

T H E S I S

THE HAMPSHIRE RECUSANTS IN
THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH I,
WITH SOME REFERENCE TO THE
PROBLEM OF THE CHURCH-PAPISTS.



(i)

C O N T E N T S .

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FOREWORD.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

CHAPTER I - BACKGROUND: THE ELIZABETHAN SETTLEMENT
OF RELIGION.

CHAPTER II - BISHOP HORNE: 1561-1569 (FIRST PERIOD).
(1561-1579)

- I and II: Religious conditions in the early years of the reign.
- III: Wykehamists at Louvain, etc.
- IV: Robert Horne's Visitations of New College, Oxford, Winchester Cathedral and Winchester College.
- V and VI: Citations to the Consistory Court.
- VII: Problem of the "Schismatics" or "Church Papists".

CHAPTER III - BISHOP HORNE: 1570-1579 (SECOND PERIOD).

- I: The Bull, "Regnans in Excelsis", 1570.
- II: Effect of the Bull. Citations to the Consistory Court.
- III: Visitation of Winchester Cathedral and Winchester College. The Papists are carefully watched.
- IV: The increase of recusancy, 1577-1579.

CHAPTER IV - BISHOP JOHN WATSON: 1580-1584.

- I: The "Jesuit" Mission of 1580.
Campion's "Challenge" in Hampshire.
- II: Act of 1581 and Queen's Proclamations
of 1580 and 1581. Details of cita-
tions.
- III: Increase of recusancy, 1583 and 1584.

CHAPTER V - BISHOP THOMAS COOPER: 1584-1589 (FIRST
(1584-1594) PERIOD).

- I: Bishop Cooper and the recusancy pro-
blem in 1584-1585.
- II: 1586: Hampshire recusants increase in
"boldness and waywardness".
- III: Hampshire and the Babington Plot.
- IV: The Armada. Measures against the
recusants.
- V: Citations. Acuteness of the recusancy
problem in 1589. Foundation of the
Catholic Cemetery of St. James, Win-
chester.

CHAPTER VI - LAST PERIOD: 1590-1603.

- BISHOP COOPER: 1590-1594 (Second period).
- BISHOP W. WICKHAM: 1595-1595.
- BISHOP W. DAY: 1596-1596.
- BISHOP T. BILSON: 13 June 1596 -(18 June 1606).
- I: The recusancy problem in 1590. Queen's
Proclamation of 1591. Special commission-
ers to enquire about recusants. Surveillance
of recusants: their arms and weapons. Con-
tributions required towards cost of Army
horses.
- II: Citations in 1593 and for period 1598-
1603.

CHAPTER VII - LEADING RECUSANTS AND CENTRES OF RECUSANCY.

- I: Introductory.
- II: Winchester.
- III: Some leading recusants.

CHAPTER VIII - PRIESTS, SEMINARIES and MARTYRS.

- I: The Marian priests.
- II: The foundation of Douai by William Allen, 1568.
- III: Landing of Seminary priests in Hampshire.
- IV: Passage of priests and recusants from the Continent to Hampshire and the traffic in Catholic books and religious articles.
- V: Seminary priests in Hampshire. Their movements and their "conductors" from place to place.
- VI: Hampshire martyrs.

CHAPTER IX - PRISONS AND PRISONERS.

- I: Increased imprisonment of recusants: Hampshire recusants in Winchester and London prisons.
- II: The "Castle" prisons: Wisbech and Ely.
- III: Release of recusant prisoners: conditions of release.
- IV: Abuses in Winchester Gaol and the House of Correction.

CHAPTER X - PRISONS AND PRISONERS continued.

- I: Winchester: the imprisonment of Elizabeth Sanders.
- II: Her escapes.
- III: Abuses in the Gaol in 1590, 1596, 1598 and 1599.
- IV & V: The escape of Edward Kenyon, a Seminary priest, in 1599.

CHAPTER XI - FINANCE.

- I: The Act of Uniformity, 1559, and the fine of 12^d. for recusancy.
- II: The financial provisions of the recusancy Act of 1581: the background.
- III: Convictions for recusancy. The fine of £20 a month. Evasions.
- IV: Contributions towards the cost of light horse, 1585-6.
- V: Offers of recusants in return for a suggested immunity from statutory financial penalties.
- VI: The recusancy Act of 1586-7.
- VII: Payments made under the recusancy statutes by Hampshire recusants.

CHAPTER XII - THE PENAL LAWS AND HAMPSHIRE JUSTICES OF THE PEACE.

CHAPTER XIII - (A) WOMEN RECUSANTS.

- (B) SUMMARY OF THE SURVEY OF RECUSANCY IN HAMPSHIRE AND CONCLUSIONS.

APPENDICES 1 - XIV

LIST OF AUTHORITIES.

NOTES.

(v)

FOREWORD

A Recusant was one who refused to attend the service of Common Prayer in the Church of England. Such attendance was compulsory under the Act of Uniformity of 1559 (1 Eliz. C.2). In the earlier years of Elizabeth's reign the term "recusant" meant a person who refused the Oath of Supremacy under the Supremacy Act of 1559 (1 Eliz. C.I). He is sometimes called a "constructive" recusant. In any case the word in the following chapters is used of those who would not go to the Established Church services. This was the meaning attached to it by the Government and the Catholic authorities. It was not used in an Elizabethan statute till the last recusancy Act of the reign, the Act of 1593 (35 Eliz. C.2), being An Act against Popish Recusants.

"Church-Papists" or "schismatics" were Catholics who outwardly conformed, so far as attendance at the church services were concerned, in order to escape financial penalties, but they drew the line at receiving Communion. Although they were not actual recusants in the ordinary sense of the term they formed an important class throughout the country. References to them are made in Chapter II, Section VII and elsewhere in the text.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Outside certain rather restricted religious and academic circles, it is surprising how little is known of the subject of recusancy. Even to many with considerable historical knowledge it means hardly anything at all. There is, indeed, scope for a good deal of research in this important field and until this is done serious gaps in English ecclesiastical history will continue to exist. Moreover, people who are not ignorant of the subject have too often made facile generalisations based on altogether insufficient knowledge. And yet the means of approach to a proper understanding of the question have existed for many years in the shape of such essential documents as the various Diocesan records and the Recusant Rolls. Nearly forty years ago the historian, J.H. Pollen, S.J. in his English Catholics in the Reign of Elizabeth (London 1920) suggested that when the documents in the episcopal registers were examined, considerable light would be thrown on the problem of recusancy. It would obviously take a long time to work out details for each diocese, and the greater the recusant county the greater must be the expenditure of time. A beginning has been made in the case of Hampshire; and the study of Elizabethan recusancy in this county, or to be precise in the Archdeaconry of Winchester of the Winchester Diocese, which the following chapters reveal has been focussed essentially on an examination of such episcopal documents as are

available. It is an original work based primarily on hitherto unexplored material.

The chief surviving ecclesiastical documents are the Act Books of the Bishops or the Libri Actorum Episcoporum. One or two Visitation Books exist, but they yield very meagre information in any case and nothing at all about recusants. There are no surviving records of presentments to the Archdeacon's Court or records of Quarter Sessions.

The Act Books are in manuscript. Nothing has been attempted in the Winchester Diocese comparable with the excellent work done in the Lincoln Diocese, by the Lincoln Record Society in printing valuable ecclesiastical records, particularly such papers relating to the Diocese as are included in Volume 23 of the Society's publication: The State of the Church in the Reign of Elizabeth and James I (1926). Nevertheless, the Act Books for the Winchester Diocese throw very considerable light on the problem of recusancy during most of the reign. The records of citations to the Consistory Court are of unique importance, because they not only enable statistics of recusancy to be compiled, but also because the statements of individual recusants at the Court with the precise terms of the charge against them provide interesting and vivid "relief", whilst in other respects the records often enable the reactions of the Ecclesiastical authorities to the recusants' derelictions to be known. The last Act Book (the Processus contra Recusantes 1598-1603)

deals entirely with recusants.

Horne's MS Register is also valuable for it gives details of his visitations of New College, Oxford, for which he was the official visitor. Useful work has already been done on the actual Visitation Articles of Inquiry and the Injunctions for all Dioceses including Winchester. The documents have been transcribed from the Bishops' Registers and edited by Bishop W.H. Frere (Visitation Articles and Injunctions, Vol. III, Ldn 1910) and by Dr. W.P.M. Kennedy (Elizabethan Episcopal Administration, 3 volumes, Ldn 1924). The remaining registers of the Bishops deal with the deaths, inductions etc. of the incumbents and throw no light on the subject of recusancy.

Hampshire, as a "key" recusant county, was always carefully watched by the Council and the ecclesiastical authorities. In consequence, the State Papers and Acts of the Privy Council are numerous and are essential for studying the problems which the Bishops were called upon to face and solve. The State Papers themselves contain such valuable information as an account of Horne's first visitation of his diocese in 1561 and without this we should not know what was the state of religion in Hampshire within a few years of the reign. There ^{are} ~~is~~ also such important data as the names of leading people in the county who were Papists in 1572 and particulars of recusants in 1583.

From the Catholic point of view the many volumes published

(ix)

by the Catholic Record Society contain valuable contemporary letters and reports of prominent ecclesiastics giving essential information about the circumstances of English Catholics during the reign. They also provide transcripts of returns of recusants and many prison lists. Richard Challoner's, Memoirs of Missionary Priests and John Morris's, Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers are collections of contemporary accounts of priests and laymen who were executed for their religion, and throw much light on the work which they performed. Foley's Records of the Jesuits, in seven volumes, provide not only particulars of members of the Society of Jesus and copies of important correspondence, but also many transcripts of valuable State Papers. The Douai Diaries, I and II, give particulars of people who arrived at and departed from Douai (or Rheims) and ^{of} those who took Orders. Not all of those recusants by any means who went to Douai were ordained. There are other sources of information from the Catholic point of view, but the above-mentioned are the most important.

Almost forty years ago, Dr. W.P.M. Kennedy said (English Historical Review, Vol. 33, 1918, p 517) that the financial aspect of the penal laws was among the few unworked fields of Elizabethan history. The position has changed little since then. The sources to be explored are the Pipe Rolls and the Recusant Rolls together with the Pells Receipts. The Recusant Rolls are difficult to deal

(x)

with and much patience is required to work out the complicated financial details. They have been much neglected, though they furnish the key to one of the chief problems of recusancy. Beyond a full transcript of the first Recusant Roll, 1592-3, published by the Catholic Record Society, with a scholarly introduction, in 1916, practically no work at all has been done in the field of recusancy finance.^ø Apart from the financial aspect the information in the Rolls throws a good deal of light on various aspects of recusancy. In one important detail, for instance, the Rolls almost invariably give the social rank of the recusants who have been convicted and fined, whereas the records of citations to the Consistory Court give no such details, except in the case of persons of the rank of gentleman or superior rank.

Until the financial details have been worked out for a good number of counties, particularly for highly recusant counties like Lancashire and Yorkshire and the results collated, it will not be possible to estimate precisely the effect of the operation of the financial provisions of the recusancy statutes. The work incorporated in Chapter XI of this thesis is a beginning in this field.

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^ø The Benedictine scholar, Dom Hugh Bowler, O.S.B., has, however, been engaged for some years on the work of obtaining photostats of selected Recusant Rolls which he is editing.

As regards the fine of 12d under the Act of Uniformity, Dr. Kennedy has said that when search was made among parochial and diocesan documents there would emerge sufficient evidence to justify the conclusion that there were at least consistent and uniform efforts at enforcing the Act. It is here that a study of the Act Books for Hampshire has yielded some important evidence. But no conclusion can be reached from this evidence or from any other evidence, such as the surviving Churchwardens' Accounts, that the fines were actually collected. Indeed, what evidence can be adduced seems to point to the fact that collection was not undertaken. Dr. Kennedy, for instance, was apparently not aware of Burghley's unqualified statement at the time of the Recusancy Act of 1581 or of what was said about the 12d fine in the Commons in 1601 (See Chapter XI, Section I).

Ph.D. Thesis of Mr. J.E. Paul

Corrections

- Page viii : 4 lines from bottom of page : Read "There are
also much important data ..." instead of "There is"
- Page 10, fifth line : Add after 27 Feb.1561, the words "so that"
- Page 22, Line 13: After "but before" insert "These took place".
- Page 42, bottom of page: Delete "and" after "Essex" and add
after "Hampshire" the word "and".
- Page 54, bottom of page: Add "were" after "sermon time".
- Page 92, fourth line from bottom of page : Alter "He he" to "Had he".
- Page 160, sixth line : Delete "in 1588".
- Page 171, line two : Delete "indicated" and substitute "included".
line three : Delete "amount" and substitute "number"
- Page 224, sixth line from bottom of page : Read "for an amelioration"
instead of "as an amelioration".
- Page 306 : Section B: Summary and Conclusions : Line 8 : Alter
"country" to "county".
- Page 311 : Line 8: Alter 'I do not perceive" to "I do perceive".
- Page 313: Line 1: After "Seminary" add "priests".
- Page 323: Line 10: Insert "southern" before "Counties".

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND: THE ELIZABETHAN SETTLEMENT
OF RELIGION

Mary Tudor died on 17th November 1558 and Elizabeth, her step-sister, the daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, whose accession had been foreshadowed for some time, was proclaimed Queen.

It was soon abundantly clear that England was not to be a Catholic State, and the Protestant divines exiled in Mary's reign began to flock back from Geneva, Zurich, Strassbourg and Frankfurt. Whatever religion the new Queen possessed was Protestant, but her approach to the subject was largely political. Maitland says¹ that she did not possess her father's taste for theology, though, on the other hand, John Hooper, "father of the Puritans", admired her display of argumentative divinity.² In later days she displayed to Catholics an ignorance of Catholic truth.³ She had been taught from an early age to despise the Pope.⁴

Parliament was dissolved at Mary's death. The Catholic Archbishop of York, Chancellor Heath, proclaimed Elizabeth Queen and writs went out for the summons of a new Parliament. The existing statutory religion was Catholicism and Elizabeth meanwhile forbade any alteration. She and Cecil, whom she made her chief minister, would wait for Parliament to give a legal basis for whatever

religious innovations were to be made. But if there was any doubt as to which way the religious wind was blowing, it was removed by some of the Queen's first public actions. It was with apparently ostentatious rapture that she publicly kissed the Bible, and refused, so it was said, to let Bonner kiss her hand.⁵ On Christmas Day, 1558, she ordered the Bishop who was to say Mass not to elevate the Host, but he refused, and the Queen left after the Gospel (that is, long before the Canon of the Mass).⁶ When the time came for the meeting of Parliament on 26 January, 1559, Mass was celebrated at Westminster in the morning. Later in the day the Queen approached the Abbey where the Abbot, John Feckenham, with his monks holding torches, was there to meet her. "Away with those torches", she cried, "we can see well enough".

At Easter 1559 Elizabeth received Communion in both kinds. At the end of March there was a conference at Westminster on religion between eight Catholic divines and eight Protestants. No agreement was reached and the conference merely served to emphasise the acute differences between the two sides.

All this time Cecil, Bacon and the lawyers had been preparing drafts of legal instruments which would revive the Royal Supremacy and establish uniformity in religious worship.

The Act of Supremacy was passed on 29th April, 1559,

having gone through all its stages in four days. It abolished the papal jurisdiction in England which had been restored by Mary and re-established the supremacy of the Crown claimed by Henry VIII and Edward VI. Elizabeth refused to accept the title of Head of the Church taken by her father, and this was changed to that of Supreme Governor of the realm in all causes or things temporal or spiritual. The substance of royal supremacy was unchanged.

Under the new Act an oath was required to be taken by certain prescribed classes of persons and severe penalties were to be imposed if it was refused.⁷

The Act of Uniformity 1559, abolished the Mass and prescribed uniformity in religious worship by reviving the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI (that of 1552) with one or two alterations.⁸ It encountered much greater opposition than did the Act of Supremacy and passed by a majority of only three, nine prelates (two were imprisoned) and nine temporal peers voting against it. Not one spiritual peer was in favour. As in the case of the Act of Supremacy, severe penalties were imposed for refusal to observe the provisions of the Act of Uniformity.⁹

On 23rd May 1559 a Royal Commission was set up for the purpose of tendering the Oath of Supremacy to the clergy. Within the next six months all the Catholic bishops except one, were deprived of their Sees. In the summer of

1559 there was a Royal Visitation of the whole country with the object of compelling adherence among the clergy to the prescribed Protestant form of worship.

A further important early measure of the new reign was the Act of 1559 by which the first fruits, being a year's income (or its equivalent) of a clerical benefice, and an annual tax of one tenth of the income were again to be paid to the Crown.¹⁰ It was supported by the lay peers, but the spiritual peers were against it.¹¹ It marked a further stage in the rejection of the papal jurisdiction.

By the Act of Assurance of 1563, the classes of persons who were obliged to take the Oath of Supremacy were extended.¹² There were stringent penalties for refusal.

In the same year, 1563, Convocation dealt with a revised form of the 42 Articles of religion which had been issued during the last months of Edward VI's reign. They received some further changes and then the Queen gave her assent. "A little more alteration at a later day made them the famous 'Thirty Nine Articles' ".¹³

With the enactment of all these statutes and the adoption of the Articles of Religion, Protestantism was re-established. The Elizabethan Church rested essentially on a foundation approved by Parliament. The laws which had been passed demanded absolute obedience and prescribed stringent penalties for refusal to obey. The body ecclesiastical was once again, as in the time of Henry VIII and Edward VI, in subjection to the Crown.

Chapter II

Bishop Horne - 1561 - 1569 (First period)

I

In the first half of the 16th century few counties were more fundamentally Catholic in culture than Hampshire which had contained the ancient capital of England and where abbeys, priories, friaries, churches, convents, guilds and schools abounded. Winchester itself had an ancient and majestic cathedral and a famous school of mediaeval origin. The roots of this culture lay deep in the past and they were not destroyed when the doctrines of the Reformation began to spread through the country. Indeed, Protestantism in its earlier manifestations seems to have obtained little hold on the county; and when Catholicism was officially restored in Mary's reign, Hampshire was found to be still strongly Catholic. There was practically no persecution during the reign. Strype, for instance, does not mention the county at all in connection with the Marian martyrs and there seems to be a record of only one execution in Winchester, though Arch-deacon Philpot suffered at Smithfield.¹ Perhaps one reason why Winchester itself was strongly recusant for many years was the constant reminder to its citizens, in so many monuments and memorials, of a not long-departed Catholicism.

With the establishment of the Elizabethan Church there was much uprooting of ecclesiastical official life.

So far as Hampshire was concerned John White, Bishop of Winchester, who had also been Warden of Winchester College, and was one of the eight Catholic divines to "dispute" with eight Protestants at the abortive Westminster Conference on the 31 March, 1559, had been sent to the Tower soon afterwards for his outspokenness. In common with all the Catholic bishops, except possibly Kitchin of Llandaff, he refused to take the Oath of Supremacy and, in consequence, was deprived of his preferments.² He continued to be imprisoned in the Tower, but was later allowed to live with his sister and brother-in-law, Sir Thomas White, at South Warnborough, where he died on 12 January 1560.³ He was the first Hampshire recusant of the reign.

