at **Lowches** in Long Wittenham, near Dorchester, which still belongs to the College.[41] In the course of this it was alleged by a cousin of Russell's named West that 'your President [Francis Willis], you [Russell] and Campion had been at one time Fellows together in your College, and that Campion should lie there before and at the time he threw his traitorous libel [Campion's Brag] abroad, and since that time proved that you have before and since his coming from Rome been his daily companion ... and trusty spy, and your President not ignorant of all these and more'.[42] On the face of it, this means that Campion was actually harboured at St. John's, but West's style is so rambling and incoherent that it seems far more likely that 'there' was Lowches, with the disputed lease of which his letters are mostly concerned. Lowches is on the Thames, eight miles south of Oxford as the crow flies and not far from the mid-point of the three counties (which would be a few miles east of Oxford).

Within the fifty-mile square, Berkshire in the south was divided from Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire by the meanderings of the Thames, so that its shape resembled an old boot, with the toe-cap in the east at Windsor, the heel at Hungerford and a broad and floppy ankle (the Vale of the White Horse) extending north to Wantage and Faringdon.[43] Since Lyford is four miles north of Wantage and county boundaries mattered, it will be convenient to work anti-clockwise through Berkshire from north-west to east, through Buckinghamshire from south to north, and then through Oxfordshire from south to north-west, finishing at Haddon, near Faringdon, where, a fortnight before arresting Campion, the spy George Eliot had also attended Mass said by St. John Payne.[44] Although some dodging about will be necessary, such a sequence will be easier to follow on a map.

Near Lyford are two other houses, one of which certainly and the other almost certainly Campion did visit on this first journey. Anstruther prints

> an indictment against Edmund Foster alias Edmund Campion; Francis Morris, gentleman, and Anne his wife; Edmund, Martha and Alice Morris; Alice Wicks of Ashbury, widow, and others to the number of thirty in all. The charge was that on 30 July 1580 Campion, "in a certain room within the mansion house of Great Coxwell, being vested in alb and other vestments according to papistical rites and ceremonies, did say and celebrate one private and detestable Mass in the Latin tongue, derogatory to the blood of Christ and contrary to his true allegiance". There is a similar indictment (which does not, however, mention Campion) against Alice Wicks and others for Mass celebrated in the manor house at Ashbury on 8 August [1580].[45]

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Great Coxwell Court Farmhouse, 1½ miles SW of Faringdon, was rebuilt about 1690, but **Ashbury Manor Farm**, three miles SE of Shrivenham, is still the fifteenth-century grange of the abbots of Glastonbury with its original oratory over the porch.[46]

Apart from the priests, the Oxford musician John Jacob[47] and Russell, Stubbs and Yate, seven other men were arrested at Lyford: Edward Yate, John Cotton, Edward and Humphrey Keynes, William Hildesley, Philip Law and John James.[48] Of these, Edward Yate was a brother of Francis Yate (?1533–1588), the owner of Lyford.[49] John Cotton may be the owner of Warblington Castle on Chichester Harbour, who was one of the few recusants to pay the full £20 a month.[50] Edward Keynes of **Hampstead Norris** in Berkshire and Compton Pauncefoot in Somerset was a recusant by 1577; he and Humphrey were discharged from the Tower after June 1582 but he and his wife Katherine were in prison at Reading in 1583–4.[51] Walter Hildesley of **East Ilsley** in Berkshire and Margaret Hildesley of **Crowmarsh Gifford** in Oxfordshire were both convicted at Reading in 1588.[52] Others returned from Lyford in 1577 were James Wirdnam, Richard Yate and Oliver Ashcombe, the husband of Francis Yate's sister Martha.[53] In 1581 Lyford also sheltered eight Brigittine nuns from Sion, who included Francis Yate's cousin Elizabeth.[54]

Moreover, Margaret Gosling has pointed out that all but four of the twenty-two recusants convicted at the Berkshire Assizes on 4 March 1586/7 were from the neighbourhood of Lyford (the archdeaconry of Abingdon).[55] She could have clinched this point by adding that at least half of the twenty-two were related to Francis Yate. The Yates of Lyford were only one branch of a huge clan descended from the twenty children of John Yate of Charney Bassett and Lyford, a wealthy Merchant Stapler who died in 1541. Francis's father, Thomas Yate (d. 1565), was the eldest son of this John Yate by his second wife Alice Hyde. James Yate, John Yate's eldest son by his first marriage, to Joan Goddard, inherited or bought **Buckland**, four miles north-west of Lyford; and others of the family had estates elsewhere in Berkshire and in Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Hampshire, Gloucestershire and Wiltshire.[56] In the Vale of the White Horse they and their connexions owned manors every two or three miles. Already in 1577 the recusants at Buckland included John Yate II (James's son, 1512–79); his wife (Mary Justice of Reading); his daughters; Thomas Yate (either John II's fourth son or John II's brother of **Shrivenham**, five miles south-west of Faringdon); and two of the Fettiplaces, who were the family of John II's mother. In 1592 George Snape deposed that a priest named William Hopton 'lieth most usually and hath since these many years' at Buckland, and went on to describe how, 'about Candlemas last', Hopton had nearly been caught when a searcher 'knocked at the ceiling behind the which Hopton was hidden, so that there was no more but the bare ceiling betwixt the pursuivant and him'.[57]

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At **Sparsholt**, three miles west of Wantage, the 1577 returns include 'Mistress Platt [Plott], wife to Richard Platt, gent.': she was Mary Yate, the third daughter of John Yate II of Buckland, whose brother Francis Yate had married Elizabeth Plott. In 1602 John Platt alias Yate wrote in his Responsa that he had been born at Buckland and lived mostly at Sparsholt, Petwick and (West) Challow.[58] At **Wantage** itself there were John Wirdnam and his wife, who was John Yate II's fifth daughter, a second Martha. At **Brightwalton**, on the Downs five miles south of Wantage, and at **Sutton Courtenay** on the Thames, three miles west of Lowches, there were James Braybrooke and his wife, who was John Yate II's aunt, a third Martha. He was a distinguished lawyer, who had been expelled from the Inner Temple as early as 1570 (though subsequently reinstated); in 1577 he was returned as a recusant both there and in Berkshire, and was imprisoned in the Fleet in 1579 and in the Gatehouse in 1581–4.[59] Sutton Courtenay was also the home of Thomas Hulse, who married a Dorothy Yate.[60] Four miles east of Wantage is **East Hendred**, where John Eyston had married Martha Braybrooke's sister Jane: it was the birthplace of Leonard Hyde (1550–1608), who was ordained in 1577 and spent nearly twenty years in the Tower, Newgate, the Clink and Wisbech and Framlingham Castles.[61]

In the south of the county, seven miles north-west of Newbury, was **East Shefford**, the original home of Mary Fettiplace, the wife of James Yate of Buckland. Half a mile away was **Great Shefford**, the home of the Bridges. In 1583 Eleanor Bridges married Sir George Browne, son of Lord Montague, who in the following year was harbouring there a priest named Samuel Twyford, 'who goeth for a physician' (or 'in the habit of a serving man').[62] George Snape lived there from 1584 until his arrest in 1591 and reconciled John Platt to the Church there.[63] At **Speen**, a mile and a half from Newbury, John Palmer was a recusant by 1581,[64] and, since Snape's alias was Palmer, it may be suspected that he had been there too. The Yates of Buckland also owned the manor of Benham Lovell in Speen.[65] Two miles north-east of Newbury was **Henwick**, which in 1580 was owned by John Winchcombe I. Here, in April 1591, the spy Robert Weston reported 'a press where all the church stuff is . . . in a gallery going through the hall at the table end, on the right hand up a great pair of stairs'.[66] In the south-west, in the heel of the boot, the Cheneys of **West Woodhay**, recusants by 1588, were descended from Dorothy Yate, a sister of Thomas Yate of Lyford, who had married John Cheney in 1531.[67] The list could be extended.