As soon as attempts were made to enforce the services prescribed by the new Act of Uniformity there was opposition in Winchester. The Act laid down the date for the introduction of these services as that of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, that is, the 24 June, 1559. On 27 June 1559 the Spanish Ambassador wrote to Philip II that "in the neighbourhood of Winchester they have refused to receive the church service book ... and the clergy of the diocese had assembled to discuss what they should do. No Mass was being said, whereat the congregations were very disturbed".⁴ On 31 May he had told Philip that "the number and constancy of the Catholics frighten them (the Queen and the Council)".⁵ Writing to Cecil on 30 June 1559⁶, the Marquis of Winchester said " ... I sent you my son St. John's letter ... from

Hampshire with other writings made by the Dean and Canons of the Cathedral Church, and from the Warden and Fellows of the New College and from the Master of St. Cross, whereby it appeareth they have their service because it is against their conscience, as it appeareth by their writings, wherein order must be taken". Dr. Nicholas Sanders⁷, an old Wykehamist, wrote afterwards (in 1561) that at the beginning of the reign "not so many as one in a hundred are infected with the new religion".⁸

Winchester College was strongly conservative in religion and at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign a riot took place when attempts were made to force the new settlement of religion on the boys. "In Winchester School", wrote Nicholas Sanders, "when the Headmaster was in prison and the schismatical master called them to the schismatical service, they were so far from obeying that they kept away even from the public prayers, and shut themselves up in their dormitories. When he found fault with their disobedience ... (and) ... when he attempted force and called in the military commander from the nearest seaport (presumably Southampton), about twelve of the boys took to flight; and the rest influenced by the prevailing terror, went most unwillingly to the church ...".⁹

The example set by the Catholic Bishops in their refusal of the Oath of Supremacy was not followed by the clergy generally; and even on the most favourable assumptions from the point of view of the older faith no less than three-

quarters of the priests forsook both the Mass and the Roman See with apparently no more qualms than their Henrician predecessors forsook the Papal Supremacy alone.¹⁰ Records exist for the Royal Visitation of the four Sees of the Northern Province, but there are no official records for the Southern Province. It was apparently the Government's policy to make matters as easy as possible, and in the Northern Visitation there was generally "gentle and judicious management".¹¹ There is even doubt whether the Oath as such was ever taken by the clergy but that a form of subscription was used, acknowledging the restoration of the "ancient jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical and spiritual to the Crown ... and the abolishing of all foreign power repugnant to the same". It would seem that a similar declaration was required by Horne in the first visitation of his diocese (see page 12 below). If this was generally used it might explain why such a large number of priests remained in 1559.¹²

In Hampshire the number of deprivations of the clergy for refusing the Oath was small, though a good proportion of the Cathedral Clergy refused. They were Dean Steward and Prebendaries Hill, Bilson, Harding, Langridge and Hyde, and Edmund Mervyn, Archdeacon of Surrey. (The staff of the Cathedral consisted of the Dean and twelve Canons). Hyde was Headmaster of Winchester. The Second Master, John Marshall,¹³ Fellow of New College, Oxford, also refused, whilst the number of incumbents eventually deprived was twenty-four.¹⁴ The total was thus thirty-two.

The first Elizabethan Bishop of Winchester, Robert Horne, was not consecrated till 27 February 1561¹⁵, and it is difficult to know what kind of religious practices existed in Hampshire before the effect of Horne's reforming zeal began to be felt: there is little or no documentary evidence to show what exactly was happening. The laity must have been confused: the great bulk of the Hampshire priests - those men who had until recently been celebrating Mass - continued to minister, and it is probable that some of them observed the law by performing the new services in the parish churches and then served Catholics by saying Mass elsewhere. "Before the service on Sundays", says Simpson in his Life of Campion,¹⁶ referring to the work, The Rise and Fall of the Anglican Schism of Nicholas Sanders, "the priests would celebrate Mass in their own houses and the Catholics would communicate there, while the Protestants communicated at church; or the priest would take to church the Hosts which he had consecrated at home, to give at the altar rails to his Catholic parishioners, while he gave to the Protestants the wafers that had been used for the service in the Common Prayer Book. Thus, the Sacrament of two hostile bodies was distributed by the same hands, at the same time, at the same altar rails, to the discordant and divided flock". Sanders, who had been at Winchester College and had kinsmen in Hampshire¹⁷, no doubt obtained precise information of what was going on in the county in these early days.¹⁸ Moreover, evidence of surviving Catholic practices came to light later

and Horne found that even ex-Marian priests on the Cathedral staff at Winchester were "nursling" the inhabitants in "superstition and popery".

II

Robert Horne was consecrated Bishop of Winchester by Parker on 27 February 1561,¹⁹ ^{so that} the See had been without direct episcopal authority since the deprivation of the Catholic Bishop White in 1559. His task of reforming the diocese was therefore rendered more difficult, for deviations from the prescribed forms of religious worship had probably taken root.

The new Bishop had been Dean of Durham in Edward VI's reign. He was an ardent Puritan and, as Dean, had exercised his reforming zeal in destroying religious objects and symbols of great artistic merit and age, - a destructiveness which he was to repeat in the southern diocese. "One of the greatest enemies which the monuments of art and the ancient rites of religion found at the Reformation",²⁰ he is said to have removed St. Cuthbert's tomb in Durham Cathedral with the assistance of his own hands.²¹

Horne was an earnest and apparently efficient ecclesiastical servant of the Government. He had been thorough at Durham, reforming the Cathedral services in a strongly Protestant sense. He seems to have been Puritanically pious, but grim and humourless. The Duke of Northumberland in Edward VI's reign did not like him. Writing to Cecil on 3 December 1552,²² Northumberland said he did not want Horne

appointed to the vacant See of Durham, but considered that a man should be Bishop who "did not stand so much in his own conceit ...". He has been much deceived in Horne "if all be true that is reported of him touching his standing in his own conceit, condemning every man's doings and conscience but his own". The Duke was informed that the Dean was "lavish of his tongue" and always wanted his own way. Horne disliked Papists and considered that they should be rigorously dealt with.²³

During Mary's reign Robert Horne was an exile and a pastor of a Presbyterian flock of English refugees in Frankfurt. He was considerably involved in dissensions among the congregations; and when John Knox's main supporters withdrew from the congregation, Horne was made chief minister. But there were further troubles and he went to Strassbourg, remaining there until the death of Mary when he returned to England.

Winchester was one of the two dioceses (Chichester was the other) which had escaped the general visitation at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, but a few months after his consecration, that is, in May or June 1561, the new bishop began a visitation of his diocese.²⁴ The appointment of Horne to this important See was probably made advisedly. The diocese was full of papistry (at least the Hampshire portion was), whilst Horne had been energetic in his northern deanery and severely Reformist in his activities²⁵. It was therefore doubtless felt that his particular qualities would

have full scope in his new sphere and would assist the Government in advancing its ecclesiastical policy. In any case he was to rule the Winchester diocese for nearly twenty years.

His first visitation was in progress in June 1561. Writing to Cecil on 8 June 1561²⁵, Horne says that he has visited Surrey and a good part of Hampshire and was going on to Southampton and the Isle of Wight.²⁶ He says that he has not found "any impugning to the ordinances of the realm concerning religion, neither the ministers dissenting from the same, but conforming themselves as it was required of them, and in testification thereof have subscribed to the declaration for uniformity of doctrine". Nevertheless, there were serious deficiencies: he has found "many absent and many churches destitute of incumbents and ministers ... The absence of many proceedeth partly through the wilfulness of some who have purposely withdrawn themselves, or otherwise under colour absenting themselves, and partly under pretence that they serve noblemen." (Some of these "absentees" were probably ex-Marian priests ministering to the Catholic gentry). "Against all which I mean to proceed as may seem best to appertain, meaning to have them come to me, my visitation ended. For the rest that I have to do, my hope is to find the like conformity, and namely in the ministers, as by the mutual consent in profession of doctrine and agreement of judgement, quiet and unity may increase and be preserved among us".

If the state of the clergy was in part satisfactory,

it was otherwise with the laity. Horne wrote to Cecil later in the year²⁷ (on 29 August 1561) that "as touching religion, I have found more disorders by this inquisition in my (civil division), and Sir William Kaylawey in his, Mr. Poynings in his and Mr. Uvedall in his, than I could in my visitation by the churchwardens, such is the fear of punishment by the purse more than of God's curse. But whatsoever is found and reformed by us in these divisions, we cannot perceive that much is done elsewhere in the shire, making as it seemeth little force thereof. For by means of small correction done in other parts, many idle persons and evil disposed shift from us into other hundreds, whereof disorder increased more ...".

Winchester itself is a separate problem and Horne has met for the first time strong evidence of that attachment to Catholicism which was to persist for so many years. In January 1562 Horne tells²⁸ Cecil that he has attempted in many ways to bring the inhabitants of the city "to good conformity, namely, to have the cures there served as the Common Prayer might be frequented, which hath not been since the Massing-time" (that is, for over three years); "and that good sound doctrine might be taught amongst them (which they as yet do not so well like and allow), I could not by any means bring the same to pass". Horne then refers to the scarcity of ministers in the city, - a scarcity which was general at this time. He proposes that some of the livings in the city should be combined "without which I see no way

how to have them well-served, but that they shall continue and be further nursled in superstition and Popery, lacking not of some priests in the Cathedral Church to inculcate the same daily into their heads".²⁹ The inhabitants are very stubborn, but if they were reformed it would "help the greatest part of the shire bent that way". Some have said that the Bishop, do what he might, would not have his way and they seem to have secret information which encourages them in their attitude. Indeed, there were some in the county who "have borne great countenance" in the late reign. These hinder as much as they can the proceedings in religion. It has been discovered that they have not communicated since the Queen's reign began "or since Massing-time". He will have to proceed against them in order to bring about their conformity.

III

If there was much opposition to the religious settlement in places like Winchester, the Government encountered similar trouble at the Universities. Indeed, many distinguished English Catholic churchmen and laymen who found themselves, following Elizabeth's accession, unable, on grounds of conscience, to take the Oath of Supremacy or to conform to the new form of worship, fled, or were allowed to retire, to such places on the Continent as Louvain, Brussels, Antwerp, Mechlin, and other towns. But the chief place of exile was Louvain: it had obvious attractions for many of the refugees, for it was near England, it had a famous university where, in particular, there was theological learning.³⁰ Englishmen

accustomed to University life naturally relished its compensating qualities, and the considerable number of University men who went there were described "as the very flower of the Universities, Oxford and Cambridge ... carried away, as it were, by a storm and scattered in foreign lands ...³¹. Robert Persons, the Jesuit, said that "the more learned sort repaired unto the University of Louvain and there, for that they had been brought up partly in the University of Oxford and partly in Cambridge, they began two houses under the names of the foresaid universities, calling them Oxford house and the other Cambridge house".³² Louvain may, indeed, be regarded as the originating centre of the Recusant movement on the Continent.

Most of the refugee men were from Oxford, and Oxford, unlike Cambridge, was to be for a good many years a focal point of recusancy. New College men who, of course, came from their "nursery", Winchester, contributed a considerable proportion of the Oxford recusants. Of a total of 100 known Elizabethan recusant Wykehamists (see Appendix 1) 67 were Fellows of New College; and of these, twelve were associated with Louvain, 25 with Douai or Rheims, four with Rome and four with Padua. Four entered the Society of Jesus (three other Wykehamists who were not Fellows of New College joined the Society).

A comparison of the English Catholic refugees with the Marian exiles is impressive both as regards their educational background and the English district from which they originated. Of 472 Marian exiles for whom biographical

details are available³³, there appears to have been only one Wykehamist. There were only four men of Hampshire origin among the exiles, and University men were not numerous, most of them being from Cambridge. A good proportion of the exiles came from East Anglia, London and Kent, as might perhaps be expected. All this evidence gives further confirmation of the religious conservatism which existed in Hampshire.³⁴

The influence of the Wykehamist exiles on the recusant movement abroad was paramount, and the exiles took an important share in the production of the many books printed at Louvain or Antwerp which were to keep Catholic sentiment alive in all parts of England before the foundation of Douai in 1568. These books were important because the ordinary channels of educating Catholics in England and maintaining their faith were not open to them: the pulpits were controlled by the new religious leaders, there was strict censorship of the press - no book could be printed without episcopal licence - and printers were well-known and carefully supervised.³⁵ The writers at Louvain and Antwerp did much to fill the gap.

Between 1564 and 1567, 18 recusant writers abroad produced books and ten of them were Wykehamists.³⁶ The Wykehamist writers were more numerous and wrote "more and better books".³⁷ Forty books of the Louvain School were issued between 1564 and 1568.³⁸ Nicholas Sanders, the Wykehamist (see below), said that not less than 20,000 copies of these were imported into England and secretly sold.³⁹

In 1568 the output from Louvain ceased, partly owing to religious disturbances in the Low Countries, and partly also to the fact that the centre of the recusant movement shifted with the founding of Douai by William Allen.⁴⁰

The leader of what is known as the Louvain School of Apologetics was the celebrated Wykehamist, Dr. Nicholas Sanders (or Sander)⁴¹. He became a Fellow of New College in 1548 and was appointed Regius Professor of Canon Law at Oxford in 1553. Refusing to conform in Elizabeth's reign, he went abroad, going first to Rome where he took a doctorate in Divinity and where he was ordained priest by the Marian Bishop of St. Asaph, Thomas Goldwell. In 1561, as a theologian, he attended on Cardinal-Legate Hosius at the Council of Trent. Later, he was papal legate at the Diet of Augsburg. From 1565 to 1572 he was at Louvain, where he became Regius Professor of Theology. At Louvain he entered with zest into the theological controversy with the Elizabethan Bishop Jewel of Salisbury.

Together with Thomas Harding (see below) Sanders was authorised to publish in England the Pope's decision forbidding Catholics to attend the services of the Elizabethan church. His most important works were the "De Visibili Monarchia Ecclesiae", published by his fellow-Wykehamist John Fowler (see below), in 1571, and The Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism, which was left unfinished, but was completed by Edward Rishton and published in 1585.

After staying for some years at the Court of Philip II, Sanders joined the ill-fated "Pope's expedition" to

Ireland in 1579 and perished in that country in 1581.

In 1562 or 1563 Thomas Harding, who was, like Sanders, an influential Wykehamist and had been Bishop Gardiner's chaplain, joined the Louvain exiles and there was soon a remarkable rally of New College men eager to work with him.⁴² (See the following paragraphs with regard to the other Wykehamists). At Oxford he had been Henry VIII's Professor of Hebrew. He conformed under Edward VI and like John Jewel, his contemporary at Oxford and great rival in controversy, returned to Catholicism under Mary, though Jewel later recanted his Catholic views.⁴³

John Martial (or Marshall), a perpetual Fellow of New College and Second Master at Winchester, refused to conform in Elizabeth's reign, and went to Louvain, studying Divinity there. He was invited to Douai by William Allen and helped in the foundation of the seminary.

His chief work, "A Treatise of the Cross" (Antwerp 1564), was dedicated to Queen Elizabeth by Marshall who was "emboldened upon her keeping the crucifix in her chapel".⁴⁴ Through the influence of Dr. Owen Lewis, a fellow Wykehamist (see Appendix I and below), he later obtained a canonry at Lille where he died in 1597.

Leaving New College in the reign of Edward VI on religious grounds and never becoming a complete Fellow, Thomas Dorman became a Fellow of All Souls under Mary. He refused to give up Catholicism under Elizabeth and joined his fellow-Wykehamist and friend Thomas Harding, at Louvain. In 1569 Allen invited him to Douai to help in the work of the new seminary.

John Rastell, Perpetual Fellow of New College, was ordained priest in 1555, but, unable to accept the religious changes under Elizabeth, retired to Louvain. He went to Antwerp in 1564 and eventually to Rome where he became a novice in the Society of Jesus. He was an able controversialist and published six works in reply to Jewel.

Thomas Stapleton became a Fellow of New College in 1534. Ordained priest in 1558 he was made a Prebendary of Chichester, but was deprived under Elizabeth for his non-conformity. He went to Louvain and studied Divinity there. He was invited by Allen in 1569 to help in the seminary at Douai, where he lectured for some twenty years. In 1571 he became a Doctor of Divinity at Douai. John Pitts, a fellow Wykehamist, of the well-known recusant Pitts family of Alton⁴⁵ (he was a nephew of Dr. Nicholas Sanders) and author of De Illustribus Angliae Scriptoribus, was a pupil of Stapleton's.

Thomas Stapleton was known as a controversialist throughout Europe and Clement VIII held his works, 27 in number, in high esteem. Anthony à Wood says he was "the most learned Roman Catholic of all his time".⁴⁶

A perpetual Fellow of New College, Robert Poyntz refused to conform under Elizabeth and retired to Louvain. He engaged in controversy with Jewel and wrote in answer to him, Testimonies for the Real Presence (1566).

All of these writers owed a considerable debt of gratitude to the Wykehamist printer and editor, John Fowler who "performed a unique service for the Catholic cause and

perhaps, too, for our English tongue".⁴⁷

Tribute to the effect produced by the large output of the recusant writers on the Continent was paid by the Spanish Ambassador in England in 1565 and by William Allen, at a later stage. The former said that the books "which are sent from Louvain have done much good. They are published in English in order that the people may read them".⁴⁸ Allen considered that they prepared the way for the Catholic revival in the 1580's: "books", he said, "opened the way".⁴⁹

The literary movement was carefully watched by the English Government and by the English ecclesiastical authorities. The works of Harding and other recusants were mentioned in the Injunctions for New College (Visitations of 1566 and 1567)⁵⁰; in Sandys' Articles of Visitation for the Worcester Diocese;⁵¹ and in Grindal's Articles of Visitation for the province of York.⁵² Finally, there was the Proclamation of March 1569, which said that "... Her Majesty ... willeth and earnestly chargeth all manner of person to forbear utterly from the use or dealing with any such seditious books ... and that such as already have any of the said books shall present, or cause to be presented, the said books, upon pain of Her Majesty's grievous indignation, and to be punished severely, as the quality and circumstances of the offence shall require and deserve".⁵³ Works of the Wykehamists, Harding, Dorman, Sanders, Marshall and Rastell were particularly mentioned in this connection.⁵⁴

Other Wykehamists played an important part in the

recusant movement abroad. Owen Lewis, an early and intimate friend of Allen, assisted in the foundation of Douai and the English College at Rome. He became a Professor of Canon Law at Douai.⁵⁵ Richard Whyte obtained a doctorate in Civil and Canon Law at Padua and afterwards became a Professor of these laws at Douai. William Raynolds (or Reynolds) taught Divinity and Hebrew at Rheims and assisted in the preparation of the Rheims New Testament. John Bustard was Professor of Philosophy for the Jesuits at Douai. John Fenn had been Headmaster of the Free Grammar School at Bury St. Edmund's in Mary's reign, and, in exile, became a translator and to a small extent a controversialist. Thomas Hyde (Hide), a Fellow of New College, who had been appointed Headmaster of Winchester in 1551 and a Prebendary of the Cathedral in 1556, refused to conform after Elizabeth's accession and was obliged to resign all his offices. By order of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, he was taken into the custody of the Lord Treasurer in 1561, but afterwards escaped to Louvain, where he joined the colony of Wykehamists. He later went to Douai where he died in 1597. William Allen thought a good deal of his prudence and abilities.

At Louvain was published his "A consolatorie Epistle to the Afflicted Catholics: being a dissuasive against frequenting Protestant Churches etc. (1597)".

The importance of the part played by these New College and other Oxford men in the Continental recusant movement cannot be over-estimated. The fact that many thousands of their books surreptitiously found their way into all parts of

England, and that the Government was fully aware of their activities and did its best to counteract them, is a measure of their considerable success. In other respects the presence and work of these cultured and able men preserved a standard of values which was of inestimable influence on the future course of English Catholic life. As a recent scholar, Dr. A.C. Southern, pertinently observes: "The traditions of Catholic Oxford were perpetuated at Douai, just as the presence of such noted Wykehamists as John Marshall and Thomas Stapleton ... helped to keep alive in the College the spirit of Winchester".⁵⁶

- IV -

Horne made Visitations of New College in 1561 and 1566-7, but before ^{these took place} the Royal Visitation of 1559 had been at work in Oxford. Nicholas Sanders gave some details about it and said⁵⁷ that the Visitors did not obtain "oath or subscription" from ^Ione in twenty in the colleges. He speaks of his own College, New College, and says that ten priests who were chaplains departed with six senior Fellows, "all learned and very good men". The visitors were unwilling to call more ^{before} ~~of~~ them because they heard that they would find the same constancy in fifty others. Resorting, therefore, to flattery, they begged them merely to go to church, doing which they should be "free from the oath, subscriptions and penalties". "Out of a hundred persons who belonged to the choir, never yet have even ten been induced to receive the schismatical communion at Easter".⁵⁸

In September 1561, Horne made a visitation of some of

the Oxford Colleges, including New College, for which he was the official Visitor. He found the New College men recalcitrantly Catholic and many of them refused to subscribe to a declaration involving dogmatic Reformist articles, because, said Horne, "they pretended lack of my authority to exact it".⁵⁹ The Visitation was prorogued till the Spring of 1562 and again till Michaelmas of that year. In the end eighteen Fellows subscribed, but some of these were deprived in later years.⁶⁰ Eight Fellows suffered deprivation on this occasion.⁶¹ The result of the Visitation was, however, inconclusive and many crypto-Papists remained to be dealt with in the stringent Visitation of 1566-7.