Three other houses in Berkshire should be mentioned at least briefly. In 1591 Samuel Twyford was also reported to be 'using to Mr. Lyveden's in **Lambourne Woodlands**': Dorothy Loveden was a recusant by 1581 and imprisoned in Reading Castle in 1583.[68] In the middle of the southern edge of Berkshire, seven miles south-west of Reading, is **Ufton Court**, which was searched in 1586 for a Marian priest named George or James

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Lingam or Lingen, who 'under colour of teaching on the virginals goeth from Papist to Papist'.[69] And in the extreme east, in the toe-cap, is the beautiful fifteenth-century manor-house of **Ockwells** at Bray. Its owners, Henry and Elizabeth Norreys, were reported to be recusants in 1577, though ten years later they sold Ockwells to William and Anne Day and so are not in any later returns.[70]

In Buckinghamshire, north of the Thames from Bray, there were three recusant houses in the neighbourhood of Uxbridge. John Gardiner of **Fulmer** was a recusant by 1588, and Caraman thought it likely that he was at Harleyford with Garnet, Southwell and William Weston in July 1586.[71] He may be the 'Mr. Gardener' mentioned by Persons as 'the first man gained from heresy this summer... at Hogsden, who... after suffered much for Catholic religion'.[72] In 1584 books and other 'Popish relics' were found in the house of Mrs. Isabella Hampden at **Stoke Poges** (possibly Tithe Farm, half a mile north-west of Gray's 'country churchyard'): they included a 'table' of gold with a picture on it and an *Officium Beatae Mariae*. Two years later it was reported that she had been 'corrupted' by Richard Davies *alias* Wingfield, a priest who had escorted Campion, Persons and Weston throughout England.[73] At **Denham Place** in 1584 Sir George Peckham's wife (who was a sister of the famous Jesuit John Gerard) was harbouring William Brooks, who had been sent to England in 1581.[74] In the winter of 1585–6 the house was the scene of the exorcisms described by Weston and was raided, when 'several priests' were concealed in 'various hiding-places'. The high wall round it still recalls Weston's description, though the house itself is now of the late seventeenth century.[75]

Further west in Buckinghamshire, not far from Stonor, there is an order of the Privy Council on 7 August 1581 that Robert Drury and Richard Crayforde should examine 'one Mr. East besides Wycombe and one Mr. Penn in that county' on suspicion of harbouring Campion. Thomas Penn of **Penn**, three miles east of High Wycombe, was a convicted recusant by 1587;[76] by 1592 the manor-house of Seagrave in Penn had been sequestrated for the recusancy of John Gardiner of Fulmer.[77] Edward East, who was first convicted of recusancy in 1587, owned the rectory manor of **Bledlow**,[78] which is eight miles NW of High Wycombe, on the boundary with Oxfordshire (SP 7702). He also owned **Cokethorpe Park** in Ducklington, two miles south of Witney in Oxfordshire.[79] There, in 1578, William Harris, formerly bursar of Lincoln College, Oxford, reconciled a parson named Ralph Bentham, who later met several priests there: they included Campion and Richard Norris, another former Fellow of Lincoln College.[80] Bentham added that Harris had conducted Campion from Cokethorpe to Mr. Dormer's at **Wing**, where Bentham's sister Sybil was a servant. This was Ascott House, which was then probably the home of Sir William Dormer's widow Dorothy (Catesby); their son Robert, later the first Lord Dormer, does not appear to have taken it

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over until 1590, when he married Elizabeth Browne, daughter of the first Lord Montague of Cowdray.[81] In 1580 Campion met Persons at 'Hogsdon', which is usually identified as Hoxton, just outside London, but which Trappes-Lomax suggested was the Dormer manor of **Hoggeston** between Aylesbury and Buckingham.[82] In 1580 also Edward East's daughter Dorothy married Thomas Fitzherbert of Swynnerton in Staffordshire, who verified the references in *Ten Reasons* and after her death in 1588 became a priest, a Jesuit and rector of the English College in Rome.[83] **Bradenham House**, between Bledlow and High Wycombe was owned by Frederick, 4th Lord Windsor, who died in 1585 and was succeeded as 5th Lord by his brother Henry, the friend of William Weston; when Persons was in Padua he had bought 'provision of apparel' belonging to their father Edward, third Lord Windsor, who had died at Venice.[84] Some houses further north, between Aylesbury and Bicester, will be mentioned below. Near Newport Pagnell was **Weston Underwood**, the home of Sir Robert Throckmorton (d. 1582), who, apart from his own recusancy, was a cousin of Lord Vaux and father-in-law to Sir Thomas Tresham and Sir William Catesby.

In the southern tip of Oxfordshire, near Henley-on-Thames, is **Stonor**, where *Ten Reasons* was printed in June 1581. The dowager Lady Stonor (Cecilia) was a recusant by 1577, when she was described as of **Bix**, nearby, and again in 1588.[85] When Campion and his colleagues were at St. Omer before crossing the Channel they had useful advice from George Chamberlain, who is described rather archly by Simpson as 'a gentleman of a very worshipful house' and by Waugh as 'a man of some consequence'.[86] He was in fact Lady Stonor's brother from **Shirburn Castle**, a few miles north of Stonor, who had gone into exile, married a Flemish girl (as John Stonor was to do later), and had a son, then aged four, who was later bishop of Ypres.[87] It is reasonable to suppose that Campion was at Stonor before the summer of 1581, and also at Shirburn, where the moat would have hindered any sudden intrusions like that at Lyford. Upstream from Henley, near Reading, is **Mapledurham House**, which will be mentioned later.

On 7 August 1581 Lord Norreys, Mr. Fiennes (of Broughton Castle near Banbury) and a Mr. Cope (who was probably Sir Anthony Cope of Hanwell, also near Banbury) were ordered to examine 'the Lady Babington, Mrs. Pollards and Mr. Morrice in that county, in whose houses the said Campion hath also confessed that he hath been'.[88] Of these, 'Mr. Morrice' was Francis Morris of Great Coxwell (see above); Lady Babington's house was at **Twyford**, six miles north-east of Bicester; and 'Mrs. Pollards' was probably Philippa, widow of Sir Anthony Pollard of Little Baldon in **Toot Baldon**, five miles south-east of Oxford.[89] (The Privy Council were understandably vague about which 'that county' was, since Toot Baldon is in Oxfordshire but Great Coxwell was then in Berkshire and Twyford is a mile and a half into Buckinghamshire.)

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Toot Baldon was only three or four miles from Lowches, and also from **Garsington** and from **Warborough**. The list of February 1583/4 includes 'Forde's eldest son of Garsington, a common leader of priests about the country'.[90] He was probably the John Forde who, with his father Geoffrey, his mother and his brothers Augustine, Andrew and Peter, was a recusant in 1577.[91] Snape's confession of 1592 mentions an old priest named John Ryne, 'a very tall man, lean and spare of body, of a phlegmatic complexion and a great student, [who] useth much to one Mrs. Porter's of Warborough, a mile or two distant from Dorchester'. She was a recusant by 1577, and her son Thomas was in 1584.[92]

Of other houses in Oxfordshire which Campion may have visited in 1580, the most magnificent was **Rycote Park**, between Oxford and Thame. This had been built in the 1530s by Lord Williams of Thame (d. 1559) and inherited by his son-in-law, Lord Norreys (*c.* 1525–1601), who several times entertained Queen Elizabeth there. Norreys was a distant cousin of the Norreyses of Ockwells and also of those of Speke Hall, Liverpool;[93] his wife's sister married Sir Richard Wenman, who consequently inherited the neighbouring **Thame Park**, where in 1600 the disguised John Gerard met the future Archbishop of Canterbury, George Abbot.[94] In the dedication of his *History of Ireland* to the Earl of Leicester (1571) Campion recalled 'how often at Oxford, how often at the Court, how at Rycote, how at Windsor . . . you have not ceased to further with advice and countenance with authority the hope and expectation of me, a single student'.[95] On 29 June 1580, a fortnight after landing in England, he preached in the hall of Lord Norreys's house in London.[96] So perhaps he also returned, in disguise, to Rycote. Thame Park survives; Rycote was destroyed by fire in 1745, leaving only a gatehouse tower and a fifteenth-century chapel with superb seventeenth-century woodwork.

Nearer to Oxford are **Iffley** and **Stanton St. John**. William Harris was at the house of Mr. East of Iffley about 1577; Margaret, wife of Arthur Pitts of Iffley, was a recusant in that year, and they had two sons, Robert and Arthur, who returned to England as priests in 1576 and 1581.[97] According to Snape, when John Filby returned to England (in 1579), 'his first seat was at one Mr. Ambrose his house, a lawyer at Stanton St. John, three miles from Oxford'. Both he and his brother William, who was captured with Campion, had been born in Oxford, in the parish of St. Mary Magdalen, near St. John's College; John was sent to England in 1579 and William in 1581, just in time to be arrested with Campion.[98]

The 1577 returns for **Oxford** itself begin with George Etheridge, the deprived Professor of Greek, who owned Ambrose's house at Stanton St. John[99] and 'receiveth priests in serving men's apparel disguised, besides a great number of the town and country that suspiciously resort to his house to hear a Mass'. The next entry runs:

> Mr. William Napper, the farmer of Holywell, worth in lands and goods £2,000: neither he nor his wife come to the church. Mr. Powel of Sandford, late

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> pensioner: his wife, children and mother lie there and never come to the church, and they are thought to have a Mass likewise.[100]

Holywell Manor, just outside the walls on the north-east side of the city, belonged to Merton College: William Napper was their tenant and Mr. Powell of Sandford, two miles down the river, his brother-in-law. William's brother George, a former Fellow of Corpus Christi, was executed outside Holywell in 1610 for his priesthood and buried in the medieval chapel at Sandford. Their mother Joan was a sister of Cardinal William Peto (1485–1558), Observant Franciscan, confessor to Katherine of Aragon and Princess Mary and friend of St. Thomas More.[101] In 1591 Cardinal Allen noted that 'for D. Walford, he will be well provided for in Oxford with Mr. Napper, a renowned and virtuous Catholic'. This was William Warford, a former Fellow of Trinity, who had been in Allen's service from 1584 to 1588 and then chaplain to the Archbishop of Évora, about seventy miles east of Lisbon. He landed in 1591 'in an out-creek near Plymouth' and was in England until August 1592, when Allen summoned him back to the Continent.[102] Mass was said at Holywell Manor until the mid-eighteenth century and, despite much reconstruction, there are still remains of a hide in the roof.[103]

The former monastic foundation of **Gloucester Hall**, outside the walls on the north-west of the city, was acquired by St. John's College in 1560, though it had also attracted the interest of Lord Williams of Thame, who built 'sundry lodgings' there; of Richard Pate, the deprived Marian bishop of Worcester, who left money to keep four students there; and of the Earl of Leicester, at whose orders Amy Robsart lay in state in the hall. It became a haven for recusant dons ejected from other colleges, including Edmund Reynolds and James Fenn from Corpus Christi; George Blackwell, later the Archpriest, from Trinity; William Bishop, later the Vicar Apostolic; and Christopher Bagshaw from Balliol, later the Appellant, who succeeded Henry Russell as Principal in 1580.[104] It also provided lodgings for outsiders who included Sir William Catesby and Sir George Peckham of Denham. Sir William was the only recusant noted at the Hall in November 1577, though it was 'greatly suspected'.[105] There is a receipt from Henry Russell for his rent there from March to September 1577; one of his daughters was born there that year and 'not christened by the said vicar but by a Popish priest';[106] and his son Robert, the Gunpowder Plotter, matriculated there on 27 October 1586. Perhaps he met Campion at Gloucester Hall, rather than in London, Northamptonshire or Buckinghamshire, and was therefore telling the strict truth when he denied in Star Chamber that Campion had been 'in his house'.[107] In 1591 it was reported that 'John Allen' had said Mass in the Hall and 'made the blood of Christ, sent from Rome, drop nine or ten drops of fresh blood, for which £20 a drop is given';[108] according to Anthony Wood, Catholics sent their sons there until the outbreak of the Civil War.

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Two miles north-west of Oxford, along the Thames tow-path, is **Godstow**, a nunnery acquired by George Owen, Henry VIII's doctor, who married Dorothy Chamberlain of Shirburn Castle. Their son Richard was returned as a recusant from 1577 onwards and was imprisoned in the Fleet in 1578–9 with his wife Mary and James Braybrooke of Sutton Courtenay.[109] In 1577 Sir Leonard Chamberlain's son, worth £6,000, was boarding at Godstow 'such as be enemies'.[110] According to Ralph Betham, Richard Norris (who had taught three of Lord Windsor's brothers at Gloucester Hall) was harboured there after his return to England in 1579.[111] In 1584 it was reported that Richard Owen 'harboureth and keepeth Hynde, a priest', who was also frequenting the houses of 'Barber and Sampson' in Oxford itself; it may be relevant that 'Barber' was an *alias* of the martyr Edward Stransham (see below).[112]

A few miles further out, towards Woodstock and Blenheim Palace, are the three villages of Yarnton, Cassington and Eynsham. John Hart, who was sent to England from Rheims on 5 June 1580, two days before Campion and Persons left Rheims, was a son of Mr. Hart 'of **Eynsham Ferry**, dwelling in the abbey'; after his arrest he was sent to Oxford to confer with John Reynolds, Edmund's Protestant brother, who was later one of the translators of the Authorised Version.[113] John Hart's brother William (1561–84) entered the English College in Rome in 1579 and joined the Jesuits there in 1582.[114] **Cassington** was the home of the Reynoldses; William Reynolds, brother of John and Edmund, went to Rome in 1575 and was later one of the translators of the Rheims-Douai Bible.[115] **Yarnton** was owned by Sir William Spencer (d. 1622), one of the five sons of Sir John Spencer (d. 1586) of Wormleighton in Warwickshire and Althorp in Northamptonshire and Katherine Kitson of Hengrave in Suffolk. The Kitsons were recusants by 1588; one of Sir William's eight sisters, Katherine Leigh, was Robert Catesby's mother-in-law. Among the others were Anne (Lady Monteagle, Compton and Sackville), Elizabeth (Lady Hunsdon and Eure) and Alice (Lady Derby and Ellesmere).[116] In the Stone Tower at Claverdon in Warwickshire, which their brother Thomas built about 1593, are the initials IH[?] and what seems to be a Mass dial;[117] certainly there were recusants among Sir William's family.[118] Five miles north of Woodstock was **Steeple Barton**, which was built by John Dormer in 1570 and acquired by the Sheldons before 1600. Ralph Sheldon (d. 1659), who lived at Holywell Manor during the Civil War, was much admired by Anthony Wood for his skill on the viol. In 1836 the roof chapel at Steeple Barton still had its altar, rails and wall-paintings.[119]