Horne made a Visitation of both Winchester Cathedral and the College in 1562. No reports of this remain, but it is clear from the Injunctions which do survive that Horne endeavoured to remove all traces of Papistry. In the Injunctions for the Cathedral⁶² the Canons were required to preach a sermon at least once a year acknowledging the Royal Supremacy, "impugning ... the usurpation of the Bishop of Rome", commending "the true use of the Holy Communion according as it is ordered ... by the authority of Parliament" and declaring "the abuse and enormities of the private Mass".⁶² At the College one of the main requirements was a declaration acknowledging the restoration of the ancient jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical and spiritual.⁶³

The Visitation of New College by Horne in 1566-7 revealed the extent to which Catholic thought and practice

still existed there. For example, Moreton, one of the Fellows, said that Amerson, a member of the College, described as a Papist, had among his books "divers of Rastell's, also of Hoskins' (Heskins')⁶⁴. He also had "sundry books concerning the sacraments sithence Whitsuntide last and hath lent or sold thereof some to Mundy, to Joyner and to this respondent"⁶⁵. John Joyner said that he had borrowed or bought of Amerson certain of the aforesaid books and that Mr. Amerson sent him Harding's "Apologie of the Private Mass" and Marshall's books which he had read and restored to him".⁶⁶ John Fisher said that he had seen Sanders' Book of the Sacraments and Mr. Harding's Book of Apologie in Amerson's chamber.⁶⁷ He also said "he hath Dorman's book and Noel's (Nowell's) together which he left in Abingdon with Mr. Hyde, a gentleman".⁶⁸ Amerson himself confessed "that indeed he had certain books ... one of Harding's, one of Marshall's, one of Sanders, one of Poynes (Poyntz or Pointz), of the which he sold Poynes' book to Moreton, one of the chaplains, for 16d and as for the rest he hath sent them to his brethren and other his friends ... He lent the same books unto Munden or Blandye, he remembereth not ...".⁶⁹

John Blandye was alleged to have said that "he hoped to see all such heretics burned with hotter fire than that is (referring apparently to the fire in his room) ... and that all Protestants were knaves, schismatics and bruter than ~~brute~~ beasts". Hugh Lloyd said he had heard Blandye use the argument: "He is a minister: ergo, he is a knave", whilst Benedict Quarles maintained that he had often heard Blandye

"wail upon ministers" and that it was his custom to call them knaves and heretics. Blandye was among those who refused to subscribe to the Articles of Religion and was deprived of his Fellowship in consequence.⁷⁰

Stephen Henslowe, Fellow of the College, member of the well-known recusant Henslowe family of Boarhunt, (Wickham), was charged with not having received Communion for seven years, though he maintained that he had received it since that time.⁷¹ Bartholomew Bolney was alleged to be of a "papistical and heretical faction". He was ordered to prove his innocence by the sworn testimony of six members of the College. Apparently he refused, or was not able to do this, for he was deprived of his Fellowship.⁷²

The Warden was charged⁷³ with not having punished absences from church during the past eight years (i.e. since the commencement of the reign) nor "detractors of the bishops of this kingdom, or defenders of Harding, his foreign disciples and holders of seditious books". According to the statutes of the College he should have communicated with the Bishop about the delinquents. Thomas Jeffries, maintained that "in the space of five years he hath known few or none punished".⁷⁴ The Warden was negligent in the administration of Holy Communion.⁷⁵ Jeffries also said that "where the Warden should preach every Lady Day, he never preached these five years, for so he hath been in the house and never absent that day".⁷⁶ Michael Marshart alleged⁷⁷ that the Warden praised the Duke of Guise as a valiant defender of the Catholic religion and much more, tending to

the maintenance of heresy and foreign power. He never saw Henslowe or Lewkner communicate these four years,⁷⁸ and almost never remembered the Warden celebrating the Communion save only once.⁷⁹ There seems to be little doubt of the Warden's real religious views. He was not, however, deprived of his office, but was vehemently exhorted "to desist from papistical things and all idolatry" and humbly to obey the Injunctions given to him and the other members of the College, on pain of being dealt with according to the statutes of the College.⁸⁰

⁸¹
Richard Sotwell was charged with having been, and with being, a defender of Papistry, and with having collected divers seditious books of the English fugitives at Louvain. William Smith was "a hindrance to the true and Christian religion now in England" and had derided the metrical version of the Psalms calling them "English rhymes", whilst Martin Culpepper had called them "Robin Hood ballads".⁸²

⁸³
Thomas Shelley was accused of using "often or at least once" a Book of Hours of the Blessed Virgin at the time of Divine Service⁸³, and Edward White was also accused of using such a book, though not during the service time.⁸⁴ John Ingram admitted defending the doctrine of Transubstantiation in the presence of Geoffrey Clinton and George Simbarbe. He seems to have submitted and was allowed to continue in the College.⁸⁵

Rigorous action was taken as the result of Horne's searching Visitation. It is probable that one of the reasons for the thoroughness was that many books of the Louvain School

had found their way into the College and were producing results inimical to the Elizabethan religious settlement.⁸⁶ A number of Fellows were removed and there are records of Fellows having been deprived of their Fellowships or resigning them during the period 1566-1572⁸⁷. A set of 62 Injunctions was issued. Among other things it was ordered that all images in the College chapel should be destroyed and all pictures "up to the height of the stalls"; tapestries had to be removed from the east end, the walls to be white-washed and works of scripture were to be painted on them.⁸⁸ None of the works of Harding, Sanders, Marshall, Heskens, Dorman or other "schismatics" was to be introduced into the College on pain of the offender's removal.⁸⁹ To complete the Puritanical reformation of the services there was, in future, to be no turning to the east "more papistico" at the "Gloria patri". At the time of admission to the College everyone was to take the Oath of Supremacy and subscribe to the Articles of Religion.⁹⁰

V
91

The surviving records of Bishop Horne's episcopate~~91~~ show that he was energetic, regular and thorough in his visitations; and by exercising the power of excommunication and by enquiring whether the fine under the Act of Uniformity for abstention from church services had been levied, he made a determined effort to eradicate Catholicism in his diocese. During the earliest years citations for recusancy or for refusal to communicate are not numerous, but a good deal of

religious "irregularity" comes to light on the part of both the clergy and the laity, and relics of papistry are found in different parts of the county. This evidence indicates how Catholicism was lingering, even if it was gradually being driven underground.

In October 1561, for instance, the Rector of Winnall and Richard Smith, the churchwarden, were accused of not having abolished the altar in the church and were ordered to do so.⁹² The Rector was John Laccocke, who was inducted on 24 July, 1561, on the deprivation of Thomas Crane, Fellow of Winchester College.⁹³ Richard Smith, the churchwarden, was an obstinate non-Communicant, and was frequently cited on this ground.⁹⁴ There seems little doubt that he was a Catholic. His wife was a recusant.⁹⁵ The altar^{at Winnall} was probably used for its ancient purpose by the late Catholic rector until his supersession. Its discovery seems to have been made in the course of Horne's first visitation (1561).

At Romsey in the same month (October 1561) the Vicar confessed⁹⁶ to having conducted a Papistical burial, bringing "the corpse to the church with candles and tapers". Moreover, he said he had "suffered the parishioners to ring None on Our Lady's Even, which was no Holy Day".

In September 1562, Robert Newman, Vicar of Christchurch, was ordered⁹⁷ to preach a sermon against "auricular, idolatrous confession" in the presence of the congregation; and Robert Taynton, Rector of East Tisted, was required to preach against the usurped jurisdiction of the Pope, the private Mass and in

favour of the supreme authority of the Queen.⁹⁸ In February 1563 it was stated that Thomas Williams, Rector of Fifield, "uses (sic) statues of idolatry in his house ... is unwilling to supply paraphrases (The Paraphrases of Erasmus)".⁹⁹ In June 1563 William Copege¹⁰⁰, Rector of Nuneham, was ^{instructed} ~~instituted~~ to preach, in the presence of the Mayor (the town is not specified) and of the congregation, against the Papal jurisdiction and in favour of the Royal Supremacy.

Robert Potter, the Curate of Sutton Scotney, was said, in June 1563,¹⁰¹ to have carried a wooden cross in procession "in the week of perambulations (i.e. at Rogation-tide)"; and, subsequently, on two Sundays he had carried such a cross in Sutton church and on another day in the church of Brambledean (Bramdean). He had also genuflected in the middle of Divine Service.

In December 1567 the Vicar of Odiham was charged with having buried Sir Thomas White, of South Warnborough, "with tapers (or candles) and other papistical ceremonies".¹⁰² The Vicar was Hugh Laiver, an ex-Marian priest, who had been inducted to the living of Odiham on 29 April 1558.¹⁰³ Sir Thomas White was the brother-in-law of John White, the deprived Bishop of Winchester, and had been Master of Requests to Mary Tudor. His family were well-known Catholics, though his son, Richard, Sheriff of Hampshire in 1575 and a J.P., was a "Church-Papist".¹⁰⁴ Catholics like the Whites would certainly have employed for a burial service a cleric

on whom they could rely and with whose antecedents they were satisfied. Hugh Laiver in these straitened days for Papists, had probably, pis aller, been ministering surreptitiously in the past to the family and their tenants and associates.

In April 1569 the Rector of Meonstoke and the Rector of Droxford, a neighbouring parish, were accused of not having preached against the Pope according to the Royal Injunctions. They were ordered to preach against "Papistical depravity, the usurped jurisdiction of the Pipe and the private Mass".¹⁰⁵ Both had been Marian priests.¹⁰⁶

With regard to lay people, Philippa, wife of Robert Prynce, had to meet the charge at the Bishop's Court of 11 June, 1563,¹⁰⁷ that about twelve months previously, she, being a midwife, had been present "at the christening of Mistress Windsor, the wife of William Windsor's child in the chapel of the Wyne in the parish of Sherborne St. John". She said that "the same child was christened with a taper lighted ... in Latin service ... She remembereth not of any Latin service that was there said". Those present were "My Lord Sandys, godfather, my Lady Paulet and my Lady Pecsall, the goodwife Stiffe, of the same Sherborne ...".¹⁰⁸

Papistical relics were found in various parts of Hampshire. In February 1563 it was mentioned at the Bishop's Court that Popish articles had been found in Hayling, - "candlesticks, Popes' crosses and mass books";¹⁰⁹ and Thomas Travers of Alresford had "certain articles which he used in a certain white book, and a certain other prayer-book with

a black cover ... containing prayers to the Blessed Virgin, prayers for the dead, rosaries (sic) of the Blessed Virgin Mary etc.". ¹¹⁰ But he was described as "illiterate" and "did not understand what he read". (This was probably said in excuse or extenuation, for Travers was not illiterate). ¹¹¹ In 1568 Richard Birde of Alresford was said to have had a "lighted candle in his house on the Feast of St. John the Baptist". ¹¹² "Idolatrous monuments" were found at Portsmouth and Micheldever. ¹¹³

In 1569 William Dunton of Sopley "erected a wooden cross inscribed with his name". ¹¹⁴ At the Bishop's Court he denied "that the cross was superstitious", a view that was apparently not accepted, for he was required to do penance in the church the next Sunday, that is to say, he had to appear "holding a white staff, to say the catechism and to receive Communion". ¹¹⁵ The church at Sopley lacked a bible and a communion book, whilst various "papistical things" were found. ¹¹⁶ There were also "superstitious relics" at Hurstbourne Priors, ¹¹⁷ and at Popham and Stratton. ¹¹⁸ At Christchurch in 1562 ¹¹⁹ the churchwardens had not destroyed a crucifix, and even as comparatively late as 1566 complaint is made that there is a wooden crucifix in the church at Bishopstoke. ¹²⁰ In 1568 at Winchester, John Scrut of the parish of St. Clement, and his wife, formerly Joan Foster, had apparently undergone a clandestine Catholic marriage, for the two were charged with having been married before it was light. ¹²¹

Various churchwardens were in trouble because they followed the old Catholic custom of ringing the bells of the

parish church on the Vigil of the Feast of All Saints. The wardens of Eling in October 1561 were accused of ringing the bells of their church on All Saints' Day, contrary to the Bishop's Injunctions.¹²² In 1567 the wardens of St. Bartholomew's, Winchester, and of Weeke, were accused of a similar offence;¹²³ and in the same year it was charged against one of the wardens of Alton that on All Saints' Day "he maintained (i.e. kept) the ringers at Alton and sent William ffrost for the key, and said they should ring who-soever would ... until eight of the clock".¹²⁴

In 1566 the churchwardens of Bishopstoke had not exhibited the "bill of reception of Holy Communion",¹²⁵ and in 1569 they had neither presented absentees from church nor levied the twelvenpenny fine.¹²⁶ Similarly, in 1566 the churchwardens of Chilton Candover were charged¹²⁷ with not having exhibited the bill of participants at Holy Communion for Easter last. It was objected against one of the churchwardens that four parishioners, Mr. Ryve and his wife, Agnes Saunders and Joan Lye had not communicated. When asked the reason he replied "that he took them to be of Micheldever and not of Chilton Candover. And for that Mr. Rive went out of their parish at East unto Micheldever". But it was a favourite way of evading the ecclesiastical requirement of receiving Communion at Easter for Catholics to move to another parish or even out of the shire.¹²⁸

Sermons preached by the ministers in these early years of the reign were not popular; they consisted among other things of matter which was repugnant to Catholics and this

was an additional inducement to absenteeism. For example, Bishop Horne in his Visitation Injunctions for Winchester Cathedral in 1562¹²⁹ required a sermon to be preached each Sunday in which the Royal Supremacy was extolled and the usurpation of the Bishop of Rome "impugned", "the enormities of the private Mass" set forth and the true use of the Holy Communion commended. In 1567 John Scrut (the parishioner of St. Clement's parish, Winchester, who had been married apparently at a Catholic ceremony before dawn)¹³⁰ was presented for being absent from the sermon in the Cathedral. Actually he was "having at the time a conversation in a tavern".¹³¹ In December 1567 John Osborne of St. Faith's Winchester, "contumaciously" walked about in the nave of the Cathedral on the previous Sunday during the sermon. This was regarded as a bad and pernicious example to others.¹³² At the same time the wife of John Poore of St. Clements, Winchester, "was walking about lazily in the street at the time of the sermon". Asked "on what authority" she did this, she replied: "I could not go to sermon for any man, do what thou canst". When served with the citation to the ecclesiastical court she called the "mandatory" a "knave" and cursed him "with a pestilence upon him".¹³³

Long absences from Holy Communion are recorded in the episcopal records, indicating that there had been dereliction of duty by the churchwardens or the minister. For example, Margaret Parkens of Newport, Isle of Wight, was charged in December 1562 with not having received Communion since the beginning of the reign (that is, for four years)¹³⁴; and in

November 1568 it was mentioned that the Vicar of Portsmouth had presented certain people for a similar offence (a period of ten years had thus elapsed since reception).¹³⁵ There are other cases of long abstentions indicating the failure of the churchwardens to make presentments.¹³⁶

VI

Various reasons for non-attendance at church or for not receiving Communion were put forward at this time, some of which were later well-known as concealing Catholicism. In May 1563¹³⁷ Bartholomew Dowe of Lymington, having been cited for failure to communicate at Easter, said that he was accustomed to go to Milford Church. This reason does not appear to have been regarded as valid, for he was ordered to communicate at Lymington, his own parish church, and to furnish a certificate accordingly. He failed to appear at a later stage, when cited, was pronounced contumacious and ex-communicated. This seems to confirm his Papistry.

In 1566 Joan Bassett¹³⁸ had been warned to receive Communion and had not done so, giving as a reason that there was not a sufficient congregation present.¹³⁹ In the same year Edward Burge of Warblington was accused of not attending church.¹⁴⁰ He admitted the charge, but said that he had gone to the church at Westbourne, Sussex, which was nearer. He was required to supply a certificate from the Vicar and Churchwardens. This, however, he did not produce and he failed to appear at Court when cited at a later stage. Excommunication was the result. Warblington, the seat of

George Cotton, Esquire, was a considerable Catholic centre in Elizabeth's reign.¹⁴¹

John Plasden of Netham when cited in 1566¹⁴² for being a non-Communicant said he was "my Lord Montague's servant and clerk of the kitchen, and by reason thereof so busied that he cannot ordinarily receive". This reason seems to have been accepted, for he was dismissed from the charge. Was the reason considered to be valid in itself or had the name of Lord Montague, a leading Catholic noble in Sussex, worked magically? At any rate he seems to have lived normally in another diocese.

Robert Anthony of Wellow, charged with recusancy¹⁴³, confessed that "he goeth unto Romsey Church because of his business, he being a shepherd". He was ordered to go to church (apparently his parish church) and to receive Communion there. At a later stage, when cited, he did not appear, and was thereupon excommunicated. In 1567 William Meriet of East Perlee when accused of recusancy¹⁴⁴ said that his parish church was four miles distant and that when absent from it he attended Holdenhurst and West Perlee. He was required to attend church (it would seem in his own parish) "as others do, in pain of the law". We do not hear of William Meriet again.

So far as Winchester itself is concerned, there is some evidence of continuing neglect of the Church Services, although the actual numbers of citations for recusancy or non-Communicating in the Archdeanry are meagre enough for

the period 1561-1569. A total of 42 non-Communicants and 10 abstentions from the church are recorded for the city.¹⁴⁵ There were 19 non-Communicants and 3 cases of recusancy for 1569.

The two most interesting citations are: (1) that of the wife of Edward Westerton, Rector of St. Michael's, in 1568, ^{who} ~~she~~ "had not been to church on Sundays and Holy Days"¹⁴⁶: there is no indication of the action which was taken in her case; and (2) that of two ex-Marian priests, Simon Palmer and Thomas Coke, both of the parish of St. Maurice and both described as "clerks". They were excommunicated for not receiving Communion at Easter.¹⁴⁷

Apparently knowing the surviving strength of Catholicism in Winchester, the Council seem to have watched the city carefully at times. In November 1564, for example, the Mayor¹⁴⁸, Robert Hodson, Richard Bird, Bailiff, and others were ordered to appear before the Council "touching matters of religion". The Mayor, Richard Bird, and Thomas Wennocke, another Bailiff, were committed to the Marshalsea "for their contemptuous behaviour in not aiding John Bedlam, being appointed by the Sheriff ... to apprehend the wife of one Harman of Winchester".¹⁴⁹ A few days later Harman's wife, who had been excommunicate for two years, had taken no steps to be absolved and had "contemptuously shifted herself out of the way", was also committed to the Marshalsea.¹⁵⁰ On the 24th November 1564 the Mayor and Bailiffs were released on bond.¹⁵¹ They had clearly connived at Papistry.

In cases of citation to the Consistory Court for obstinate recusancy or refusal to receive Communion, the usual punishment at this time was excommunication. Excommunication was a strong ecclesiastical instrument surviving from the Middle Ages and it effectively cut off an offender from a good deal of parish life. Before sentence could be given, the procedure involved an examination of the accused on oath and proof, if possible, of his innocence by the sworn evidence of six neighbours (a proceeding called "compurgation"). If he could not establish his innocence, he could be excommunicated, a punishment which might involve imprisonment. In the more serious aspects of excommunication, a sentenced man could not sue at law, though he could be sued, and he could be fined for not going to church, even though he was forbidden to attend Common Prayer, by the very fact of the excommunication.¹⁵² "The arm was long and the field wide, the machinery complicated and the tools hard to escape ... and once it had been put in motion, he was a foolish layman who did not seek to extricate himself with all the speed available".¹⁵³

Excommunicated persons cited at this time were anxious to escape from the ban of excommunication for cases of absolution are recorded; but in two cases of persistent offenders sentence of the greater excommunication was imposed. As early as March 1563, for instance, Ralph Cleverley of Bishop's Waltham petitioned¹⁵⁴ to be absolved from the penalty. Asked where he had received Communion, he replied "in Berkshire in the parish of Burfield the Sunday before St.

Thomas before Christmas last". Cleverley was ordered to furnish a certificate accordingly and then to submit himself to the Bishop's Court. But he did not appear at the Court again and pronouncement was then made of the greater excommunication.¹⁵⁵ In 1566 Richard Smith, who had been a churchwarden at Winnall, "humbly petitioned the benefit of absolution from his excommunication".¹⁵⁶ But apparently he refused to receive Holy Communion. He continued to refuse and in 1574 sentence of the greater excommunication with which he had been threatened was apparently made.¹⁵⁷

Sometimes there is an explicit statement of undoubted religious constancy when a recusant is cited to the ecclesiastical court. For instance, in January 1568 Nicholas Tichborne, gentleman, of Hartley Maudit, utterly refused to go to church as a condition of absolution from excommunication, saying that "he would take no other (course) before his conscience; was thoroughly resolved therein, because that is a matter of salvation and damnation".¹⁵⁸

Evidence exists that any infraction of the ecclesiastical law regarding excommunication did not pass unnoticed. In 1567, for example, Walter Humfrey of New Alresford, who had a longing to visit once again his old parish church on a great festival day, was charged¹⁵⁹ that he, "knowing he was excommunicate, and in contempt of the law, entered the chapel of New Alresford at night at 8 o'clock on All Saints' Day". There is nothing to show what further action was taken, if any.