In the north-east of Oxfordshire, the report of 1583/4 lists several places around Bicester where six priests were being 'harboured and entertained': Mr. Richard Bourne's at **Chesterton**, Mr. Butler's and Mr. Hart's at **Bicester**, and the four farms which made up the little parish of **Godington** on the border with Buckinghamshire.[120] This report shows how priests

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moved around in the three counties and confirms Campion's remark in November 1580 that 'we are ever well assisted by priests, whom we find in every place, whereby both the people is well served and we much eased in our charge'.[121] It also raises the question whether he had to fit into an informal roster which already existed. The six were Robert Askew *alias* Nutter, 'Dewe', 'Anslowe *alias* Transham', 'Filbye *alias* Leye', 'Chapman' and 'Smith *alias* Partridge'. With Robert Holmes *alias* Fisher, Askew was also visiting houses in Buckinghamshire (the Giffords at Steeple Claydon, Mr. Merrot at Middle Claydon and the Dormers at Wing) and in Berkshire (the Hydes at Letcombe and at Northcourt near Abingdon, the Butlers at Radley and Mrs. 'Rudse' at Sutton).[122]

Of these, Dewe and Smith *alias* Partridge cannot be certainly identified. Stransham *alias* Anslowe was either Thomas or Edward Stransham. They were brothers, born, like the Filbys, in Oxford, and ordained in 1578 and 1580 respectively; Edward was executed in 1586, but in 1592 Thomas ('John') was said to have 'used Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire much'.[123] Mrs. Stapleton suggested that the *alias* of Anslowe derived from a connexion with Edward Ansley of Chastleton, who was a recusant in 1592.[124] Robert Nutter *alias* Askew was sent to England in 1582. Early in 1584 he was arrested in Oxford and sent to the Tower, where he was tortured; he was banished but returned and was intercepted off Kent and imprisoned in the Marshalsea and at Wisbech. In 1600 he escaped but was arrested again in Lancashire and executed at Lancaster 26 July 1600.[125] Richard Chapman was sent to England in 1576 and according to George Snape

> useth in divers shires, but chiefly in these, viz. Buckingham, Oxford and Berkshire. He used to the recusants of **Kirtlington** in Oxfordshire very much and is a great man with them, but the place of his abode is at **Addington** in Buckinghamshire, where dwells an old gentlewoman, if I have been rightly informed, named Mrs. Windsor. He is a man of a mean stature, square and well set, of swarf complexion and black beard, and he looketh asquint. He goeth sometimes on horseback but most commonly on foot, in white fustian with a long pikestaff in his neck, like a grazier. He is thought to be worth £300.[126]

According to Snape also, John Filby

> is now with Mr. Belsory of Ixell Forest in Buckinghamshire. From whence he was once chased away by the pursuivants, and their church stuff and books, amounting to the value of twenty marks, were found in a box with a false bottom; after which disaster he refrained the house for a space but now repaireth there again very often. This man is of mean pitch, of a phlegmatic complexion, black-bearded, and commonly travelleth afoot in a white frieze or otherwise, in very plain and simple attire. He hath frequented Oxford any time this twelve or fourteen years.

Thomas Belson or Belsory of **Brill** was executed in Oxford in 1589 with two priests, George Nichols and Richard Yaxley, and Humphrey

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Prichard, an ostler at the Catherine Wheel, where all four were arrested.[127] But John Filby was still working in Oxfordshire in 1610.

Godington was part of a substantial estate which the Fermors owned in north-east Oxfordshire, centred on **Somerton** and **Hardwick Audley** and including Fritwell, Duns Tew, Steeple Aston, Middle Aston and Idbury. Moat Farm at Godington still had its roof chapel about 1900. But Thomas Fermor died on 15 June 1580, when his heir (Sir) Richard was still a minor. So if Campion was harboured at Somerton, it was by Thomas's widow Bridget Bradshaw of **Noke**, a few miles east of Oxford, or by John Yates, to whom Thomas Fermor left a house at Somerton.[128] Close by was **Souldern**, where John Stutsbury was a recusant by 1577, and to the east, just into Buckinghamshire, **Claydon House**, which was acquired from the Giffords by the Verneys in 1620 and rebuilt in the eighteenth century, but had a hiding-place until 1860.[129]

Just into Warwickshire from the north-west corner of Oxfordshire is **Compton Wynyates**, which is often described as the most beautiful Tudor house in England. Persons records that the first Lord Compton (1542–89) was reconciled and imprisoned in 1580 (though he had already been listed as a Catholic in 1574);[130] during the trial of Vaux, Catesby and Tresham it was alleged that he had been at Vaux's house with Campion, though 'not mentioning conference with them or the like'.[131] A report of 10 August 1581 by George Eliot, the spy who arrested Campion, includes him among other London recusants.[132] According to Persons, he conformed under pressure,[133] but in the mid-1580s, he was a friend of William Weston, and he is mentioned seven times in the autobiography of Anthony Tyrrell.[134] Elsewhere I have suggested that the reason why Henry Garnet was so anxious in 1589 to secure Hindlip House in Worcestershire as a receptacle for Jesuits was that Compton's death in that year had made it impossible to use Compton Wynyates.[135] Double-moated, away from any village and close to the boundaries of four counties, it would have been ideal for the purpose; and its suitability for concealment was shown in 1644, when the dowager Lady Northampton secretly nursed wounded Royalists in the roof without the knowledge of the Roundhead garrison below.[136]

Seven miles further south, in a salient of Oxfordshire into Gloucestershire, is **Chastleton**. Chastleton House was built after 1603 by Walter Jones, a clothier of Witney who bought the estate from Robert Catesby after the Essex Plot and whose daughter Elizabeth married George Greenwood, a nephew of the martyr George Napper.[137] The Anslows of Chastleton (perhaps, as Mrs. Stapleton thought, connected with Edward and George Stransham) were recusants by 1586.[138] Two miles south of Burford was **Bradwell House**, where John Thompson was a recusant by 1585. He also owned Newland on the western edge of the Forest of Dean, three miles south-east of Monmouth, and was in prison at Gloucester by 1586, when Stephen Rowsham, formerly vicar of the

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university church in Oxford, was tried there for his priesthood.[139] There may have been a link between the Ambrose Griffiths who married Jane Thompson of this family, the William Griffiths who about 1600 set up The Cwm, near Monmouth, as a safe house for Jesuits and the Ambrose Griffiths who was tried before Star Chamber with Vaux, Catesby and Tresham.[140] But an exploration of Gloucestershire and the Welsh Marches belongs rather to the journeyings of Persons.