VII

During the period 1561-1569 248 citations for not receiving Holy Communion were made and 55 for abstention from the church service.¹⁶⁰ The number stated to abstain from Communion was thus much greater than the number who refused to go to Common Prayer. But there is some difficulty in correctly interpreting the figures for non-Communicants. For example, it is generally recognised that in the earlier years of Elizabeth's reign - at least before the Bull of Excommunication of 1570 - many Catholics outwardly conformed by attending the service of Common Prayer, though they shrank from receiving Communion.¹⁶¹ The acid test, however, in seeking out Catholics came to be not so much presence at Common Prayer as reception of Communion; and Horne, in his visitations, was no doubt obtaining enough experience to realise the importance of this even before the Commons felt constrained to deal with the matter.¹⁶² Nevertheless, it seems certain, or at least reasonable to assume, that some of the Hampshire non-Communicants cited at this time were recusants pure and simple. For instance, Simon Palmer, a deprived ex-Marian priest, was presented in 1568¹⁶³ from the parish of St. Maurice, Winchester, "for not receiving at Easter", but he must also have been an absentee from church. There were, ^{in addition,} ~~also~~ important members of the Catholic gentry cited at this time as non-Communicants: Winifred Scrope of Itchenstoke, William Hoorde of Preston Candover, Roger Tichborne and his wife, Katherine Hall of Easton, Elizabeth Pitts of Alton, the sister of Dr. Nicholas

Sanders, and John Beconsawe of Boroclore.¹⁶⁴ All these were later to be unswerving recusants.

Nevertheless, the problem of the "schismatics" or "Church-Papists" as those Catholics came to be called who conformed outwardly, but refused participation in Communion, was a real one both to the Government and the Catholic authorities. The Government's view of the "schismatic" may be summed up in the words of Thomas Cooper in a sermon he preached in 1580¹⁶⁵ while Bishop of Lincoln (Cooper was translated to Winchester in 1584 and maintained his character there as a vigorous anti-Papist). He said that "schismatics" were "cunning Papists" who hid themselves under the colour of loyalty and obedience to the law and were accounted faithful, true and good subjects. Nevertheless, they carry in their hearts "the same persuasion that the others do, and for fear of danger or discredit, they are contented to obey the law". They are dangerous to the state, for they "let the others understand the secrets of all things that be done or purposed, and with friendship and money help them when any kind of danger is at hand". They cannot be corrected by law and the Government must therefore watch them with a "fearful eye" and take care that they are not brought into places of credit. Moreover, Thomas Dodwell, the spy, in giving information in 1584¹⁶⁶ to Lord Hunsdon about "receivers and entertainers" of Jesuits and Seminary priests in Hampshire pointed out that "the schismatics who come to church and yet in heart are Papists, do most mischief, having dispensation to entertain priests, when many recusants dare not, for

fear of penal statutes". He has Thomas Henslowe, esquire, of Boarhunt (Wickham) specially in mind, for he speaks of him as a "schismatic, his wife being a recusant. Secretly, he entertaineth Mitten, Askew, Gardiner and any other Seminary priest that cometh".

So far as the Catholic authorities were concerned, this question of outward conformity was raised early in the reign. In August 1562¹⁶⁷ the Spanish Ambassador in London wrote to the Spanish Ambassador in Rome asking for an authoritative opinion regarding the attendance of Catholics at services of the Establishment. The question was put before the Pope, Pius IV, who said that attendance at such services could not be countenanced.¹⁶⁸ A definite decision was given about 1562 by a special committee of twelve theologians at the Council of Trent and the decision was known to William Allen and Dr. Nicholas Sanders between 1562 and 1565.¹⁶⁹ It entirely condemned the practice of outward conformity. The decision was not a formal decree of the Council, which would have been diplomatically injudicious, but the ruling of the Committee had the Council's backing. Pius IV apparently confirmed the decision in 1566 and authority was given to Dr. Nicholas Sanders and Dr. Harding to reconcile Catholics who had conformed. Their agent in the matter was Laurence Vaux, at one time Warden of the College at Manchester.¹⁷⁰

Nevertheless, there were not wanting people who held flexible views about attendance at Common Prayer and among them were two ex-Marian ecclesiastics. One, Robert Pursglove, who had been Suffragan Bishop of Hull under Queen Mary, but

had suffered deprivation under Elizabeth, apparently favoured outward conformity.¹⁷¹ Another, Dr. Alban Langdale, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and one of the Catholic disputants at the Westminster Conference of 1559, who afterwards became chaplain to the Catholic Viscount Montague of Cowdray, Sussex, also seems not to have been opposed to the practice/^{out of} ~~and~~ "obedience to the Queen" and because of "a persecution so intolerable as at present" (1580).¹⁷² On the other hand, distinguished Catholic ecclesiastics like Allen and Sanders opposed uncompromisingly attendance at Common Prayer from the first. And so, later, did Robert Persons, the Jesuit, and Thomas Hyde, the deprived Prebendary and Headmaster of Winchester. Hyde who, with no doubt many friends in Hampshire, was not unaware of what was happening in the county, wrote "A consolatorie Epistle to the afflicted Catholics: being a dissuasive against frequenting Protestant churches", which was published at Louvain in 1579.¹⁷³

Yet "Church-Papists" did not cease to exist; and after the penal Act of 1581 and also after that of 1586-7 when the financial penalties to which Catholics became liable were particularly severe, there was further inducement to outward conformity. Indeed, there were Catholics who justified outward conformity by the better material services which they could render their co-religionists than if they kept away from the church. For example, one of the Catholic Petres, Sir John Petre of Ingatestone Hall, Essex, ~~and~~ who was a friend of the recusant Chideock Tichborne of Hampshire,¹⁷⁴ ~~and~~ whose wife was an "earnest Papist", is alleged to have said:

"Do you think there are not that go to the church that bear so good a mind to Godwards, as those that refuse, yes, and if occasion serve, will be able to do better service than they which refuse to go to church? Yet would I not for anything wish you to participate with them either in their prayers or Communion ..."¹⁷⁵

No consideration of the general problem of recusancy would be complete without taking into account the Church-Papists. As the records show, there were large numbers of non-Communicants in Hampshire till the end of the reign. Moreover, when, at the time of the Catholic Revival of the 1580's, so many reconciliations to Catholicism were being made in the county the Church-Papists must have constituted a fruitful field ~~from~~ which strictly-principled Catholics could be made by the Seminary priests ~~with their uncompromising principles~~.

CHAPTER 3

BISHOP HORNE: 1570 - 1579
(included)

I

Three important events taking place in fairly quick succession influenced the fortunes of English Catholics at the beginning of the second decade of the Queen's reign. The first was the flight of Mary Stuart to England in 1568, which, while making difficulties for the English Government, made her a possible leader for the English Catholics as well as a focus of intrigue for subversive elements among them; the second event was the Revolt of the Northern Earls in 1569, which was too far away from the scene of action to involve Hampshire Catholics; and the third was the issue of the Bull, Regnans in Excelsis, by Pius V in 1570, excommunicating Elizabeth and releasing her Catholic subjects from their allegiance.

Although Hampshire was not involved in the Revolt of the North, Robert Horne, with his See in a strongly ^{recusant} ~~Recusant~~ county, was anxious and suspicious. He wrote to Cecil on 21 January 1570², pointing out the troubles "which overmuch forbearing of the Papists hath wrought; and some wise men feareth (sic) that the self-same cause will bring forth hereafter a more grievous effect". The Papists stamp and stare at the rebels, he says, and cry out at their "lewd enterprise", but what they are sorry about is that the Revolt was so ill-managed that it had no better effect. "For, most assuredly, they looked and were in good hope in all this country (Hampshire) - I mean the Papists - whatsoever they said, that the matter would have gone otherwise. And

that may appear by such talk as this: 'I trust 'ere long, the Queen's Majesty herself shall not choose but to alter this religion, and that with her own hands.' This and such like talk immediately before the commotion began was among them, as I am informed, and that among those that be of good place. I hope to get some proof of this; but I am persuaded before God in conscience that one who is a perilous Papist did speak it, although as yet I can come by no proof thereof; for the party to whom it was spoken did tell me, although he were loth to be the author thereof for neighbourhood's sake." Despite all that Horne said, no actual name of such an offender came to light.

Previously, in the same month (2 January 1570), Horne had asked² for an ecclesiastical commission to deal with the Papists. He said that they "will never do good until they be enforced, which will not be long if I may have the commission". He got the commission for we know that in 1572 Mistress Elizabeth Tichborne of West Tisted, with her kinsmen, John, Nicholas and Roger Tichborne, appeared before the Ecclesiastical Commission at Winchester "for matters respecting religion"³.

By far the most generally influential of the three events mentioned was the promulgation of the Bull⁴. The Pope's action evoked resentment and dismay. The King of Spain was astonished and thought that "the sudden and unexpected step would exacerbate feeling there (in England)"⁵. Among the bulk of the English Catholics, the Bull

remained a dead letter, and Dr. Nicholas Sanders, extreme in his views as he was, himself was obliged to admit that most Catholics continued in their allegiance to the Queen⁶. Camden also says⁷ that many Catholics "continued firm in their allegiance (to the Queen) when they saw the neighbour Princes and Catholic countries not to abstain from their wonted commerce with the Queen, and that the Bull was condemned as a waste of words ...". The Catholic historian, Lingard, sums up the whole position in outspoken words: "If," he says⁸, "the Pontiff promised himself any particular benefit from this measure, the result must have disappointed his expectations. The time was gone by when the thunder of the Vatican could shake the thrones of Princes. By foreign powers the Bull was suffered to sleep in silence; among the English Catholics it served only to breed doubts, dissensions and dismay. Many contended that it had been issued by an incompetent authority; others that it could not bind ... till it should be carried into execution by some foreign power; all agreed that it was in their regard an imprudent and cruel expedient, which rendered them liable to the suspicion of disloyalty and afforded their enemies a pretence to brand them with the name of traitors ...".

The response of the English Government to the Pope's action was the passing of further penal legislation, and henceforth Papists were to experience an increasing tightening-up of action against them. Three statutes, all adversely affecting Catholics, were passed in 1571:

one made it treason to affirm publicly that the Queen was a heretic or schismatic; a second Act made it treasonable to obtain, use or publish papal bulls or writings; whilst a third forbade persons to leave the country without a licence⁹. From now on the recusants were, in fact, to be a pawn in the struggle between the English Government and the higher Catholic authorities.

Nevertheless, although the issue of the Bull was generally regarded as a serious diplomatic blunder, it had the effect of making many Catholics cease attending the Established services, whether this had been done innocently or not. Camden says¹⁰ that before the Bull they had "private exercise of their religion in their own homes quietly enough, or else refused not to go to the service of God received in the English Church without scruple of conscience ..." After the Bull, however, "many abstained from the received word of God". The Earl of Southampton, for instance, was one of those Catholics who, although attending Common Prayer, at least occasionally, in the earlier years, and even having this service in his home, subsequently observed full strictness as a Catholic¹¹.

II

In Hampshire the effect of the issue of the papal Bull, as reflected in the episcopal records, is almost immediate. The figures for citations for recusancy and non-Communicating during the period 1561-1569 show a total of 303, by far the greater proportion being in

respect of non-Communicants¹². In 1570, however, over a period of eight months there were citations of 245 persons, 128 for not receiving Communion and 116 for non-attendance at Common Prayer (including 12 for "negligent" church attendance)¹³. The total for not attending church has thus increased impressively, being now almost half of the total number of cited persons. Most of the citations were, however, made in the period July to December, 1570, a period of only five months, during which there was a total of 235, comprising 116 for abstention from church and 119 for non-Communicating. The figures are, generally, not related to concentrations of defaulters in a few places; there are, of course, concentrations, but no fewer than 83 parishes (including parishes in the Isle of Wight) are concerned in these statistics.

Episcopal records cover continuously the years January 1571/2 to November 1574¹⁴. There were 145 non-Communicants and 42 recusants (as the Government had begun to call those who refused to go to church) for this period, embracing 51 parishes over a wide area. The period April 1575 to March 1579 is also covered by records: there were 200 citations in all - 103 for not receiving Communion and 97 for recusancy, and they concern 71 parishes mostly different from those involved in the other figures. According to the available figures, therefore, the increase in recusancy pure and simple is again being manifested some years later. This may be due in part to the activities of the Seminary priests who began to come to England in 1574. Incidentally, the

earlier difficulty in correctly interpreting the figures for non-Communicating remains¹⁵.

The vigour of Horne's visitation work is perhaps clearly shown in the large number of churchwardens who were cited in 1570. Churchwardens from no less than 24 parishes were involved (The terms of citation are invariably the same: "they have not received Holy Communion three times in the year"¹⁶). Moreover, compared with the earlier period (1561-1569) of Horne's episcopate, citations of many of the Catholic gentry are now being made, particularly of those larger landowners who, in later years, are to figure prominently in recusant history. Few of these were cited before, but now people like George Cotton of Warblington, members of the Shelley family of Mapledurham (Buriton), Edward Banister of Idsworth, a substantial landowner with property in Sussex as well as in Hampshire, and Robert Joy, gentleman, of East Meon, appear on the scene¹⁷.

There were some noteworthy concentrations of Papists. Winchester and the district just beyond the city (e.g. places like Winnall) has a total of 38 citations during the eight months of 1570¹⁸. For the period 1571-1579 there is a total of 43, made up of 21 recusants and 22 non-Communicants: this is another instance of an almost equal division between the two kinds of offenders¹⁹. In the Isle of Wight in 1570 there were 18 recusants and 6 non-Communicants²⁰; for the period 1571-1579 there were 15 citations (4 recusants and 11 non-Communicants)²¹. In 1574 at Bishop's Waltham there were 47 non-Communicants²². The Bishop of Winchester lived in Bishop's Waltham and the Church-Papists

seem to have been ferretted out thoroughly. At Andover, in 1570, there were 11 non-Communicants and 6 recusants²³, and in 1575 a total of 24 non-Communicants²⁴. The rather large concentration here was no doubt due to the presence in the town of an ex-Marian priest, Thomas Palmer, who was actually cited for recusancy in 1570²⁵. Two other ex-Marian priests, Thomas Coke and Simon Palmer, were also cited in that year, both from the parish of St. Maurice, Winchester²⁶. Simon Palmer was cited again in January 1574²⁷.

A good number of citations involving absences of two or three years from Communion were made; and from Andover in 1575 there were one case of absence for seven years and another for four years, whilst 11 people were cited on account of three years' absence²⁸.

Excommunication was inflicted freely and applications were made for absolution from the ban. The procedure in such cases appears to have been to grant absolution at the time of petition, a certificate of reception of Holy Communion being required to be produced at a subsequent session of the Bishop's Court. To what extent an application to be absolved was a desire for a breathing space on the part of a recusant, combined with a hope that the matter would be forgotten or further reserved at a subsequent session, is not known; but cases are recorded of certificates not being produced and of the postponement, in that event, of the final decision²⁹. Moreover, even the certificates that were produced, especially for influential local Catholics, may have been made out

by easy-going incumbents, when no reception of Communion had taken place at all. For example, Nicholas Scrope, gentleman, of Itchen Abbas, who was in later years, with his wife, Winifred, to be such an unrelenting recusant and to be imprisoned for recusancy, was cited in 1569 for not being a Communicant. He later furnished a certificate of reception and was dismissed from the charge³⁰. Similarly, Ann Tichborne, widow, of Upham, was cited in March 1572/3³¹, as being a person excommunicated not having received Holy Communion. In the same month John Knight appeared on her behalf and petitioned for her absolution. She was warned to receive Communion and later was certificated to have done so³². It is very doubtful whether these two uncompromising Catholics, as they were later known to be, had conformed to the extent of receiving a sacrament in what they regarded as a heretical body; and it is probable that the local incumbents had in some way proved accommodating. Indeed, it is well-known that the general moral and intellectual standard of the Established clergy at this time left something to be desired³³, whilst, even so late as 1601, Bishop Bancroft could see fit to ask churchwardens whether "a just and perfect note" was taken of communicants' names, and whether incumbents "do not rather, regarding their private gain, receive their offerings at Easter, deliver them tokens, enter them in their book and so certify as communicants those who never receive"³⁴. There was certainly plenty of scope for this sort of chicanery.

Some of the forms in which citations are made at this time are illuminating. For example, John Carcas of Eling and John Lawrence, senior, of Kingsclere, not only do not go to church, but they also prevent others from going³⁵. In 1572 Elizabeth Grosmith of Alresford and Robert Gregory of Alverstoke, who are apparently Catholics and only remotely outwardly conformable, do not save themselves from citation because they go to church only once a quarter. The decision in their case is not stated³⁶. William Coles of Welden in the same year refused to go to church "except when it pleases him". He receives a warning³⁷. In 1570 Joan Smarte of Hartley Maudit was stated³⁸ to be a midwife and suspected of being a Papist. (She probably was: Nicholas Tichborne, the constant recusant, lived at Hartley Maudit and there were 11 citations from this parish at this time.) The ecclesiastical authorities carefully watched known midwives for any signs of Papistry, for they feared that new-born children might be baptised as Catholics³⁹. In October of the same year (1570) John Freeborn of Adderton, Isle of Wight, "plays during the time of divine service" instead of going to church⁴⁰. The wife of John Haddard of Warblington mentioned, in 1570, as the reason for her recusancy, the fact that she was a cook and "has to prepare meals"⁴¹. She was probably a servant in the establishment of George Cotton, esquire, of Warblington. John Hopkins and William Lancaster were innkeepers of Basingstoke and "keep the doors of their houses open during the time of divine service"⁴². There is no indication of the action, if any, that was taken in these cases.

Relics of Catholic days were discovered in the searching visitations made between 1570 and 1575 and there were lingering Catholic observances. The churchwardens of Lyndhurst had not destroyed "idolatrous monuments". They did not appear when cited and were excommunicated⁴³. The wardens of Steep had concealed "papistical vestments". These were ordered to be cut up for use in the church⁴⁴. In 1570 the churchwardens of Bramley had not destroyed the rood-loft. This was not done till November 1572, for the charge was renewed against them in that month⁴⁵. In 1570 the churchwardens of Owslebury were not only charged with not having received Communion, but also with not having destroyed certain vestments in the church⁴⁶. In 1575 Andrew Adams of Bradlie was questioned about three copes which remained in his custody, and he was warned to produce "the cross, the clothes and banner"⁴⁷. John Fry of Bedhampton, which was close to the estate of the recusant, Thomas Pounce, at Belmont⁴⁸, had made invocations to the Blessed Virgin: he had to perform public penance in the church⁴⁹; and Mistress Norton of East Tisted "observes festival days which must not be observed"⁵⁰. In 1570 the Vicar of Godshill was in trouble. He was Henry Hays, L.L.B., an ex-Marian priest⁵¹. It was stated that he was "much suspected of Papistry. He put his wife from him in Queen Mary's days ... He confesseth he never read the confession of uniformity in religion these nine years and hath not monthly prayed against the Pope as in the Injunctions"⁵².

III

In 1571 Bishop Horne made a visitation of both Winchester Cathedral and the College⁵³.

The visitation of the Cathedral was no doubt felt to be an important matter, for the Cathedral itself was in the heart of a largely Papist city, the Mayor of which with five other influential persons in "Winchester and the suburbs" was ^{actually} returned in 1572 as a Papist⁵⁴. Four years after this, 1576, William Allen was to describe the city as one of the most Catholic towns or parts of England⁵⁵. Moreover, Horne, when not in London, was often residing at his palace at Bishop's Waltham, some twelve miles away, and it was therefore apparently considered necessary that the Protestantism of the Cathedral clergy on the spot, a good proportion of whom had been Marian priests, should be strong and certain. It will be seen that there was room for improvement.

The Dean and the Prebendaries were charged with having many times refused to preach in the Cathedral and, in particular, the Dean had not preached against the Pope and "the superstitious Mass"⁵⁶. He favoured rather "superstitious religion" than "true religion now received", and did not administer the Oath of Supremacy⁵⁷. In the Injunctions for the Cathedral, the Bishop ordered sermons to be regularly preached against the authority of the Pope and also special discourses "confuting" the "private Mass"⁵⁸. The Cathedral vergers henceforth during sermon time ^{were} to see that no disturbance or un-

reverent behaviour be there used". Any "disordered persons" were to be brought before the Chancellor⁵⁹. Sermons do not seem to have been popular and were a cause of absenteeism⁶⁰.

Horne also now determined that in the Cathedral there should be as few reminders as possible to citizens of a by-gone Catholicism: his action seems to be part of a general stiffening of attitude towards Catholics after the Bull of 1570. At any rate, in 1571 the Cathedral rood-loft was ordered to be mured up and some "parcel of scripture" to be "written" there⁶¹. "All images of the Trinity (the Cathedral was named after the Trinity) in the glass windows or other places" were to be "put out ... together with the stone cross in the churchyard"⁶². An inventory was to be made of "all the church stuff, as copes, vestments, albs, chalices, pixes, service-books and such other whatsoever"⁶³. These articles were to be brought to the Ordinary within two months together with a certificate of the bestowing of all the images that were in the Cathedral⁶⁴.

Horne's Injunctions of 1571 for Winchester College illustrate his determination to tighten the control of education in the interests of the State religion. The Catechism of Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, which had been approved the year before, was made a test of conformity⁶⁵. Henceforth, "because no less regard is to be had of the schoolmaster and usher than of the Fellows, yea, rather more, because of the instruction of youth, and to the intent that all in that College shall come to be in one conformity of profession and belief, it is ordered

that every Sunday and Holy Day after dinner they shall read and expound to the scholars in their several forms or books some part of the Catechism lately set forth by Mr. Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, beginning at the beginning thereof and so continuing to the end"⁶⁶. Horne also ordered that "none should be admitted or chosen as scholars or choristers 'except they can say by heart without book the little English Catechism with the right use of the Sacraments lately set forth; nor that none go from hence to the New College in Oxford, but such as can say Mr. Nowell's Catechism and subscribe to the Articles of Religion lately set forth in the last Convocation'."⁶⁷ Horne seemed resolved to keep New College clear of the considerable amount of Papistry which formerly existed there. Dr. Wood, the authority on English education in Tudor times, says that "this is the first evidence of subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles being required by schoolboys proceeding to the University ... the precautions to ensure uniformity at Winchester were also introduced at other schools"⁶⁸.

Besides these injunctions there were other orders with the object of preventing Papistry in Winchester College. Horne commanded "every Fellow, schoolmaster, usher, conduct or servant ... and every Oppidane and Commensall, as they term it, which come to the school for learning (to) refrain from the company or house of any man or woman that is excommunicated or detected, suspected or enquired on for Papistry ... If they did not do so, they were to

be expelled"⁶⁹. The Oath of Supremacy had to be taken by "every fellow, schoolmaster, usher, conduct and clerk" before admission to the College⁷⁰. If any scholar received "any letters from his friend or other to warn him to continue in Papistry and doth not immediately show or disclose the said letter to the Warden, schoolmaster or usher but concealeth it, he shall be ... expelled the College"⁷¹. Diligent enquiry was to be made of such as were in the College in the first year of the Queen's reign as to what became of the images and church books, and whether they had been destroyed, or, if they were kept, to whose custody they were committed. If they remained, they must be "utterly destroyed immediately"⁷².

While Horne, thorough and regular in his visitations, was a competent ecclesiastical administrator and servant of the Government, the Council itself, aware of the strength of surviving Papistry in Hampshire, also kept a vigilant eye on the county. In 1572, for instance, was compiled, apparently for Burleigh, a list of the leading persons in Hampshire, arranged under hundreds⁷³. The total was 246. Against 145 of them was a note, either "pp" (for strong or earnest Papist) or "p" (for just Papist), indicating their religious convictions (the remainder have no distinguishing note). There were 48 of the former, but to them should be added the names of the Earl of Southampton, and also those of Lords St. John and Chideock Paulet, who had already been returned as "not favourers" of the Elizabethan religious settlement⁷⁴. Among the 48 were four esquires, thirty-six gentlemen, two franklins,

two widows (gentlewomen) three yeomen, and one person whose rank is not stated. Of the Papists ("p") there were: one knight (Sir Robert Oxenbridge), seven esquires, sixty-nine gentlemen, three franklins, ten yeomen, the Mayor of Winchester, William Badger, and three others whose ranks are not stated. These make a total of 94. Since it may reasonably be assumed that tenants and others, with memories of a feudalism not long departed, naturally tended in an agricultural economy at this time to have the same religious convictions as their land-owning Catholic masters⁷⁵, who were the natural leaders and protectors of those below them in rank, it could be deduced that some three-fifths of Hampshire in 1572 was still Catholic.

The strong or earnest Papists included many who were now, or were to become, pronounced recusants, such as George Cotton, Thomas Pounce, Robert Joy, Henry Shelley and Edward Banister. Included among them also was Ralph Henslowe⁷⁶, of the well-known recusant family of West Boarhunt, who was Clerk of the Peace in 1574. Seven Tichbornes are returned as earnest Papists, including Benjamin Tichborne, who was later to conform, and his mother, Elizabeth Tichborne. Peter Tichborne, the father of Chideock Tichborne, was classified as a Papist. He was, however, a strong recusant and was later to be a prisoner for recusancy⁷⁷. Other leading recusants who are now described only as Papists are Anthony Uvedale and Stephen Vachell⁷⁸. In Winchester "and its suburbs" other Papists, besides the Mayor,

were William Lawrence, John Pottinger, Giles White and Richard Winslade, gentlemen, whilst Edward de Marini, gentleman, was an "earnest Papist"⁷⁹.

This list must have proved useful to the Council in the watch which they maintained on the recusants in Hampshire. Indeed, from now onwards, neither the Council nor the ecclesiastical authorities relax their vigilance. In August 1572, for instance, certain "obstinate" Papists are required to appear before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in Winchester "for matters respecting religion, chiefly for neglecting the Divine Service and not receiving the Blessed Communion". Among them are four Tichbornes: Mistress Elizabeth Tichborne, Roger Tichborne, Nicholas Tichborne and John Tichborne⁸⁰. In June 1574 the Council wrote to Bishop Horne, Sir Henry Wallop and other J.P.'s, saying that information had been received about "certain secret assemblies and uses of massing in that county". The J.P.'s were ordered to search suspected places and let the Council know the result⁸¹.

In 1574 or 1575⁸² Archbishop Parker undertook at Horne's request a visitation of the Winchester diocese. Strype says⁸³ that the request was made because of "great clerical irregularities in the Isle of Wight and some other portions of the Winchester diocese", but it is possible, in view of the Articles of Inquiry for the Visitation, that trouble with the Papists was one of the chief reasons⁸⁴.

Parker enquired whether there were any persons once ordained

priests who say or sing Mass in "private conventicles"⁸⁵; whether any schoolmaster⁸⁶ teaches openly or privately in any noble or gentleman's house "not being allowed and examined by the Ordinary ..."; and "whether they suffer their scholars to read any books tending to the impugning and derogation of the order of religion now set forth ..."; whether people are negligent in coming to church or Communion or refuse to come⁸⁷; whether fines for non-attendance at church are levied and collected⁸⁸; whether "all images, altars, shrines and other monuments of idolatry and superstition be utterly destroyed and put out ..."⁸⁹; whether "all rood-lofts be pulled down ... and whether likewise all mass-books, antiphoners ... and other such books which served for superstitious Latin service be defaced and abolished"⁹⁰; and finally "whether any ... popish and superstitious doctrine be maintained ..."⁹¹.

Parker considered that his visitation was a success, at least he told the Queen that "it wrought such a contentation for obedience that I do not yet repent me of it"⁹².

The watch on the county for signs of Papistry continued and in 1576 a serious matter came to the notice of the Council. On 9 June of that year the Council wrote⁹³ to Sir William Kingsmill, Sir Richard Norton and others saying "they had been informed" that Alexander Dering living in the Soke, Winchester, kept in his house "a great store of vestments, books, and other massing tools to serve 'lewd' purposes, when any so evil given is disposed to have use of them, he himself being a man very perversely bent against the present state

of religion". This reference to the possible use of the vestments and of the "massing tools" is of particular interest, because the increasing watchfulness of the Council was no doubt due in part to the movements of the Seminary priests in England (the priests had begun to come from Douai two years previously (1574)). William Allen, in this same year, 1576, said⁹⁴ that Winchester was one of the towns in England where priests might do much good, and he described it as one of the most Catholic towns or parts in England. He mentions it with York, Lancaster, Chester and other towns in the North, but refers to no other town in the whole of the South.

The Council went on to say that Dering was keeping in his custody "divers writings and records that belong to the whole shire and ought to be kept with the Bishop's public records as matters belonging to the Registrar's court, the same coming to his hands when he was Under-Registrar to John Coke⁹⁵ many years past". For the maintenance of good order "such monuments of superstitions and popery" ought to be suppressed and the records stored in a suitable place. Orders were given for Dering's house to be searched; and "if any Mass books or other such monuments ... or any such records as do or ought to belong to the Bishop's Court" they (the books and monuments) were to be consumed or destroyed publicly, and records found were to be placed in the proper place.

IV

In 1577 the Council and the Bishops became alarmed at the increasing number of the recusants: the advent of the missionary priests from Douai was doubtless now beginning to influence the situation considerably. On 21 July, 1577, Aylmer, Bishop of London, wrote⁹⁶ to Walsingham saying that he had consulted the Archbishop of Canterbury and mentioning that news had been received from the Bishops that "the Papists marvellously increase both in numbers and in obstinate withdrawing of themselves from the church". It was suggested that, to meet the position, the "richest sort" of recusants should not be imprisoned, but should be punished by heavier fines⁹⁷. This letter was apparently written very soon after the capture of the proto-martyr, Cuthbert Mayne, in Cornwall, where there was a good deal of religious disturbance⁹⁸. The Bishops' news augmented the Council's anxiety, and a conference of Councillors and Bishops was held, probably in July 1577, to discuss the measures necessary to arrest the extension of recusancy⁹⁹.

Walsingham drew up a memorandum incorporating the outcome of the conference¹⁰⁰. It was proposed: (1) that the Bishops and "others well-affected in each diocese" should enquire about those who refuse to go to church, especially "such as are of countenance and quality, and do offend by their example"; (2) that offenders, apparently with a view to their conformity, should be conferred with by Protestants "sufficiently learned after a charitable sort"¹⁰¹;

(3) that the more obstinate recusants should be imprisoned and "punished by way of mulct, according to their abilities", but that, nevertheless, they should similarly have conference with "learned men" during their imprisonment; (4) that if recusants continued in their recalcitrance, they should be offered the Oath of Supremacy; and (5) that, "as the number of recusants is so great as the places of restraint are not able to hold them", the most "corrupt" recusants are to be dealt with first together with those "principal persons such as are by law to be reached unto". A final recommendation was made that schoolmasters were to be examined "publicly and privately", and were to be removed if they were "backward in religion".

In October 1577 the Council wrote¹⁰² to the Bishops asking for certificates of the recusants in their dioceses, stating the value of the recusants' lands and goods. The information furnished proved to be unsatisfactory. In sending in his return, Horne seemed to imply that he was at a loss to know how to deal with the Papists. He said "he was most heartily desirous to hear that your wisdoms will devise some such remedy in these causes as their most wilful obstinacy may be the better restrained and corrected, which daily groweth more and more"¹⁰³.

At about this time, and probably in connection with the foregoing proposals, a scheme was prepared for the imprisonment of "the better sort of recusants" in various castles in England¹⁰⁴. Each

of ten castles was to serve two or three counties; and the name of the superintendent of the castle was furnished together with that of the keeper who was to be the custodian of the recusants. Portchester was one of the castles proposed for use and was to serve Hampshire, Surrey and Sussex. The castles were to be put into good repair and letters sent to the Bishops to call and commit "so many of the better sort of recusants within their dioceses as have not appeared before the Council". The "baser sort" were to be punished by means of a fine.

This rather comprehensive scheme was not put into effect, but it evidently received serious consideration. At a later stage some castles were actually used for recusants and among them Wisbech Castle in Lincolnshire received Hampshire recusants¹⁰⁵. Portchester was never used.

Some solution of the growing recusant problem in Hampshire was becoming urgently necessary, but Horne was now approaching the end of his episcopate. He had long endeavoured to keep his diocese under close inspection, and had been unrelenting in his toil. He had not, however, solved the problem of recusancy as one of his successors at Winchester, Thomas Cooper, claimed that he had solved it in his diocese of Lincoln, when he reported to the Council in 1577 that, by searching enquiry, he could find only a few recalcitrant Papists¹⁰⁶. Horne, indeed, seems to have become disheartened towards the end. In August 1576 he wrote to Gualter that "the church is sound in

other respects except that she is struggling with that old disease under which she has laboured even from her infancy: for she will not recover from Popery before the last coming of that great physician Jesus Christ ... " 107.

He received at about this time what must have been a serious blow, when his nephew, Adam Horne, a Wykehamist and Fellow of New College, became a Catholic and went to the Seminary at Rheims¹⁰⁸. In June 1579 Robert Horne died¹⁰⁹.

CHAPTER IV

BISHOP JOHN WATSON, 1580-1584

I

There was some relaxation of the Government's pressure on the recusants in 1579 due to the re-opening of the negotiations for a marriage of Elizabeth with the French king's brother, Anjou. Walsingham wrote secretly¹ to leading gentlemen in certain shires asking them to deal more leniently with the Papists. This relaxation was, however, short-lived and the situation was radically changed by the arrival of the "Jesuit" Mission in 1580. A further event, the so-called Pope's expedition to Ireland in 1579-1580, in which the well-known Dr. Nicholas Sanders came as Papal Legate, not only strongly influenced the political situation, but also tended to prejudice the success of the Mission itself. The Jesuit, Robert Persons, a principal member of the Mission, said that, in particular, Nicholas Sanders' participation was unfortunate². At any rate, it was now easy for the Government to classify Pope, Spain, the Missionaries (and especially the Jesuits) together, without much or any distinction, as England's enemies.

Robert Persons landed in England on 12 June 1580 and Edmund Campion a fortnight later. With these came, among others, two Wykehamists and Fellows of New College, Oxford, who had gone to Douai and become priests - William Gyblett and Edward Bromborough³. Knowing

that the Jesuits would have to meet the charge that their mission was political, the General of their Order instructed them not to mix themselves up with affairs of state nor write to Rome about political matters.

On arriving in London, Persons, with considerable courage, went straight to the Marshalsea and found Thomas Pounce, the Hampshire recusant, who was imprisoned there⁴. Pounce introduced Persons to George Gilbert, who was the founder of a group of well-to-do Catholic gentlemen which had been formed for the purpose of giving material assistance to the missionaries and, in particular, to arrange for their safe conduct from place to place⁵.

At this time drives against the Catholics were being intensified by the Government and for that reason both Persons and Campion appear to have determined to leave London for the country. They met members of Gilbert's group at Hoxton and stayed the night there before taking leave of each other⁶. Thomas Pounce, active, enthusiastic and, as it turned out, far-seeing, either bribing the gaoler at the Marshalsea or giving him the slip, came in great haste to Hoxton and told the Jesuits of the rumours which the Council were spreading: apparently it had been given out that the Jesuits' mission was a political one⁷. This would naturally embarrass the Missionaries and do considerable harm to the Catholic cause in the shires; and Pounce, therefore, to counteract the effects of the Council's attitude, suggested that Persons and Campion should each write a declaration of their purpose

in coming to England - a declaration which was to include a denial of any association with politics. These statements, properly signed and sealed, he further suggested, might be left with some trustworthy persons and produced, if the Jesuits were seized or put to death. Should the Government then malign them the apologiae could be produced to justify their actions⁸.

Both Persons and Campion agreed to Pounce's proposal. Campion wrote his declaration, addressed to the Lords of the Privy Council, in less than half an hour; Persons' statement, perhaps not unexpectedly, was longer. Campion's composition, says Persons, "was written without preparation, and in the hurry of a journey; yet it was so 'pithy in substance and style' that it was a triumph to one party and poison to the other"⁹. It was, apart from its religious purpose, the superb piece of Elizabethan prose which came to be known as Campion's Brag or Challenge¹⁰. It made history in Hampshire.

Campion gave a copy of his composition unsealed to Pounce, desiring him not to publicise it until the necessity arose, but the cautious Persons prudently sealed the copy of his own writing before giving it to Pounce. On returning to the Marshalsea, Pounce read Campion's work, and, though his enthusiastic and impulsive nature was agreeably impressed, he had, it would seem, no immediate intention of making it known to others. It was possibly when he was sent to the half-derelict castle of Bishop's Stortford that he handed a copy of the Challenge to one person and he to a third¹¹. At any rate, copies were soon in

busy circulation during the autumn months of 1580. Pounce seems to have given a copy to Benjamin Tichborne, esquire, of Tichborne, whom he knew very well, and Tichborne probably passed it to William Hoorde, a well-known Hampshire recusant gentleman of Preston Candover and Nutley¹². And so it reached Hampshire.

The Council seem to have got wind of what was happening and in November William Hoorde was examined by the Bishop of Winchester and others as he was believed to be "the first bringer and dispenser of the seditious challenge ... in this county"¹³. Hoorde was asked from whom he had received Campion's writing, but this he refused to reveal. He was committed to the House of Correction in Winchester because he was "a very backward and obstinate person in matters of religion and (had) so ... continued all the time of Her Majesty's reign"¹⁴.

The Bishop and his associated J.P.'s had become very much disturbed at the effect of the distribution of copies of the Challenge among recusants and other persons in the county: Campion's writing seemed to "such like backward persons (in religion) ... very plausible". Investigations continued and there were soon to be more tangible results.

Writing to Sir John Fetiplace on 24 November 1580¹⁵, John Lychpoole, an informer, said that as he was riding from Newbury in Berkshire he overtook on Iseley Downs, one William Pitts (he was the son of Henry Pitts of Alton and the nephew of Dr. Nicholas Sanders)¹⁶ who "carried a cloak bag full of what I know not ... He said he had

an old Matins book therein with many other things...". William Pitts naively confessed that he was a Catholic and called the Protestants "abominable heretics". "And then", continued this informer, "he showed me a writing which he told me he had from one Mr. Sanders¹⁷, a gentleman of Wales, which lieth in the Fleet for religion". This writing was by "one Mr. Campion, who had come into England of purpose to have disputations with the learnedest". He himself (William Pitts) was travelling into Pembrokeshire to Mr. Sanders' house "where he doth deal with him in many things".

Lychepoole was promised a copy of the Challenge if he sent to Pitts' lodgings, and a copy was duly delivered to Lychepoole's messenger. It was then forwarded to Sir John Fetiplade, who, immediately he received it, sent to Pitts' lodging to seize him, but William had departed¹⁸.

The next stage is that Lychepoole was sent to Hampshire to Sir Richard Norton who was requested by Sir John Fetiplace to search the house of Henry Pitts of Alton. But William was not there. The searchers did, however, find Elizabeth Sanders, a nun, Henry Pitts' sister-in-law and the sister of Nicholas Sanders. With her were found "diverse unlawful books, with a chalice". The account of the examination of Elizabeth Sanders by the Bishop of Winchester and others¹⁹ said that she was found with "certain lewd and forbidden books, and the copy of a supplication, protestation or challenge". She was considered to have "great dissimulation and vanity in her, and also

great obstinacy in her perseverance of her profession", and was therefore committed to the House of Correction in Winchester²⁰. The authorities probably considered that they had made a valuable capture by securing the sister of Dr. Nicholas Sanders, Papal Legate, and associate of the rebels in Ireland.

William Pitts was eventually seized at Bath. He wrote²¹ to Benjamin Tichborne in Hampshire asking him "to certify unto the Mayor (of Bath) under his hand and seal of arms what his conversation and behaviour is "together with other particulars including the day of his departure from Hampshire". Tichborne, in turn, "although he understood nothing of the matter (he no doubt had a good idea of the reason), the rather to be instructed how to make his certificate", sent William's letter, enclosed in one of his own, to William's father, Henry Pitts of Alton, desiring to be instructed "in what form he should make his certificate for his son"²².

Benjamin's messenger arrived at Alton, but being a stranger to the place enquired for Henry Pitts' house, mentioning to various people that he had a letter from Henry's son. One Edwards, hearing this, desired to see the letter. Receiving it, and "remembering that Pitts had a son which lately fled from Oxford unto Rome, thinking the same letter to have come from him, did immediately carry the letter unto one Christopher Stone, gentleman, by whose advice the letter was broken up to see the contents thereof"²³. This Christopher Stone was apparently a lawyer²⁴.