Finally, at Bampton, five miles north-east of Faringdon and thirteen west of Oxford, was the Mores' house, now **Lower Haddon Farm**, where on 2 July 1581 George Eliot attended Mass said by St. John Payne.[141] Philippa Pollard, 'of Little Haddon', also admitted receiving Campion 'into her house' (Haddon or Toot Baldon?), but was discharged on promising to conform.[142] Payne lived at Ingatestone in Essex, where in 1577 he was described as 'of the servants of the said Lady Petre' (Sir William Petre's widow Anne Tyrrell).[143] Eliot had also been a servant there, which explains how he was able to track Payne, but not why Payne was in Oxfordshire. Three possible explanations can be suggested. First, Sir William Petre had owned the former monastic estate of Westwell, six miles north-west of Bampton and a mile from Bradwell, where his agent was Edward Napper of Holywell in Oxford. When Edward died in 1558, Sir William had his elder son, the martyr's brother, brought up at Ingatestone.[144] Second, Bampton Castle ('Ham Court') belonged to the Talbots, Earls of Shrewsbury.[145] In 1556 Petre had bought the wardship of John Talbot of Grafton in Worcestershire, who five years later married Petre's youngest daughter Catherine; in 1618 their eldest son George became the ninth Earl.[146] And third, there may have been a connexion between George Godsalfe, who said Mass at Haddon two days after Payne and was arrested with him in Warwickshire a week later, and Sir John Godsalve (1505–56), who as Clerk of the Signet had been one of Sir William's colleagues.[147]

Among those present at Payne's Mass at Haddon were also 'one Mrs. Tempas [and] one other gentlewoman, daughter of the said William [More]'. The first of these was More's daughter Elizabeth, the wife of William Tempest. Tempest's brother Robert was ordained in 1584: it has been plausibly suggested that he was the 'Mr. Tempest' who escorted Campion through Yorkshire; their sister Anne Tempest married Robert Belson of **Aston Rowant**, a brother of the martyr Thomas Belson. Since William More had only two (known) daughters, the 'other gentlewoman' was almost certainly Mary, the wife of Sir Michael Blount of **Mapledurham**, on the Thames near Reading. Although the present Mapledurham House is Jacobean, this link makes it possible that Campion did visit the medieval manor-house of Mapledurham Gurney, a few yards away, the hall of which is now the tea-room.[148] Just south of Bampton the road crosses the Thames at Tadpole Bridge, beyond which are Buckland, Lyford and Coxwell, where this circuit began.

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There is one final point about the documents. Thirty-two people are known to have been questioned about harbouring Campion in London, in the North or in the neighbourhood of Oxford, mostly from orders sent by the Privy Council.[149] But there may have been more. As Simpson says, 'The list that the examiners made out is full of gaps, which were from time to time filled up by fresh information', such as Ralph Betham's deposition of 1584.[150] What, if anything, the Privy Council did about this fresh information is unclear, since its Acts are missing from June 1582 to February 1585/6. On 25 April 1584, however, West warned Henry Russell that

> My Lord Chancellor [Sir Thomas Bromley], Lord of Leicester, your Chancellor, and other Lords are informed that you are a notorious subtle Papist and was a great companion a long time with Campion and apprehended with Campion in his lodging, and their names that was so ready to be your sureties; also that you should say that you were discharged for the same aspersion before the Lords at the Council table. Note: and after diligent search thereof made you were there disproved and thereby both defaced and discredited unto the Lords.[151]

Sixteen months later, on 23 August 1585, he repeated this charge:

> Where you did allege that you did appear before the Lords at the Council table for Campion his cases and there answered the same and, discharged by their honours, they gave you their honours' warrants of discharge to show; but it is justly proved to the contrary.[152]

This may suggest both that further enquiries were made and that they were obstructed. Of the thirty-two, only Ambrose and Jane Griffiths, Vaux, Catesby and Tresham were tried in Star Chamber. Letters in the name of the Council might not express the views of all its members, some of whom had secretly been in touch with Persons;[153] and away from London, not all those written to were as forthcoming as the Earl of Huntingdon in the North.[154] On 7 August 1581 the (sixth) Earl of Shrewsbury was ordered to arrest Henry Sacheverell, with whom Campion had stayed on 11–12 January.[155] But about that time a spy named Robert Woodward reported that the Earl 'hath in house divers gentlemen of good houses that do *serve* him, whom he knoweth to be earnest Papists'; and that when the warrant arrived for the arrest of Gervase Pierrepoint, with whom Campion had stayed over Christmas, Sir Gervase Clifton

> sent one of his men to *Mr* Parpoint with a letter to give him to understand that he and Sir Thomas Stanhopp must come the next day with a pursuivant to search his house and send him up to the Council. 'Wherefore', quoth he, 'if you have any ornament of the church, *clear* your house hereof.' The same night was all such stuff trussed in chests and conveyed to his tenants' houses thereabouts, as his priest afterwards did tell me.[156]

Similarly, in December 1583 William Bell, the Deputy Clerk of the Peace for Worcestershire, was examined by Thomas Norton the rackmaster touching his knowledge of Persons.[157] It seems certain that more Catholics

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harboured Campion in 1580 than were ever questioned; likely that their conforming cousins and brothers-in-law knew or suspected more than they ever reported—and possible that West's letters are not the only surviving evidence of their knowledge or suspicions.

ABBREVIATIONS

Anstruther	Godfrey Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests: I—Elizabethan* (1968)
C.R.S.	Publications of the Catholic Record Society
C.S.P.D.	*Calendar of State Papers Domestic*
Foley	Henry Foley, ed., *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, 8 vols in 7 (1875–83)
John Gerard	Philip Caraman ed., *John Gerard: The Autobiography of an Elizabethan* (1951; 1955; new impression with introduction by Michael Hodgetts, 2007)
Simpson	Richard Simpson, *Edmund Campion: A Biography* (1896 ed., 'Reprinted from a copy corrected by the learned Author before his death')
Stapleton	Mary Helen (Mrs. Bryan) Stapleton, *A History of the Post-Reformation Catholic Missions in Oxfordshire* (1906)
Vaux	Godfrey Anstruther, *Vaux of Harrowden* (1953)
V.C.H	Victoria County History
Waugh	Evelyn Waugh, *Edmund Campion* (1935). All references are to the 3rd ed. of 1961