Benjamin Tichborne was incensed "that his letter was discovered" and that it had been broken open. He sent his man "to be revenged of the same act". Stone could not be found at his house, but Benjamin's servant "went to the house of the said Edwards and calling him out, required his name, who answered that his name was Edwards. Whereupon immediately he drew his sword and did cruelly beat Edwards breaking his face with his buckler, and said that he would have used Stone much worse if he could have found him, for breaking up his master's letters"²⁵.

By this time the Mayor of Bath had moved in the case, and William Pitts had been sent to Hampshire "unto the Sessions where, being charged with divers matters, he was by the whole Bench committed to the common gaol (in Winchester). And the peace likewise (was) granted against the said Mr. Tichborne and his servant"²⁶.

The allegations made against Pitts after his capture were serious enough from the point of view of his own safety. He had used "in mislike of the State and Government" these words: "great cruelty was used at this present by imprisoning of good men whom he termed Catholics, affirming the prisons to be full of them in every place; that learned and godly persons with offered disputations were refused to be heard, saying it was odious that men's souls should hang in danger by reason the said learned men were denied audience; and that he thought Her Majesty was far deceived and erred from the true faith ..."²⁷.

Pitts, however, was fortunate: on 15 February 1581 he broke out of gaol and fled, "having houses laid ready for him"²⁸.

The interest of the episode now centres round Benjamin Tichborne. Tichborne had been returned as an "earnest" or "strong" Papist in 1572²⁹ and in 1574 his name was in a list of the chief Catholics in England³⁰. At an unknown date he seems to have conformed. At any rate he became High Sheriff of Hampshire in 1579-80 and he would then have been required to take the Oath of Supremacy. Nevertheless, in 1581 he was described³¹ as "a great favourer of Papists and himself suspected for that he hath not communicated for divers years. His wife and divers others in his house refuseth (sic) to come to church ... (He) hath given warning to divers Papists to fly the diocese ... that otherwise had been apprehended by letters from the Lords of Her Majesty's Privy Council". These were some of the "misdemeanours" of Benjamin Tichborne mentioned in 1581³². But, whatever his ecclesiastical derelictions, Tichborne was soon to be in a position to turn the tables on his opponents, including Sir Richard Norton, a J.P. and well-known searcher for recusants³³.

It appears that the Lord Chief Baron, Sir Roger Manwood, was on his journey to the Assizes at Winchester from London and "was contented to come unto Alton out of his accustomed way toward Winchester"³⁴. Manwood was probably well-known to the Tichbornes for he was a personage in the county and in March 1577 had been given the freedom of Southampton³⁵. Moreover, Benjamin Tichborne had married Amphyllis Weston,

daughter of Richard Weston, Justice of the Common Pleas, and this had no doubt given him an additional source of contact with people of the law like Sir Roger Manwood³⁶. In any case, the judge, apparently staying as a guest at Tichborne Manor, made Benjamin a Justice of the Peace and "of the quorum", saying, "Now you are fellow with those that bound you to the peace". He was not only such a "fellow" but, as one of the quorum, he had considerable authority and would no doubt in future be able to exert it discreetly on occasions in favour of hard-pressed recusants³⁷.

At the request of Tichborne, the Lord Chief Baron sent a warrant to the Constable ordering him³⁸ to bring the unfortunate Edwards and his master, Stone, before him. "His Lordship then willed Mr. Tichborne to show ... the cause of their offence ..." Whereupon Tichborne declared that they had broken up his letters. The Lord Chief Baron did not allow them to answer the accusation, but "did revile them, calling Edwards 'rascal' and 'horse stealer', and immediately enjoined them in £40 to appear before him at the Assizes, saying, 'I will do nothing here unto you, but that which I will do shall be done in the face of the whole shire. And Sir Richard Norton shall not countenance this matter'". Norton's discomfiture must have been considerable, whilst Tichborne's triumph was almost, but not quite, complete.

Stone and Edwards appeared at the Assizes and His Lordship asked³⁹ Stone "what the cause was he had the peace against Mr. Tichborne and his servant, which Stone beginning to open the said cause, the Lord

Chief Baron would not hear him, but told him that he was expelled the Temple for his misbehaviour (he was struck off the Rolls), saying that he was very saucy to open the said letters; and threatened the said Stone that he should take good heed that he came no more before him, affirming that, if he did, he should know the price thereof".

William Pitts, who might have been severely punished, got off completely. "Touching the escape of Pitts His Lordship did pass the same slightly over without perusing of his examination, saying also to the said gaoler that he should pay £10 for the same offence". (The gaoler had no doubt been considerably bribed already so that he could well afford the fine.) Manwood ended his hearing by a contemptuous disregard of the authority of the Bishop. He said that "the said gaoler needed not to receive any prisoner into the Queen's gaol sent by the Bishop or others, except it were for the matter of the Crown only"⁴⁰.

As a "favourer of Papists" Benjamin Tichborne had indeed worked surpassingly well.

II

The reply to the "Jesuit" mission of 1580 was a severe penal statute against the recusants and the missionaries, - the Act of 1581, being "an Act to retain the Queen's Majesty's subjects in their due

obedience"⁴¹. Through the activities of the missionary priests, conversions to Catholicism had been taking place on a considerable scale and the new Act was mainly designed to meet the new situation which had arisen. It was now a treasonable offence to reconcile anyone to Catholicism or for anyone to be reconciled. Anyone assisting in such reconciliations or failing to disclose them is guilty of misprision of treason. Heavy fines and imprisonment were to be inflicted for saying or hearing Mass. Persons above the age of 16 who refused to go to Common Prayer are to pay £20 a month for such offence⁴². There are heavy penalties for recusants who act as schoolmasters.

In addition to the Act of 1581, two important Proclamations by the Queen exemplified the greatly increased religious and political tension in the country. The first Proclamation, that of 15 July 1580⁴³, spoke of traitors abroad, especially at Rome, who attempted to "irritate" everyone against Her Majesty. Some indeed have made it public that the Pope, the King of Spain and others intend to invade England and other dominions of the Queen with a great army. All dutiful subjects are therefore admonished to continue in their duty and to be ready, if necessary, to defend their country. Any persons who have "unnatural affections" are warned not to proceed too far, otherwise Her Majesty would be bound to use the "sword of justice against them". All are warned not to be moved by "murmurers or spreaders of rumours".

The second Proclamation was made on 10 January 1581⁴⁴. This was important because it concerned recusants in many countries including Hampshire who had children or kinsfolk abroad⁴⁵. The Proclamation said that seminaries had been established in Rome and elsewhere to train English subjects as instruments of rebellion. All subjects, therefore, who had children or wards or kinsfolk abroad, and who contribute to their support, must give a list of them to the Ordinary within 10 days and arrange for their return in four months. If they do not return, contributions are to cease. Parents must inform the Ordinary if others support any kinsfolk abroad. Merchants are not to aid any such persons by drawing bills of exchange or otherwise. Nobody (except merchants or their factors) may leave the kingdom without special licence. Jesuits and English subjects, especially in Ireland, have lately disturbed people's loyalty to the Queen. All Jesuits and Seminary priests are to be imprisoned and persons harbouring them are to be punished. Informers are to be rewarded.

This Proclamation had little effect and on 1 April 1582 a further Proclamation was issued⁴⁶. It pronounced all Jesuits and Seminary priests to be traitors and persons who harboured them to be accomplices of traitors. Persons who went abroad without permission or did not return from the seminaries within three months were likewise regarded as traitors. ~~The episcopal documents of the Winchester diocese at this time relating to recusancy and absence from~~

The episcopal documents of the Winchester diocese at this time relating to recusancy and absence from Communion cover a short period immediately before the Act of 1581 and a further period immediately following, viz. from January 1581 to July 1583⁴⁷. During this whole period of 1581-1583 there was a total of 297 citations: 187 recusants (including 8 cases of "rarely going to church" and 10 of "not duly going to church") and 110 non-Communicants. The citations are well-distributed over the county and are from 92 parishes. Apparently, one visitation is involved.

Of the total number of citations, 35 are marked "indicted" (indictatus). These are cases of obstinate recusancy justifying legal trial. The number bears fairly close relationship to the number who were actually convicted and concerning whom particulars of fines under the Act of 1581 are entered on the Pipe Rolls. For example, 22 recusants' names appear on the Pipe Roll for Hampshire for 1581-2⁴⁸ and 10 on that for 1583-4⁴⁹. As in 1583 an official list of some 300 recusants in Hampshire was drawn up⁵⁰, it will be seen that the number actually convicted of recusancy and fined is a small proportion of the total.

There is evidence in the recusants' statements at the Bishop's Court of the intensified activities of the missionary priests. For example, new reasons for recusancy are made which seem to show the effect of contacts with the missionaries. Thomas Platt of Otterbourne, which was to remain for many years a considerable Catholic centre associated with the well-known recusant Wells family⁵¹, was cited in 1583 and said that "his conscience will not suffer him" to come to

church⁵². Reasons in almost precisely these terms were given for recusancy by two other recusants from Otterbourne, two from Twyford and one recusant from Easton⁵³. Thomas Grant of Twyford said⁵⁴: "that the Sunday before Whit Sunday (in 1583) he was at his church at service, but now his conscience will not serve him to come to church ... By church he heard some part of service and said he were as good hear a bear-baiting ... The law cannot compel him to come".

"Not in charity" with the vicar was a well-known excuse of Catholics at this time for absence from church⁵⁵, and in 1581 four people from Fareham, Thomas Woolgar, Thomas Woolgar, junior, and William Harrison and his wife were cited for recusancy because of the "strife and controversy between the vicar there and them"⁵⁶.

Humphrey Rope of St.Maurice, Winchester, thinks "the Latin service (i.e. the Mass) is necessary"⁵⁷. David Ringstead and his wife of the same parish were also cited for recusancy. Ringstead was an Under-Keeper at the gaol in Winchester⁵⁸. "He told Skynner (the apparitor) he had been a Papist these three years well-known"⁵⁹.

In the case of a Dr. Bridges (with his servants) of Cheriton who was charged with recusancy, the ecclesiastical authorities seemed to be particularly concerned at his defection and stated that "the Chancellor wished to speak to him"⁶⁰. George Leceter of Lawrence Wootton became involved at the Bishop's Court in a discussion on transubstantiation and the Bishop apparently pointed out what he conceived to be some of the errors in the doctrine⁶¹. Giles Hackes

of Newport, Isle of Wight, was accused of "harbouring of suspicious persons"⁶².

No religious articles surviving from Catholic days are now found, except "a cross or crucifix and a banner" which were stated to have been given to George Robyns, churchwarden of Ovington. He had "determined to sell it (them) to the church's use", but had not apparently done so⁶³. Apart, however, from these, nothing of this kind comes to light. This is indeed not surprising, for Catholicism in its practice and association has become increasingly an underground movement, and it is dangerous, or at least suspicious, for anyone to be found with Catholic religious articles of any sort.

III

Although some imprisoned recusants were released in 1581, possibly because of the passing of danger due to the Irish Rebellion, the Council did not apparently relax its vigilance in other directions, for on 11 September 1581 they wrote⁶⁴ to the Bishop of Winchester acknowledging the receipt of certificates of those who had been indicted, and said that they "liked well of the course he hath taken in reducing some of them by conferences of learned and godly men to conformity". As for others who had been indicted and convicted, the Bishop is required to make estreats (or extracts of the relevant particulars) of the sums of money forfeited to the Queen. Those who had been presented but not yet indicted are to be committed to gaol and then remitted to the Justices to receive their trial at Quarter Sessions. Particulars of

the names and places of abode of any other recusants in the diocese are to be sent to the Council "whereupon they will take such order as shall be thought convenient". In June 1582 the Council resolved⁶⁵ that recusants at liberty were not to move from their present state of residence, except with reasonable cause, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners giving the required permission. They were to give bonds before being allowed to remove. A survey of recusants' armour and weapons was to be made, and such armour and weapons must be forthcoming when required.

By 1583 it becomes clear that reconciliations to Catholicism are being made on a considerable scale and that the effect of the work of the missionary forces of the Counter-Reformation is being felt in fuller measure. Before the missionary priests came - at least before they came in any number - the English Catholics, left for so many years to themselves, had been unenthusiastic and despondent, but in the 1580's they have apparently become galvanised with new hope and courage, and present an entirely different front. The Government are manifestly alarmed and some time in 1583 Burghley wrote to the Queen that "your strong and factious subjects are the Papists. Strong I account them both in number and nature"⁶⁶.

A list of Hampshire recusants was produced⁶⁷ in April 1583, apparently at the instigation of the Bishop of Winchester, probably for the special information of the Council. It consisted of some 300 recusants⁶⁸ (not non-Communicants) from 65 parishes. The return was

~~apparently~~ the result of a special inquisition in 1583. It was perhaps more reliable than a list based on churchwardens' presentments would have been, but even so it included a covering statement furnishing the names of further recusants which had been omitted, "either by reason of their departures out of the parishes or else by the negligence of the sworn men Inquisitors who should have presented them". It would seem that even chosen "inquisitors" were, like churchwardens and others, capable of connivance⁶⁹. Most of the well-known recusants in Hampshire whose names appear in other returns and on recusant rolls are represented in this list of 300. There are 29 recusants in the gaol at Winchester.

At this time (1583) tribute was paid in two opposing quarters to the work which had been done in Hampshire by two schoolmasters, John Body and John Slade, apparently joining forces with the Missionary priests, in increasing the numbers of the recusants. These two men had been tried for denying the royal supremacy and had been condemned to death⁷⁰. Writing to William Allen on 24 April 1583 ~~the~~ the Rev. George Birket ⁷¹ said that at their trial the impression which they had made was so favourable that almost the greater part of the people in Hampshire had withdrawn themselves from the churches of the Establishment; and that not only members of the gentry were recusants but also many country people. Allowing for some amount of exaggeration, this view was to be supported a little later by the ecclesiastical authorities themselves and by others who were in a

position to know the facts.

Thus in July 1583 the Bishop of Winchester and some J.P.'s wrote⁷² to the Council that " ... no small number of the meaner sort, many of them poor husbandmen and artificers, some wives, servants and young men unmarried of divers parishes within three or four miles compass of this city (Winchester), who, about Easter last frequented the church and there received Holy Communion are since suddenly revolted and do as yet obstinately absent themselves; their dangerous example (as we hear) encouraging others daily to do the like, it was therefore thought convenient (that the causes of this their sudden backsliding might be the better understood) to send for them first by warrant from some of us, the Justices". Some, when they appeared, said that their consciences would not serve them to come to church⁷³. Others were anxious to share in the punishment for recusancy: they objected that it seemed to be Her Majesty's pleasure that "those of the wealthier sort only (were) to be dealt with according to the statute (the Act of 1581) and themselves to remain untouched". Others "have boldly affirmed that it is necessary to have Mass and they hope to hear it, and that they had rather hear bear-baiting than the Divine Service".

The letter went on to say that the cause of these "disorders" may be well conjectured: there was free access to, and conference with, not only recusants "of good livelihood hereabouts", but also with the "two traitors" (Body and Slade) who, "to seduce the weaker

sort, make show as though they were only to suffer for religion and not treason". There is also a reference to the "secret persuasions" of the missionary priests "travelling to and fro (who) gave great occasion of the revolt in these parts". Therefore, "fearing lest their subtle and continual practisings" will cause the inferior sort of people "to open ... contempt of true religion", the Council's directions are wanted.

In September William Allen writing to the Cardinal-Protector in Rome⁷⁴ said that "one of our priests ... and two other priests, reconciled above four hundred men to the Roman Church after Easter last in one of the smaller shires". Bearing in mind what George Birket had told Allen in April of the same year, this shire was apparently Hampshire⁷⁵.

On 30 October 1583, John Slade was executed in Winchester and three days later John Body, Slade's fellow-worker in Hampshire, was executed at Andover. The work which they had done was very much in the minds of the ecclesiastical authorities.

Dr. Bennet, Master of St. Cross, wrote⁷⁶ to Burghley on 3 November 1583 and spoke of "the great backwardness of the county in religion". He says he finds it with more experience "far above my expectations. For being present very lately at the execution of the two traitors⁷⁷ and required by the Justices for the better satisfying of the people to debate with the parties of the cause of their death, I found in them so marvellous, perverse and most obstinate resolution against the

regiment and sover^eignty of Her Majesty in ecclesiastical causes ...
In the people (he found) a favour and liking of them, and great numbers carried away with them into stubborn recusancy. And the opinion of the wisest is that the long delay of their execution hath wrought the county's great harm, which doth marvellously appear by the multitudes of their late revolts and the general contempt of the preaching of the Word, specially in this town (Winchester) above all probability of report".

Where the fault of it all lies, Dr. Bennet does not know, but he proposes to inform Lord Burghley when he has looked into the matter. The J.P.'s, or at least those whom he has seen, deserve great commendation "for their wisdom, diligence of service, vigilance and zeal". He attributes the "decay of religion" to non-resident clergy. If there is not better discipline of the clergy "both religion towards God and obedience towards Her Majesty will decay ... (and) decrease daily". This reference to "better discipline" is significant in view of what Dr. Bennet was to say a little later about the present bishop, Watson. Severity must be used, Bennet considers, to bring the people "to the hearing and liking of the Word", and he asks Burghley for guidance.

In January 1584, John Watson, Bishop of Winchester, died, and Dr. Bennet is now able to air his opinions more freely. Writing to Burghley on 24 January 1584. ⁷⁰ he attributes the "evil case" of the county which had existed for a long time, partly to the delay in

appointing a successor to Robert Horne, which the seminarists took as an opportunity to overrun the whole shire, and partly ^{to} by ["]this man's (Watson's) ~~too much~~ lenity". He wants the new bishop to be a man qualified to deal with the special problems which exist in the county and hopes that the "vacation" be not too long "lest the insolency of recusants be too great a height of pride".⁷⁸

The reference to the lenient attitude of the late Bishop towards the recusants perhaps raises a doubt whether his Protestantism was actually sincere: he was at any rate evidently not an ecclesiastic on whom the Government could implicitly rely. He had not been consistent in his religious views: he was ordained as a priest in Henry VIII's reign, was known as a reformer under Edward VI and was made Second Prebendary at Winchester in 1551. He kept the latter position in Mary's reign, and held, in addition, the living of Winchfield. Conforming under Elizabeth, he was granted the rectorship of South Warnborough in 1568 and shortly after became Master of St. Cross. In 1570 he became Dean of Winchester and was Consecrated Bishop of Winchester on 18 September 1580⁷⁹.

Were Watson's religious views essentially but secretly Catholic in his old age? Apart from his recognised leniency towards recusants, there are some indications that they may have been. Agnes White of South Warnborough had the presentation of the living there at the time of Watson's appointment as Rector⁸⁰. She and her husband, Sir Thomas White, were undoubted Catholics and it was to their home that

the deprived Bishop of Winchester, John White, Agnes White's brother, had retired after his release from the Tower in 1559⁸¹. Possibly in his association with the Whites, Watson had revealed signs of innate Catholic views. Moreover, in his Visitation of the Cathedral in 1571 Horne found that the Dean had not preached against the Pope and "the superstitious Mass", that he had favoured "superstitious religion" and had not administered the Oath of Supremacy⁸². The Dean was Watson.

CHAPTER V

BISHOP COOPER (1584-1594) : FIRST PERIOD, 1584-1589

I

Watson's successor, Thomas Cooper, was a very different type of man. He had never held other than Protestant views, and had been ordained after Mary's death. Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, in 1566, he became Dean of Gloucester in 1569 and in 1570 was appointed Bishop of Lincoln¹. He was a vigorous opponent of the Puritans and also of Catholics, and had claimed in 1577² that he had practically cleared his diocese of the latter. The Government had apparently carefully considered the need for a strong, repressive hand against the recusants in the Winchester diocese, and in appointing Cooper to it in 1584 they no doubt felt that he was most suitable for the task, but the new bishop was to find the diocese difficult enough to manage.

Cooper soon set to work. Writing to Burghley on 2 May 1584³ he asked for leave "to go into the county with such authority and direction of assistance there that my endeavour may take effect among them (i.e. the Papists). I, being desirous somewhat to know the state of the county, willed the Archdeacon of Hampshire to make enquiry of such as be obstinate recusants; and I am certified that there be already presented by the churchwardens to the number of 400 and in some parishes 40 or 50".