NOTES

[1] Quoted in *Simpson*, p. 233.
[2] British Library, MS Lansdowne 30, no. 78, ff. 201–2.
[3] On this first journey there are four pages (pp. 84–87, mostly quoting two letters of Persons) in E. E. Reynolds, *Campion and Persons: The Jesuit Mission of 1580–1* (1980) and two pages (pp. 52–54) in Malcolm H. South, *The Jesuits and the Joint Mission to England during 1580–1581*, Renaissance Studies 4 (Lewiston, N. Y. Lampeter, 1999). See also, Francis Edwards, *Robert Persons: the Biography of an Elizabethan Jesuit, 1546–1610* (St. Louis, 1995).
[4] *C.R.S.* 2 (1906), p. 27; cf. *Simpson*, pp. 251–2, and *Waugh*, p. 121.
[5] *Waugh*, pp. 121–2, following *Simpson*, p. 252.
[6] *Vaux*, pp. 138–9, 135. Campion had been tutor to Lord Vaux's son Henry at Harrowden for some months in 1567 or 1568: *Vaux*, pp. 100–102.
[7] *Simpson*, p. 305; *Waugh*, p. 140.
[8] *Acts of the Privy Council, 1581–2*, p. 153; cf. pp. 238–9.
[9] *Waugh*, pp. 136–7. The complexity of the job can be seen from the reprint in *English Recusant Literature, 1558–1640*: 1, Scolar Press, 1971.
[10] *Acts of the Privy Council, 1581–2*, pp. 170–1; cf. Hodgetts, 'Campion in Staffordshire and Derbyshire, 1581', *Midland Catholic History* 7 (2000), pp. 52–54.
[11] *Simpson*, pp. 236, 305.
[12] *Waugh*, pp. 139–40.
[13] *Simpson*, p. 313; *Waugh*, p. 143.
[14] Cf. *Vaux*, pp. 77, 85–86, 465. For thirty years the Prices exploited ecclesiastical geography to evade conviction. Washingley was just in Huntingdonshire, in the diocese of Ely, but their parish church was at Lutton (Northamptonshire) in the diocese of Peterborough: *Vaux*, p. 86.
[15] SP 13/27/60, a contemporary translation of Campion to Aquaviva 'five months' after his landing, which was on 24 June 1580. Printed in Allen, *Briefe Historie*, ed. Pollen (1908), pp. 21–26, and *Simpson*, pp. 246–50; cf. *Waugh*, pp. 126–8.
[16] Hodgetts, 'Campion in Staffordshire and Derbyshire, 1581', *Midland Catholic History* 7 (2000), pp. 52–54.
[17] *Recusant History* 24 (1998–99), p. 418.
[18] SP12/206/77, printed in *C.R.S.* 5, p. 133, where, however, Ufton ('Vveton') is given as 'Weton'.
[19] SP 14/216/ii/121, 153, printed in *Worcestershire Recusant* 47 (June 1986), pp. 27, 31.

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[20] *I Henry IV*, III.3.196–7; *Cymbeline*, III.2.66–68. Official messengers with changes of horses could, of course, make much better time. A letter sent by the mayor of Chester at eight o'clock on the night of Sunday 5 January 1605–6 was delivered to the Earl of Salisbury at Theobalds within thirty-six hours. It reached Nantwich at midnight, Stone at four o'clock on the Monday morning, Lichfield at eight, Coleshill at eleven, Coventry at one, Daventry at five, Towcester at eight, Brickhill at eleven at night, St. Alban's at four on the morning of Tuesday 7th and Barnet at six. David Mathew, *The Jacobean Age* (1938), p. 67, from Cecil Papers 193, f. 28

[21] Richard Ollard, *The Escape of Charles II* (1966), pp. 57–62, 119–125.

[22] Quoted in Ollard, p. 123.

[23] 'Persons to Agazzari, 5 November 1580' in *C.R.S.* 39, pp. 46–62. For the missionaries' faculties, see Hodgetts, 'The English Church without Bishops, 1559–1623', *Canon Law Society of Great Britain and Ireland Newsletter* 32 (March 1977), pp. 41–60.

[24] 'The Memoirs of Fr. Robert Persons', ed. J. H. Pollen, *C.R.S.* 2 (1906), pp. 12–218; 4 (1907), pp. 1–161.

[25] 'Letters and Memorials of Fr. Robert Persons', ed. Leo Hicks, *C.R.S.* 39 (1942).

[26] Printed in *Letters and Notices* 11 (1877), pp. 219–42, 308–39; 12 (1878), pp. 1–68.

[27] *Simpson*, pp. 236, 241, 251–2.

[28] *Simpson*, pp. 172–3, 222–4, 231.

[29] Also in *Simpson*, p. 236.

[30] S.P.12/99/55 (*C.R.S.* 13, pp. 89–138); S.P.12/157/90 (*C.R.S.* 13, pp. 139–42).

[31] *C.R.S.* 22, pp. 77–79, 81–93, 97–114.

[32] Also in *Simpson*, pp. 305–6, 343–4, 346–8, 354–6.

[33] *Vaux*, p. 115 (from KB 9/654/57, 58).

[34] 'The names of certain persons noted in sundry counties to be receivers and entertainers of Jesuits and seminaries': S.P.12/168/33, printed in *Foley* VI, p. 719, and (Oxfordshire items only) *Stapleton*, p. 1.

[35] Historical MSS Commission, *Hatfield Calendar* IV, p. 270; also in *Stapleton*, pp. 2–3.

[36] S.P.12/229/78, ff. 178–9, printed as 'Itinerant Priests in Oxfordshire, 1592', *Midland Catholic History* 15 (2008), pp. 1–6.

[37] *Simpson*, p. 233.

[38] *Waugh*, p. 123. 'Rarely stopping anywhere for more than one night' is from *C.R.S.* 39, p. 77: *ne longiori mora periculum creetur*.

[39] *Acts of the Privy Council, 1580–1*, p. 170 (14 August 1581).

[40] On this see further Aileen Hodgson & Michael Hodgetts edd., *Little Malvern Letters: I—1482–1737*, which is to be published by the *C.R.S.* in 2010–11.

[41] Worcester R. O., Berington Collection (BA 81, 705:24), 22–29.

[42] *Ibidem*, 29 (1).

[43] This part of Berkshire is just across the Thames from Oxford and is now in Oxfordshire.

[44] British Library, Lansdowne MSS, Burghley Papers, 33 Plut., no. 16.

[45] *Vaux*, p. 115 (from KB.9/654, nos. 57, 58); cf. *Acts of the Privy Council, 1580–1*, pp. 163–4.

[46] Pevsner, *Architectural Guides, The Buildings of England: Berkshire* (1966), p. 14; Hodgetts, 'Topographical Index of Hiding-Places: II', *Recusant History* 24 (1998–99), pp. 5–6.

[47] *C.R.S.* 60, pp. 60–61, 81 n. 38, 82–83 ('a goer from one recusant's house to another under the colour to teach music'); *John Gerard*, pp. 5, 216, 237.

[48] Challoner, *Memoirs of Missionary Priests* (ed. Pollen, 1924), p. 30.

[49] Francis Yate was then in prison in London, so that Campion and the others were in fact harboured by his wife, Jane Tichborne.

[50] *C.R.S.* 71, p. 44.

[51] *C.R.S.* 22, p. 67 and n; *C.R.S.* 2, p. 228; *C.R.S.* 71, p. 101 and n.

[52] *C.R.S.* 71, p. 83.

[53] *C.R.S.* 22, pp. 85–87; for Braybrooke and his wife see also *C.R.S.* 71, pp. 26–27. In West Hanney church there is a monument (1611) to 'Oliver Ayshcoombe, of Lyfford, Gent; and Martha his wife, that was one of the daughters of Thomas Yeate of Lyfford esquier'.

[54] *C.R.S.* 71, pp. 77, 102–3; *Berkshire Visitations, 1532–1665/6* (Harleian Society 56), pp. 148–50. She was the eldest daughter of James Yate of Buckland, whose half-brother Thomas of Lyford was the father of Francis.

[55] Margaret Gosling, 'Berkshire and Oxfordshire Catholics and the Lenten Assize of 1588', *Oxoniensia* 58 (1993), pp. 253–262. Her maps are worth careful study with reference to *C.R.S.* 71, on which her article is based.

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[56] *Berkshire Visitations*, pp. 148–9, 150, 202, 318; cf. *V.C.H Berks.* III, p. 453; IV, pp. 106–7, 275, 288, 293, 467–8, 532.
[57] Hodgetts, 'Itinerant Priests in Oxfordshire, 1592', p. 3. For Hopton's conviction as a recusant see Gosling, *Oxoniensia* 58, p. 260; *C.R.S.* 71, p. 87.
[58] *C.R.S.* 54, pp. 115–6.
[59] *C.R.S.* 22, pp. 86, 104, 131; Geoffrey de C. Parmiter, *Elizabethan Popish Recusancy in the Inns of Court*, Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, Special Supplement 11 (1976), pp. 14, 22, 50, 51.
[60] *C.R.S.* 22, p. 86; 71, pp. 90–91.
[61] *Anstruther*, pp. 164–6.
[62] *Anstruther*, p. 365; *Foley* I, pp. 380, 382 (SP 12/238/62); *Foley* VI, p. 723.
[63] *Anstruther*, p. 324; *C.R.S.* 54, pp. 115–6 (where '*Staffordiae*' should read '*Sheffordiae*'). Sir George's half-brother Sir Anthony Browne married Mary Dormer.
[64] *C.R.S.* 71, p. 130.
[65] *V.C.H. Berks.* IV, pp. 106–7.
[66] *V.C.H.* III, pp. 313–4; *Foley* I, p. 380; cf. *C.R.S.* 18, p. 12.
[67] *C.R.S.* 71, p. 37; Harleian Society 56, p. 148; *V.C.H*, IV, p. 243.
[68] *Foley* I, p. 382; *C.R.S.* 71, pp. 113–4.
[69] *Recusant History* 12 (1973–74), pp. 100–2. Francis Perkins was first listed as a recusant in 1588: *C.R.S.* 22, p. 124.
[70] *C.R.S.* 22, p. 86; *V.C.H. Berks.* III, pp. 93–96, 104.
[71] *C.R.S.* 22, p. 124; Philip Caraman ed., *William Weston: The Autobiography of an Elizabethan* (1955), p. 76.
[72] *C.R.S.* 2, p. 27.
[73] Hodgetts, 'A Topographical Index of Hiding-Places—III', *Recusant History* 27 (2004–2005), p. 481, with references.
[74] *Foley* VI, p. 719 (SP 12/169/33); *Anstruther*, p. 54.
[75] *Anstruther*, p. 54; *Foley* VII, p. 723; *William Weston*, pp. 24–26, 29–30, 71–72, 77; Hodgetts, 'Topographical Index of Hiding-Places—II', *Recusant History* 24 (1998–99), p. 7.
[76] *C.R.S.* 71, p. 134.
[77] *C.R.S.* 18, pp. 3–4; cf. *C.R.S.* 22, p. 124.
[78] *V.C.H.* II, pp. 247, 249; *C.R.S.* 18, pp. 2, 253; 57, pp. 6–7; 71, p. 55.
[79] *Stapleton*, p. 181.
[80] *Anstruther*, p. 254.
[81] *Anstruther*, pp. 150, 254; cf. T. B. Trappes-Lomax, 'Some Homes of the Dormer Family', *Recusant History* 8 (1965–66), pp. 175–187, esp. pp. 176–180.
[82] Trappes-Lomax, p. 178.
[83] *Anstruther*, p. 117; *Simpson*, p. 282.
[84] *V.C.H. Bucks.* III, pp. 35–36 with photo; Pevsner, *Architectural Guides, The Buildings of England: Buckinghamshire* (1960), p. 71; *C.R.S.* 2, p. 24.
[85] *C.R.S.* 22, pp. 110, 120.
[86] *Simpson*, p. 170; *Waugh*, p. 91.
[87] *Stapleton*, pp. 268–71.
[88] *Acts of the Privy Council, 1580–1*, pp. 163–4.
[89] *V.C.H. Oxfordshire* V, pp. 52–53; *C.R.S.* 22, p. 111. Philippa Pollard was a daughter of William Sheldon of Beoley in Worcestershire and a grand-daughter of Richard Middlemore and Margaret Throckmorton: *Worcs. Visitation, 1569* (Harleian Society 27), p. 128. The Frances Pollard, wife of John Pollard, who was a recusant in 1604 at North Leigh, three miles north-east of Witney (*C.R.S.* 60, p. 223) was probably her daughter-in-law: cf. *V.C.H.* as above.
[90] *Foley* VI, p. 719
[91] *C.R.S.* 22, p. 111.
[92] *Midland Catholic History* 15, p. 6 (SP 12/229/78); *C.R.S.* 22, p. 111; *C.R.S.* 71, p. 137.
[93] *Berkshire Visitation, 1602*, Harleian Society 57, pp. 184–6; cf. 56, p. 10.
[94] *John Gerard*, pp. 169–70.
[95] *Waugh*, p. 37.
[96] *Simpson*, pp. 18, 178; *Waugh*, pp. 12, 37, 107.
[97] *C.R.S.* 22, p. 113; *Anstruther*, pp. 150, 277–8. Susanna Pitts of Holywell Manor was excommunicated in 1601: *C.R.S.* 60, p. 135.
[98] *Anstruther*, pp. 115–6; *Midland Catholic History* 15, p. 2.
[99] *Midland Catholic History* 15, p. 2; *C.R.S.* 22, pp. 97, 112.