This number of 400 was evidently based on presentments to the Archdeacon's Court of which, unfortunately, no records survive: the presentments there must have been many more than the number of citations in the surviving episcopal records. Yet even here, as in connection with the return of 1583, local connivance was considerable. "And yet is it thought certainly", Cooper goes on to say, "that by the slackness of the churchwardens, a great number more are omitted. Wherefore the county being in such case, I am of opinion, under correction, that there will need extraordinary authority, and that to be committed not to many. For I understand" (he was apparently getting to know the nature of the Hampshire gentry) "that there be divers of great countenance will speak very well and deal very hollowly". He wants either an ecclesiastical commission or a commission of oyer and determiner, or both⁴. If there is not special consideration of the matter, the recusants will think "that there is not so great care to have disordered persons repressed, as all good subjects know that there is ..."

Recusants who were considered to be sufficiently well-to-do were indicted under the Recusancy Act of 1581, fined or imprisoned. It was difficult to know what to do with the growing multitude of recusants of lower rank, who were not capable of paying the very large fine of £20 a month. Imprisonment after conviction under the Act of 1581 was possible; but the process of the law could not, at this time, keep pace with the growing number of recusants, whilst the

prisons themselves were full, and, moreover, imprisonment resulted in increased expenditure by the Crown.

In 1584 flogging as a punishment and possible deterrent was used in Winchester, according to Robert Persons, who told Agazzari, the General of the Jesuit Order in Rome, that five recusants were publicly flogged in the city, "but none gave way"⁵. One of them was a blacksmith, "a plain man, robust and constant", and apparently of such extraordinary hardihood and endurance that the judges did not know what to make of him. It seems that he had once consented "to go to the heretics' church" and was afterwards "so thoroughly penitent that he said at the Assizes he would never go there again". The judges offended at this, and "seeing that he had no money to lose"⁶, sentenced him to a public flogging once a week until he conformed. Receiving the sentence, he said: "Well, you are unjust judges: this is a slight penalty to wash away the great sin that I have committed in going to your devilish church. If you had sentenced me to a whipping every day, it would have been something, but once a week is most unfair". The judges were still more offended at this and said "they would give him stripes enow, if he took such delight in them". "Accordingly", says Persons, "they ordered him to be scourged. When he had taken this with the utmost patience, they asked him how he liked it. 'That is well enough for a morning meal', he answered, adding that, 'if as large a portion were given for the evening and so it went on for some months, his great sin would doubtless be forgiven'." This seemed to have baffled the judges who remanded him as a mad man. "And

what became of him afterwards", says Persons, "we do not know".

In June 1584 occurred an event of international importance, the assassination of the Prince of Orange: it came at a favourable moment for the Government in its struggle with the Catholic renaissance. In the excitement which followed, the Government passed in 1585 not only the Act for the Surety of the Queen's person⁷, but also a severely repressive measure, an Act against Jesuits and Seminary priests⁸, by which it was treason to be a priest and remain in England. (Marian priests were excepted). It did not stop the priests from coming or staying.

In 1585 or thereabouts, the recusancy problem in Hampshire becomes still more acute and the Clerk of the Peace is in serious difficulties. He says⁹ that the number of recusants who have to be indicted is so great that he is driven to spend "not only by himself or by his deputy and a servant or two, a great deal of time before and after every sessions, but also the most part of the sessions itself in drawing and ingrossing the indictments, judgements and processes thereupon, and the Justices most occupied about them, whereby the Sessions are continued more days than heretofore they have done". Almost all other causes and grievances of the shire are omitted, "to the great trouble and charges of the Justices and freeholders of the shire, without any profit hitherto unto Her Majesty by the conviction of the recusants who are not found to have lands or goods to answer their condemnations, and also without any reformation of any recusants ...".

While therefore recusancy was increasing considerably, some individual reconciliations which the missionary priests effected had tactical advantages. For example, David Ringstead, an Under-Keeper of the gaol in Winchester, had been cited for recusancy in June 1583 and he told the Bishop's Court that it was well-known that he had been a Papist for three years.¹⁰ He must of been of considerable service to imprisoned recusants in those critical years and it is possible that he had assisted in the escape of William Pitts, who had been committed to Winchester Gaol after being concerned in the distribution of Campion's Challenge.¹¹ Ringstead was sent to the Clink by the Bishop of Winchester in June 1586.¹²

A further interesting case was that of Stephen Cheston, a pursuivant at Winchester, who was reconciled to Catholicism some time in 1585. It is not clear when exactly he became a Papist, but it was presumably after 3 May 1585, for on this date the Bishop of Winchester wrote¹³ to Walsingham commending "the especial and faithful diligence of our messengers, Stephen Cheston and Thomas Bedham" in seiging a seminary priest, John Owen (alias) John Gardiner)¹⁴ and two other persons in Winchester.

The reconciliation of Cheston was of singular significance. He he, after it, been conniving at the escape of ~~the~~ priests? Had the authorised searches for them, in which his duty had compelled him to take part, been conducted - at least so far as he was concerned - with calculated carelessness or even with secret fore-

warning? It is true

that he would have had colleagues in the searches, but with the amount of connivance and corruption which existed in the city it would not have been difficult to bribe them. At any rate, the authorities were patently alarmed, and on 13 November 1585 the ecclesiastical commissioners, in some force, and presided over by the Bishop, held a "long conference" with Cheston¹⁵. His answers to their questions were models of evasiveness and boldness both in regard to his recusancy and his occupation as a pursuivant.

He was asked: Whether he would go to church as a good subject ought? He answered "What he may do he knoweth not". Why did he shun the church? He desired pardon in not answering. What did he think of "our church"? He could not safely deliver his opinion. What did he think of the Church of Rome? He said he had nothing to say touching it. Was the Pope Supreme Head of the Church or no? He said he hoped "Your Lordship thinketh I have not so little wit to deal with that matter", and added that "he came not to defend him". Whether Her Majesty be Supreme Head? He said he had "taken his oath for that already". Would he take the same oath now? He said, "he desireth to see their special commission whereby they are authorised to offer it to him". Whether he had been at Mass of late? He answered that he knew the penalty for this to be 100 marks (£66.13.4.) and, therefore, he was not bound to accuse himself. Whether he did "apprehend all recusants which he had warrant to apprehend and might have apprehended"¹⁶. He said "he executed his office faithfully". And, finally, Why,

"at the motion of some of the Commissioners, he refused to enter bond to shun the company of known recusants"? "Because", he said, "they are Christian people".

Following this examination, Cheston was sent to the Clink¹⁷.

II

The tension in the country vis-à-vis the antagonism between England and Spain grew apace and Bishop Cooper did not relax his vigilance. In 1586 he wrote¹⁸ to Walsingham and some other members of the Council making suggestions for "repressing the boldness and waywardness of the recusants" who "had so multiplied by revolting from religion". The proposals which he made were these:

1. He wanted the Council "to renew the charge of diligent looking to the sea-side and the creeks "for the coming in or passing out of evil-disposed persons". (These included not only the missionary priests coming to England, but also recruits for the seminaries and boys seeking a Catholic education abroad).
2. Instructions should be given by the Council to the Sheriff and "some of the most forward gentlemen" to increase the number of domiciliary searches for Jesuits and seminary priests. These should be made secretly once a month or once in three weeks, in sundry suspected places".
3. A hundred or two obstinate recusants, "lusty men, well able to

labour, may, by some convenient commission, be taken up and sent into Flanders, as pioneers and labourers."

This would, Cooper considered, disburden the country of a company of dangerous persons. Those who remained would be "put into fear that they may not so fast revolt as they do now." (The proposal was actually put by the Council to the Earl of Leicester in the Low Countries in a letter dated 25 May 1586¹⁹. There is no evidence to show what reply Leicester made and the men do not appear to have been sent. Probably he thought that they would have been as embarrassing in the Army as their papistical activities had evidently been in this country.)

4. Cooper does not want recusant gentlemen who "compound"²⁰ with Her Majesty to be allowed to remain in Hampshire: they should be "assigned" to some other place where they will do less harm. Those who "have remained ... have stole the people's hearts mightily, and daily do continue so to do. For even this last Easter, upon some secret pact purposely wrought, five hundred persons²¹ have refused to communicate more than before did ..."

(Some of the more important recusants were imprisoned during this year (1586)²².

On the same date (25 May 1586)²³ the Council wrote to the Sheriff of Hampshire implying that they are seriously disturbed at the increasing number of recusants in the county. Many people who have been conformable until recently are daily drawn away to Popery "to no small

offence to Her Majesty and dangerous sequel to the country, if it be not speedily met withal ..." The Sheriff is required to take bonds of certain recusants in good sums for the Queen's use: these recusants are named in a schedule and have to appear before the Council²⁴.

Probably a little later, Cecil²⁵ or some other member of the Council considered the recusancy problem generally and suggested remedies for its solution. He spoke of Jesuits and seminary priests as "seductors ... who have haunted counties where least preaching hath been, as in Lancashire ... as in Berkshire, Hampshire and Herefordshire". Such persons have used great diligence and secrecy to win the people, but the bishops and clergy have not used any diligence to teach the unlearned or to reform those recusants who have been committed to prison. In this way the Papists have gained "from these few years²⁵ more than in many years before".

To meet this situation, the penalties against Jesuits, seminary priests and schoolmasters must be duly executed. The remedy in the case of recusants, however, must vary according to their social rank. Men of "estimation and livelihood" must be convicted and fined under the Recusancy Act of 1581. If a recusant of this kind shall have been proved to have induced another to recusancy, he shall be "committed to close prison", as well as being fined. If such a recusant is "of good credit" he should be removed from his county to some other place "where his doings might be looked to". (This was Cooper's proposal to Walsingham, - see proposal 4 above.) He should be restricted to a

certain area, and he was not "to persuade any person to be of his opinion" upon pain of imprisonment and to be "further dealt withal" by offering him the Oath of Supremacy to test his allegiance²⁶. He would also be "sequestered of all offices, armour and weapons" and should not be suffered to "be officer over tenants, stewards, etc". The Oath of Supremacy is, in any case, to be tendered to wealthy recusants.

Children of recusants of "estimation" would be committed to good schoolmasters, to be faithfully and religiously instructed²⁷.

"Meaner" recusants, because they would not be able to pay the statutory fine of £20 a month, are to be committed to prison, but they are also to pay a reasonable proportion of the fine. They should be released upon bonds to return to prison, there to continue one month in every quarter, unless they conform.

Those who cannot pay anything are to be committed to prisons where they would be made to work for their living. If they cannot work, they must remain in prison unless they can find sureties for good behaviour, apart from recusancy.

All recusants whether in prison or out of it would be forced to hear "some preachers and instructors" once a month.

A register of recusants is to be made in every shire showing their wealth and place of residence, as well as a register of all parents who have children beyond the sea.

During this same year (1586) there seems to have been some sort

of "conspiracy" to fire the beacons in Hampshire²⁸. Those concerned in it were almost entirely poor people who complained that corn was scarce and that the farmers were making excessive profits. It was alleged that the "conspirators" intended to loot gentlemen's houses, particularly the house of Sir Richard Norton, to march to Winchester and set free the recusants imprisoned there. Most of the people came from Alton and Hartley Maudit. In the latter place was the small estate of Nicholas Tichborne who was a recusant prisoner in Winchester. Indeed, one of the "conspirators", Richard Noyse, admitted that he had been a servant of Tichborne's.

Although a Popish Plot was probably suspected, no evidence was forthcoming that it was, and the authorities evidently did not view the affair seriously. Altogether 18 persons were arrested, but those imprisoned in the Marshalsea were released in 1587. The chief points of interest were that some recusants had been mentioned, including two members of the Catholic gentry, Nicholas Tichborne and George Lewknor, and that the animus of the "conspirators" was concentrated against Sir Richard Norton, a leading J.P., well-known for his part in domiciliary searches of recusants.

A commentary on the "plot" and on conditions in Hampshire at this time was a little later furnished by Martin Ara, alias Cotton, a seminary priest, who had been captured by Topcliffe in London. He was examined by Justice Young on 16 June 1586²⁹. Martin Ara confessed that he had been in Hampshire (apparently recently). He went

to that county to see whether he could "live quietly there, for that he lived with great danger and trouble in London". He enquired how the Bishop (Thomas Cooper) behaved towards recusants and "hearing that he was very troublesome he thought that there was no staying for him there". Four years previously he had been in Hampshire, but he had heard no "bruits" or reports, save that the poorer sort were ready to break down barns to get corn. He denied that he had heard anything about firing the beacons or "of any ships coming on the seas".

III

In 1586 occurred the Babington Plot. This is of importance in the history of recusancy in Hampshire for two main reasons: firstly, because one of the conspirators, Chideock Tichborne, was a close friend of Babington and a member of an ancient and important Hampshire family which was strongly recusant, whilst another conspirator, John Ballard, knew Hampshire very well; and secondly, because, like the vast majority of the recusants in other counties, the recusants of Hampshire, although a few were suspected of complicity, remained consistently loyal to the Queen.

The Plot was the work chiefly of ambitious, impulsive, reckless men like John Ballard, a priest, who had for some time ceased to perform his priestly functions³⁰, and hare-brained enthusiasts like Anthony Babington, a young, wealthy Catholic gentleman, and his associates, - all extravagantly devoted to Mary, Queen of Scots. Walsing-

ham with his spies carefully nurtured the Plot from the beginning and must have regarded himself as exceptionally fortunate in finding that he had to deal only with some amateurish conspirators.

There is some obscurity about the genesis of the Plot³¹. It seems to have originated with Gilbert Gifford, agent provocateur, and his cousin, George Gifford, and probably some others like Savage and Windsor. John Ballard joined them in March 1586. At an early stage Gilbert Gifford entered Walsingham's service.

Towards the end of March Ballard went to France. There he met Thomas Morgan, Mary Stuart's agent in Paris. He had, however, first become acquainted with Morgan and his friends in 1584 and had been persuaded to associate with them in their political objects³². He also now met Mendoza, the Spanish Ambassador to France, and others, and a plot to assassinate Elizabeth was decided upon, Ballard becoming a party to it. Mendoza would, however, give no promise of assistance before knowing more details. He told Philip that he had "sent the priest back well posted in what I thought necessary and told him to return to me with full details, as in so important a matter we must have more than generalities"³³.

Returning to England, Ballard managed to enlist Babington as a fellow conspirator and secured the help of Babington's friends, Chideock Tichborne and others. It was apparently resolved that Babington should evolve some plan of action to take place in London and that Ballard should go round the North of England to see what help

would be forthcoming. An insurrection was envisaged.

There seems to have been no intention to survey Hampshire. Was Ballard relying on a report from Chideock Tichborne? But the priest was no stranger to Hampshire, for with him in France in 1584 had been Anthony Tyrrell, an apostate priest, who changed religious sides four or five times and was responsible at various times for betraying a considerable number of priests and laymen to the English Government³⁴. Ballard first made the acquaintance of Tyrrell apparently in the Gatehouse prison in Westminster in 1583³⁵. In 1586, and before the trial of the Babington conspirators, Tyrrell told³⁶ Burghley that in 1584 "he (Ballard) and I and Bray, that had caused a ship to come out of Hampshire of purpose to fetch us home, we travelled upon Christmas Eve was twelvemonth (Christmas 1584) from Rouen towards Dover, where, after a little expecting, our boat came and were landed by Southampton on St. Stephen's Day, as it fell out in England. From thence we went directly to Winchester, lodged at Cook's, that keepeth an inn, where Fortescue (the alias of Ballard) was well-acquainted, and provided all things necessary for his journey to London. We stayed by the way a night or two at Mapledurham³⁷ with the widow Shelley." He seems to have known Chideock Tichborne in 1584, for Thomas Dodwell, a spy, gave information that Fortescue (otherwise Ballard) brought from London a seminary priest, Somerfield, to Longwood, in Hampshire, the seat of Chideock Tichborne, whose three sisters were the receivers of the priest³⁸. Ballard also stayed in Winchester at the house of the

Lady Mary West³⁹. In August 1584 James Hill, another spy, told⁴⁰ Walsingham that he knew "one Ballard, sometimes called Fortescue; he had his abode chiefly in Hampshire, and at the house of an old lady called the Lady West".

Ballard may, therefore, have thought that he knew sufficient of Hampshire to rely on considerable assistance in his treasonable designs. But in truth he seemed to know little about the more responsible Catholic elements; and, judging by the available evidence, his acquaintances were apparently limited chiefly to two old ladies, an innkeeper and the impressionable friend of Babington, Chideock Tichborne.

Particulars were supplied to Mendoza as a result of Ballard's journeys round England and these were forwarded to the Spanish King⁴¹. The names of Catholic people in the North, Midlands and the West who might help were furnished. No Hampshire name was given and the county is not mentioned at all in the long despatch to Philip. In the enclosure with the despatch conditions in the various counties are described, particularly with regard to the strength of their Catholicism. Hampshire is "full of Catholics: there are four gentlemen strongly Catholic and very powerful. The ports are good and victuals are abundant." But again no Hampshire names are supplied and nothing is said about any aid being given if there were a Spanish invasion: in the case of most of the other counties the alleged strength of the troops which they would be able to raise is specified.

Hampshire, indeed, seems to have held particularly aloof.

Babington appears to have allowed the Plot to rest for some time, but at the end of June 1586 it began to revive. The conspirators were now told that an invasion from abroad was in preparation. About the 6 July a letter from Mary was given to Babington who answered it, giving details of the conspiracy and asking for instructions. It was in Walsingham's possession on 7 July and it reached Mary on 14 July. She resolved to reply to it, without referring to the plot to assassinate Elizabeth. But in answering she acted against the advice of her secretaries; and the damning correspondence was the decisive evidence which gave the Government all that they wanted.

The conspirators' fate was now sealed and matters proceeded quickly to a close. Ballard was the first to be arrested and the laymen next, after they had fled and hidden in St. John's Wood.

It is difficult to sift the tangled threads of the Plot, complicated as it had been by so many intrigues and cross-currents. And there is conflict of evidence in the individual statements of the conspirators at their examinations and the statements at the trials. It seems to emerge, however, that Chideock Tichborne had not been one of those who had agreed to kill the Queen. At his trial he said⁴²: "That I knew of these treasons and concealed them, I must confess that I am guilty; but unto the rest, I am not guilty." It is probable that for this reason he ~~is~~ first pleaded "Not guilty",-

a plea which later he altered to "Guilty". His speech at the gallows⁴³ is consistent with that made at his trial: he said he had never intended the death of Elizabeth, though he was "privy to all their actions" (those of the other conspirators). He knew, of course, that he was, nevertheless, guilty of treason.

Much of the rest of his last speech is taken up with expressing intense sorrow for his deed, for the fate which that deed had brought to his wife, and for the stain on the ancient House of Tichborne which he had caused. "I am descended", he said, "from a house which was 200 years before the Conquest; their blood was never stained before now." He had been one of Sir Christopher Hatton's gentlemen: he asked their forgiveness and "I desire His Honour to forgive me".

Chideock Tichborne was executed with Anthony Babington in a first batch of conspirators on 20 September 1586. Unfortunately, Elizabeth was without mercy on this occasion and they met with a barbarous death. In a letter to Hatton on the 12 September 1586⁴⁴ Burghley said that he had told Her Majesty "that if the fashion of the execution shall be duly and orderly executed, by protracting of the same both to the extremity of the pains in the action, and to the right of all the people to behold it, the manner of the death would be as terrible as any other device would be." Burghley was writing to Hatton in order that the Queen's wishes for severity might be made known to the judges. The Queen was informed of the appalling cruelty of the first executions and, in consequence, "gave express orders that they (the remaining

conspirators) should be used more favourably; and accordingly they were permitted to hang until they were quite dead, before they were cut down"⁴⁵.

A contemporary account⁴⁶ says that Chideock Tichborne very favourably impressed the multitude at the execution: "... he was a goodly young gentleman and certainly his humility and moan (i.e. his speech at the gallows) moved many to compassion." Holinshed speaks in much the same terms⁴⁷, whilst Camden says that he "moved great pity among the multitude"⁴⁸.

Chideock Tichborne⁴⁹ was a gifted and colourful figure, and, like practically all the Tichbornes in Hampshire at this time, an unswerving recusant⁵⁰, but unfortunately he came under the influence of Anthony Babington, who, together with his associates, was in irresolution and incompetence hopelessly outmatched by the experience and far-sighted craft of Walsingham.