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[100] *C.R.S.* 22, p. 97; cf. p. 112.
[101] The Cardinal was a younger son of Edward Peto of Chesterton, Warwks., and Godith, daughter of Sir Thomas Throckmorton of Fladbury in Worcestershire. Exiled after 1532 and indicted in 1539, he was chamberlain and warden of the English Hospice in Rome from 1544 to 1548, but was at the restored Franciscan convent at Greenwich in 1555 and became a cardinal in 1557; see *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. For other Napper connexions see the Commonplace Book in *C.R.S.* 1, pp. 133–7.
[102] *Anstruther*, p. 370; *Foley* IV, pp. 574–82.
[103] *Stapleton*, pp. 211–222, 198–202; Hodgetts, *Secret Hiding-Places* (1989), pp. 181–2; *A Memorandum of Holywell Manor* (Oxford, 1932). This last item, though of only 8 pp., includes a description and map of the manor and a summary of the building contract of 1516.
[104] W. H. Stevenson & H. E. Salter, *The Early History of St. John's College* (Oxford Historical Society, N.S. 1, 1939), pp. 432–9; C. D. Gilbert, 'Henry Russell and Gloucester Hall', *Worcester College Record 1991*, pp. 25–32; *Stapleton*, pp. 189–90.
[105] *C.R.S.* 22, p. 101.
[106] Gilbert, 'Henry Russell and Gloucester Hall', pp. 29–30.
[107] *Vaux*, p. 126.
[108] Deposition of Robert Weston, 20 April 1591: *C.S.P.D. 1591–4*, p. 29 (SP 12/238/126/3). Another deposition by Weston of the same date (SP 12/238/62) is in *Foley* I, pp. 379–82. 'John' Allen was perhaps the Roger (or William) Allen who was arrested in Berkshire in 1578 and committed to the Marshalsea: *Anstruther*, p. 4.
[109] *Stapleton*, pp. 268–71; *Foley* VI, p. 719; *C.R.S.* 22, pp. 112, 124, 131; *C.R.S.* 71, p. 129.
[110] *C.R.S.* 22, pp. 97–98.
[111] *Anstruther*, p. 254.
[112] *Foley* VI, p. 719; *Anstruther*, p. 337. Anne, wife of John Barber of St. Mary Magdalen's, yeoman, was a recusant by 1586: *C.R.S.* 71, p. 14; cf. *C.R.S.* 60, pp. 135, 212, 235.
[113] *Anstruther*, pp. 153–5. Eynsham Ferry, across the Thames, was replaced in the eighteenth century by a handsome stone toll-bridge, still in use.
[114] *C.R.S.* 37, p. 10.
[115] *Stapleton*, pp. 188–94.
[116] *C.R.S.* 22, p. 120; Hodgetts, 'Coughton and the Gunpowder Plot' in Peter Marshall & Geoffrey Scott edd., *Catholic Gentry in English Society: The Throckmortons of Coughton from Reformation to Emancipation* (2009), esp. pp. 116–119.
[117] *V.C.H.* Warwks. III, p. 689; Pevsner & Wedgwood, *Architectural Guides, The Buildings of England: Warwickshire* (1966), p. 233; information from Melanie Hall of English Heritage.
[118] *Stapleton*, pp. 185–7.
[119] *Stapleton*, pp. 116–120; Pevsner & Sherwood, *Architectural Guides, The Buildings of England: Oxfordshire* (1974), p. 788; *V.C.H.* XI, pp. 59–75.
[120] SP 12/168/33 = *Foley* VI, p. 719; cf. *Stapleton*, p. 106.
[121] Campion to Aquaviva, November 1580, SP 12/27/60, printed in Allen, *Briefe Historie*, ed. Pollen (1908), pp. 21–26. The letter was probably written from Southlands, near Uxbridge.
[122] Holmes was sent to England in April 1581. In August 1584 he was captured in Swithin Wells's house in Holborn with all his Massing stuff and committed to Newgate, where he died of starvation before the end of the year. *Anstruther*, p. 174; *Foley* VII, p. 715.
[123] *Anstruther*, pp. 337, 339–40; *Midland Catholic History* 15, p. 3.
[124] *Stapleton*, pp. 1–3.
[125] *Ibidem*, pp. 259–60.
[126] Anne Windsor, widow, of Addington was a recusant in 1592–3: *C.R.S.* 18, pp. 5–6.
[127] *Anstruther*, pp. 250–2, 389–90; Christine Kelly, *Blessed Thomas Belson: His Life and Times, 1563–1589* (1987). For a Latin poem by Belson see Hodgetts in *Midland Catholic History* 3 (1994), pp. 1–3.
[128] *Stapleton*, pp. 67–68, 80, 89, 106–12, 114. Tusmore, later the main house of the Fermors, was not bought, by Sir Richard, until 1612.
[129] *C.R.S.* 22, p. 110; *C.R.S.* 71, p. 163; *Recusant History* 27 (2004–05), p. 480. Cf. *V.C.H. Oxfordshire* VI, pp. 301–312; *Recusant History* 24 (1998–99), p. 34.
[130] *C.R.S.* 2, p. 27; *C.R.S.* 13, pp. 90, 140. Compton married Anne Spencer in 1581.
[131] *Vaux*, p. 121.
[132] *Foley* II, p. 587 (Lansdowne MSS, Burghley Papers, 33 Plut., n. 16).
[133] *C.R.S.* 2, pp. 180–1.
[134] John Morris ed., *Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*, 3 vols., II (1875), pp. 157, 379, 397, 408, 426, 427, 479, 492.

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[135] *Recusant History* 12 (1973), pp. 116–7.
[136] William George Compton, 5th Marquess of Northampton, *Compton Wynyates* (1904), pp. 39–40; William Bingham Compton, 6th Marquess of Northampton, *History of the Comptons of Compton Wynyates* (1930), p. 90. The Countess was Mary, daughter of Sir Francis Beaumont of Cole Orton, Leicestershire.
[137] *Stapleton*, pp. 159, 168; *Oxfordshire Visitations, 1566–74 & 1634* (Harleian Society 5), p. 256.
[138] *Stapleton*, pp. 2–3; *C.R.S.* 71, p. 10; *C.R.S.* 22, p. 99; *C.R.S.* 60, pp. 211, 231, 239.
[139] *Stapleton*, pp. 161–2; *Anstruther*, pp. 296–7; *C.R.S.* 71, pp. 169, 172.
[140] *Vaux*, pp. 120–7; *C.R.S.* 60, pp. 6–9, 120; *C.R.S.* 54, pp. 243–5 (*Responsa* (1611) of James Griffith, son of Ambrose Griffith and Jane Thompson); cf. *C.R.S.* 2, pp. 222, 295, 297; *Foley* IV, pp. 333–6, 370, 462–70; *C.R.S.* 53, pp. 140–2, 144.
[141] Lansdowne MSS, Burghley Papers, 33 Plut., no. 16; *V.C.H. Oxfordshire* XIII, pp. 87–88.
[142] *Acts of the Privy Council, 1581–2*, p. 290.
[143] *C.R.S.* 22, p. 49.
[144] F. G. Emmison, *Tudor Secretary: Sir William Petre at Court and Home* (1961), pp. 25, 171, 271, 279, 304.
[145] *V.C.H. Oxfordshire* XIII, pp. 22–25.
[146] Emmison, pp. 224, 245, 287, 289, 303–5. Persons describes the martyr Robert Johnson as 'Mr. Talbot's priest': *C.R.S.* 2, p. 27.
[147] Emmison, pp. 69, 89.
[148] For the evidence and a discussion see Hodgetts, 'The Chimney Hide at Mapledurham', *Midland Catholic History* 11 (2005), pp. 4–30, esp. pp. 12–13.
[149] *Simpson*, pp. 305, 343–4, 347–8, 354–6; *Waugh*, pp. 132–3, 139–40, 162–4.
[150] *Simpson*, p. 354.
[151] Worcs. R.O., Berington 29(1).
[152] Berington 29(2).
[153] Allen to Agazzari, 23 June 1581, in *Simpson*, p. 296. Users of *Simpson*, pp. 306–26, should be aware that his indicator no. 236*, p. 306, refers to Note 237, p. 528. Indicators 237–249 refer to Notes 238–250. Indicator 250 refers to Note 250 bis and indicator 250* to Note 250 tert. From no. 251 onwards, indicators and notes correspond again.
[154] M. Claire Cross, 'The Third Earl of Huntingdon and Trials of Catholics in the North, 1581–1595', *Recusant History* 8 (1965–66), pp. 136–46.
[155] For the dates see Hodgetts, 'Campion in Staffordshire and Derbyshire, 1581', *Midland Catholic History* 7 (2000), pp. 52–54.
[156] *C.R.S.* 53, p. 188–9, with 'shoe', 'in' and 'cloe' [*sic*] emended to 'serve', 'Mr' and 'clear'. Henry Sacheverell himself is given on pp. 187 and 189 as 'Henrie Sir Cheverell' and 'Mr. Sir Cheverall', and in the index as 'Cheverell, Sir Henry'.
[157] *C.S.P.D., 1581–90*, pp. 136, 149, 154, 157.

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