After the disclosure of the Babington Plot a good many suspects were put into prison and three prominent Hampshire recusants were arrested and imprisoned in London: Swithun Wells, Thomas Dymock and Anthony Tuchinor.

Swithun Wells⁵¹, the brother of Gilbert Wells of Brambridge, Twyford, Hampshire, was closely examined⁵² on 9 August 1586. He gave a detailed account of his recent activities saying that "he hath not been acquainted with him (Babington) otherwise than in saluting one another by name as they met in the street". He was imprisoned for a short time, but was released "upon bonds" by Walsingham's

orders on 30 November 1586 ⁵³.

Thomas Dymock⁵⁴, gentleman, of Tichfield, who had been a steward to the late Second Earl of Southampton, was another suspect. He was returned as a recusant in 1583 ⁵⁵ and was imprisoned in the Clink and the Gatehouse⁵⁶, probably as a result of what Anthony Tyrrell, who knew Dymock in Hampshire⁵⁷, told Burghley⁵⁸; but he was discharged from the Clink on 18 November 1586 ⁵⁹

The third suspect was Anthony Tuchinor (or Tychenor) who had been at Winchester College and was ^{at one time} a Fellow of New College⁶⁰. He was returned as a recusant of Warblington, Hampshire, in 1583 ⁶¹. After the Babington Plot he was brought up from Winchester and lodged in the Tower⁶². In a list dated 21 September 1586 prepared by the Attorney-General is the entry: "Anthony Tuchinor: the man very suspicious, but no direct proof against him, but a dealer in priests"⁶³. Walsingham in his Notes of the Privy Council meeting held on 30 November 1586 said: "Anthony Towchenor: To be continued in prison and further examined"⁶⁴. The Earl of Arundel was already in the Tower when Tuchinor arrived. In 1588 the Earl apparently ordered Masses and prayers for the success of the Armada's venture. William Bennet, the priest, who said the Mass "ad tollendum schisme", confessed that Tuchinor had been present⁶⁵. There may therefore have been more grounds for suspecting him than in the case of Swithun Wells and Thomas Dymock, though Babington at his examination said that "he does not know Tuchinor to be privy (to the Plot)"⁶⁶. He seems to have been

released in 1589⁶⁷ and there is no further information about him till 24 April 1599 when he arrived at Douai. He was ordained a priest on 27 February 1600 and came on the English Mission forthwith⁶⁸.

IV

During the year or two before the Armada, special measures, particularly in maritime counties like Hampshire, were taken against Papists. Leading recusants were ordered to be "put under restraint" and disarmed. Burghley himself seems to have had a great deal to do with the matter. As early as 1583 he had written⁶⁹ to the Queen saying that he "could wish no man, either great or small, should so much as be trained up in any musters, except his parishioners would answer for him, that he be orderly and duly receiveth the Communion; and for ammunition, that not one should keep in his house or have at command, so much as a halberd, without he were conformable to the church ..."

The Council were vigilant about the custody of weapons as early as February 1587 and wrote⁷⁰ to the executors of the late Earl of Southampton considering it "convenient that the armour, weapons and such like furniture belonging to the young Earl of Southampton⁷¹ and remaining at his house at Tichfield should be removed from thence and committed to the custody of some person who should look into the same to be so kept and preserved that it might neither be ... diminished nor fall into decay ... nor come to the hands of any ill-affected

persons, the rather in respect of the doubtfulness of these times of some foreign attempts that might be intended upon the sea-coast of that shire." This measure was probably regarded as all the more necessary by the Government because Titchfield was a centre of recusancy and Thomas Dymock, the late Earl's Catholic steward, had recently been a suspect in the Babington Plot⁷².

~~Burghley~~^{Burghley} considered in February and March 1587 the "restraint" of recusants in certain shires and those of "special value" were named⁷³. In October 1587 he proposed that the recusants in each shire should be registered⁷⁴.

In the same month (October) the reliability of the J.P.'s came under general consideration and the Bishop of Winchester sent⁷⁵ to Burghley a list of the justices for Hampshire. He said "he cannot note any of them to be backward in religion except one, whose wife and daughters be recusants and himself never communicated since the Queen's time, that is Richard White ..." Richard White was a Catholic, but a "schismatic", the son of Sir Thomas White, Mary Tudor's Master of Requests, and nephew of the deprived Catholic Bishop of Winchester, John White⁷⁶. He had been a J.P. since 1575⁷⁷. He was left out of the Commission of the Peace later in 1587 with persons in other counties because of the recusancy of their wives⁷⁸. His loyalty to the Queen was unexceptionable, and in 1588 he contributed £50 towards the cost of the country's defences.⁷⁹

Captain Nicholas Dawtrey wrote⁸⁰ to Walsingham on 24 January 1588

about the defences of Hampshire, reporting that the county was not so well prepared as it ought to be. The Earl of Sussex who, with the Marquis of Winchester, was responsible for the defences, had in the view of "the best affected gentlemen in the cause of religion", made "a dangerous choice of some captains for Portsmouth". He expands this in a further report made on 21 February 1588 ⁸¹ when he said that there were many recusants in the county and that "My Lord Bishop told me he was able to give a note of 200 in a little corner. I do perceive that many of these people do inhabit the sea-coast."

In April 1588 ⁸² the question of defence and the problem of the recusants were still of paramount importance in the minds of the Council, for in that month they wrote to the Lord Lieutenants of the counties, referring to previous directions about the disarming of the recusants and stating that any weapons taken from them should be sold to those counties which were lacking in means of defence. All armour remaining over should "be converted to the arming of Her Majesty's true and well-affected subjects". The recusants were to be asked for their consent to the sale of the armour and they were to "receive such money as should be made hereof".

Despite all these measures with their implication of ^{disturb} ~~suspicion~~ of the recusants' ~~loyalty~~, the vast majority of English Catholics at the time of the Armada remained loyal to the Queen and this is generally recognised. Tribute to it has been paid by well-known historians. Hallam said ⁸³ that "the Catholics stood the trial of their spirits,

without swerving from their allegiance". Hume, following Stowe, says that some "entered themselves as volunteers in the fleet or army; some equipped ships at their own charge, and gave the command of them to Protestants; others were active in animating their tenants and vassals and neighbours to the defence of their country"⁸⁴. Even William Allen, pro-Spanish as he was, admitted that his co-religionists were loyal and that the Bull of 1570 had been a dead letter from the beginning⁸⁵.

A list exists of esquires and gentlemen in England, arranged under counties who contributed sums of £50 or £25 towards the defence of the country at the time of the Armada⁸⁶. So far as Hampshire is concerned, the list is obviously incomplete, for the names of such prominent people as Sir Richard Norton, Sir Francis Cotton, Sir Thomas Fleming, William Uvedale, who were non-Catholics, and Benjamin Tichborne, a J.P. of the quorum, are omitted. The following who were returned as Papists in the official list of 1572⁸⁷ contributed either £50 or £25: William Badger, Winchester, £50; Thomas Tutte, gentleman, Chilbolton, £25; Richard White, esquire, of South Warnborough, the "schismatic", £50⁸⁸; John Marriner, gentleman, of Portsdown, £25. As regards others, Richard Strange⁸⁹, esquire, of Weston, and Henry Carew, esquire, of Hordle, who were both to be convicted recusants, contributed £25 each. Anthony Lisle⁹⁰, esquire, Isle of Wight, who was officially returned as a recusant in 1583, contributed £50. Richard Pregnish, of Pitt, and George Philpott, armiger, of Thruxton,

who each gave £25, had wives who were a few years later convicted as recusants and they themselves may secretly have been Catholics⁹¹.

As regards mustered troops we find that Benjamin Tichborne, by now apparently no longer the "strong Papist" of 1572⁹², but still no doubt in close association with leading recusants, was in charge of the men in the hundred of Fawley⁹³, whilst Thomas Henslowe, esquire, a "schismatic" and harbourer of seminary priests, the remaining members of whose family were all recusants⁹⁴, commanded the men in the hundreds of Bosmere, Hayling, Alverstoke and Gosport, - a considerable force⁹⁵. In the musters for June 1588, Gilbert Tichborne, gentleman, a younger brother of Benjamin Tichborne, was returned as a "certified martial man"⁹⁶. He is described as "a very sufficient (efficient) man, of long service, but a Papist obstinate"⁹⁷. As has been seen, there was a "dangerous" choice of some captains for Portsmouth because of their Papistry.

The surviving records of citations to the Bishop's Court for 1584-1589 cover two periods: December 1586 to July 1587 and the beginning of 1588 to May 1589⁹⁸. For these periods there were 296 citations from 76 parishes. Very few of the parishes or names of persons are duplicated and the records apparently relate to one visitation. Of the total of 296 there were 47 citations for absenteeism from church, including 7 for recusancy pure and simple, 36 for negligently attending church, 2 for "very negligently" attending,



1 "slackly attending", and 1 absence for the space of a month. The non-Communicants formed by far the greater proportion of the total, namely 249. This high total, together with the number cited for occasional conformity, is apparently attributable to fear of the financial penalties of the two recusancy statutes of 1581 and 1586-7. This is brought out in the terms of the citation of Elizabeth Fisher of Martyr Worthy in 1586 ⁹⁹: she is charged with being a non-Communicant and for coming negligently to church (that is, occasional outward conformity) "only to save the penalty of the statute". There were known undoubted recusants among those who were returned as non-Communicants¹⁰⁰ and there may have been others who were similarly classified. But the number of recusants was in any case not large and the reason for the high proportion of non-Communicants may, as has been stated, have been the desire to avoid recusancy fines.

Two citations made at this time probably indicate the harbouring of priests. For example, Richard Cooke and his wife of Colbrook are accused¹⁰¹ in 1586 of "receiving divers suspicious persons" into their house, whilst Simon Young of Ringwood was cited in 1588 ~~for~~ for being a non-Communicant and "for harbouring two strangers being Papists".¹⁰²

Churchwardens were in trouble. Thomas Creese of Herriard in 1586 is charged¹⁰³ that, "being one of the churchwardens, he refuseth to detect the recusants". And John Oliver of Bishop's Waltham, where there were frequently citations of non-Communicants¹⁰⁴, was cited for withdrawing himself from taking and doing the office of churchwarden,

being clerk of the parish"¹⁰⁵. He was asked when he was present at his church and replied that since the 17 November last (it was now 23 January 1589) "he hath not been there at any time and will not come thither before Easter next". Asked "whether he will reform himself and come to church on the next Sunday, he saith that he hath other business to do". The increase of recusancy or non-Communicating is not surprising with the existence of such conniving or slack church-wardens.

There is evidence in the records not only of actual recusancy but also of contempt for the Established services. Walsingham had recently (in December 1586) been considering the problem of recusancy and to prevent recusants from increasing in number had suggested reforms in the church. He wanted "scandalous ministers" removed and "godly ones" substituted, and provision made for the Protestant education of the young. "The decay and falling away in religion groweth two ways", he said: "the one, through lack of instruction, for that there has not been that care taken that appertained, to furnish with learned and godly ministers; the other through corruption that has grown by the evil example of the recusants and subtle persuasions by the seminaries (i.e. seminary priests) as well as those that are restrained as others disposed through the realm." ¹⁰⁶ The evidence which survives for various parishes in Hampshire at this time provides grounds for Walsingham's animadversions.

In 1588 a charge was made against John Blackman of New Alresford

that he "kept banqueting in his house at the time when Mr. Dr. Thompson preached"¹⁰⁷. Incidentally, 16 persons from New Alresford were cited at this time for non-Communicating¹⁰⁸. Rowland Reyles of Freshwater, Isle of Wight, was accused of "not receiving Communion" and "departing out of church at sermon time"¹⁰⁹. John Webb of Botley, "being a fiddler useth to play while the parson is at prayers on Sundays and festival days and is divers times absent from service"¹¹⁰. William Handie of Ibsley "refuseth to be catechised and did cause a drinking to be made upon a Sabbath Day, whereby he drew the company from divine service. And the people hearing the Minister rebuke sin went forth of the church and in the time of reading of the homily threw a stone upon the church whereby the Minister was disturbed"¹¹¹. Humphrey Hooker of Easton said that "he did not receive the Communion because it was not administered according, as he saith, to the Injunction, in wafer bread"¹¹². This was probably an excuse: Easton seems to have been a small centre of recusancy or non-Communicants and there were frequent citations¹¹³. Henry Curtis of Fordingbridge was cited "for disturbing the minister whilst he was preaching the Word" and was excommunicated¹¹⁴.

In 1586 fourteen parishioners of Durley, including George ffooks, gentleman, were cited. It was alleged that they "all have not received the Communion at Easter, but they do not deny to receive but will not receive unto this minister, because he doth it so unreverently, but with another that My Lord (i.e. the Bishop) shall appoint"¹¹⁵. The

Clerk of this parish, Thomas Pygeon, was also "unreverent", for it was charged against him at this time¹¹⁵ that "when he had bought bread for the Communion he put it in his breeches and when he was found fault with it he said he had ~~it~~ in this breeches but from morning prayer to evening prayer, which he did in derision, as we think".¹¹⁶ He was cited to appear at the Bishop's Court, but did not do so and was excommunicated.

Such indications of dislike for the religion of the Establishment with its incitement to recusancy were troublesome enough, but it was the acuteness of the recusancy problem itself which was causing Bishop Cooper anxiety at this time. He told¹¹⁷ the Council in September 1589 ~~that~~ that "the people do fall away in religion by the evil example of such recusants as have liberty and do remain in the country (county)" and the Council's answer was "to take order forthwith for their restraint again"¹¹⁸. The Council were furnished^{in April 1590} with particulars of certain recusants¹¹⁹ and told¹²⁰ the Bishop~~that~~ that those would be "restrained" who were the most dangerous and of the greatest likelihood (sic), considering the great number that are in that shire being a maritime county". Those of the "greatest ability" were to be imprisoned in some "convenient place under the charge of some discreet person". The "worst affected and most dangerous persons" were to be committed to the common gaol. And then gently the Council made a proposal that would touch the Bishop nearly: "... We are to pray your Lordship ... seeing the matter doth concern the cause of God and the estate of the realm that you will be con-

tented to spare your house of Farnham Castle, where those named (in a schedule)" may be retained "with others whom it may be seen fit to accompany them". A "discreet and well-affected gentleman" was to be chosen to take charge, and rules for the government of the recusants together with the rates of the diets appointed for them were enclosed. ~~But~~ But Cooper did not seem to like the proposal and Farnham Castle was not used for Hampshire recusants.

One ~~further~~ ^{particularly} far-reaching action against the recusants in Hampshire should be mentioned. Bishop Cooper, according to a contemporary writer¹²¹, refused to allow them to be buried in any of his churches or cemeteries. These were, presumably, those Catholics who had been excommunicated for their "obstinate recusancy"¹²². The recusants were naturally placed in considerable difficulty by Cooper's attitude, but they found a disused burial ground on the hill beyond the Westgate, Winchester, on the Romsey Road, which had formerly been associated with the mediaeval church of St. James, - a church which had vanished by the time of Elizabeth¹²³. This place became the Catholic Cemetery of St. James and has been used for the burial of Catholics from Elizabeth's reign: Nicholas Tichborne was the first recusant to be buried there (in 1589)¹²⁴. In all the annals of recusancy the foundation of such a Catholic burying-ground was unique.

CHAPTER VI

LAST PERIOD: 1590-1603: Bishop Cooper, second period: 1590-1594
Bishop W. Wickham, 1595-5
Bishop W. Day, 1596-6
Bishop T. Bilson, 13 June 1596 -(18 June 1616).

I

The defeat of the Armada did not seem to have much effect on the number of recusants in the county and less than two years afterwards (i.e. in May 1590), the Council were aware of upwards of 300 recusants at liberty in Hampshire¹. The Bishop of Winchester was at that time informed² by the Council that he would have the assistance of the Lords Lieutenants of the county in apprehending and committing "the most dangerous and worst affected both of men and women to some convenient place for their safe and close restraint, - those of best quality to the Castle and the rest to the common gaol or to some other place or places as your Lordship shall think meet within that county, under the charge of some sufficient and discreet persons as may not suffer any to have access unto them without your licence first obtained". This was necessary "during these doubtful times". The Marquis of Winchester and the Earl of Sussex were ordered to give "their best assistance to the Bishop and the rest of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in the diligent searching of all suspected houses ... and to cause the J.P.'s to do the like"³.

Throughout the rest of the reign there is much evidence that the Council kept a close watch on the recusants generally, but par-

ticularly on those in counties like Hampshire where the recusancy problem was acute. For a great deal of the period, fear of Spain and the aid which might be given by Catholics in the event of invasion were alleged as the reason for this vigilance. In 1591 ⁴ drives against recusants and priests were intensified and in the Queen's Proclamation of 18 October 1591 ⁵ special action was envisaged.

The Proclamation provides for the appointment of commissioners in every county to "enquire after those suspected of being employed to persuade the people to treason and after those who have been so seduced". There was apparently considerable fear of invasion by the King of Spain, and "the heads of the seminaries and Jesuit colleges assure (him) that if he will renew his attempt thousands (of the Queen's subjects) will be ready to assist his forces". The "disloyalty" of subjects in not conforming had already been punished by the execution of the penal laws, so that "many rich persons who profess a contrary religion preserve their lives and possessions, only paying fines for not coming to church".

The inquisition by the special commissioners was to be a thorough one: they were not only to search for Jesuits, seminary priests and "Popish students", but also for any persons suspected of harbouring them. Detailed information was required from such harbourers so that they might be subjected to further examination. Those regarded by the commissioners as unsatisfactory in this connection were to be sent up to the Council. All who have intelligence of persons coming from

beyond the seas were to reveal it to the commissioners, on pain of punishment as abettors of treason. No favour is to be shown to members of any particular social class.

Articles were attached to this particular Commission providing further details as to the manner in which the inquisition was to be conducted⁶. The commissioners were to divide the county among them and to certify all recusants to the Bishop and his Chancellor. The Clerk of the Peace or the Clerk of the Assize was to furnish the names of recusants and to proceed against them. Suspects were to be examined on oath and enquiries were to be made about recusants from another shire who were known to go from one county to another⁷. Enquiries were also to be made about any suspicious persons lodging in taverns.

In December 1591, the Council reviewed the commissions because of the numbers of Jesuits and seminary priests still coming into the country, and Hampshire is specifically mentioned⁸. Some of the local commissioners recently appointed were stated to be "not so sound in duty and religion towards God and Her Majesty as is to be required ... Her Majesty therefore intended "to have the said commissioners renewed where cause shall so require, and therein none to be placed but such as shall be known to be meet for that service". The Council required to be informed whether it was already known, or whether it could be discovered by special inquisition, that "there be any in that commission ... or justly suspected to be unsound in

religion, or that have wives, children or any of their families known recusants, or do harbour in their houses any person or persons known or suspected to be backward in religion".⁹ Information was also wanted as to whether additional local commissioners were necessary, or whether the duties of existing commissioners could be apportioned among a larger number. In any case, the special commission was renewed in January 1592, for reference to Hampshire among a number of counties was made and additional commissioners were mentioned in that connection¹⁰.

The action taken by the commissioners seems to have been effective, at least in so far as it is reflected in the wholly unprecedented numbers of recusants who were indicted, convicted and fined at this time, as the Recusant Roll for ~~1592-3~~ indicates¹¹. These numbers are confined to no particular county. In Hampshire 62 recusants (42 women and 20 men) were fined the considerable total of £8,920, the total individual fines ranging from £80 to £380¹².

Continuing fear of invasion by Spain which was no doubt stimulated by the Spanish successes in France caused the Council to be anxious about the arms in the possession of recusants; and in July 1592¹³ the Lord Lieutenants of Hampshire and some other counties were asked what was done with the armour and weapons which specially-chosen commissioners in 1585 had been required to take into their custody. In addition, "for as much as there are divers others in that county discovered and that have professed themselves to be recusants", the

Council want to know the names of such recusants of quality as are likely to have armour and weapons. These are to be delivered and kept "in the hands of persons serviceable to command the said armour", except such weapons as are required "for the seasonable defence of their hands". The reason for this special measure is alleged to be that "the enemy doth make so great brags and reckoning of the assistance of those that are backward in religion"¹⁴. The recusants were to have the arms back when they had conformed. If any maintained that they had a licence to keep armour and weapons, enquiry was to be made into the matter.

Probably in the same year¹⁵, the Council wrote to the J.P.'s in a similar sense. The Justices were secretly and suddenly to visit the recusants and take their arms, and they were also asked to furnish the recusants' yearly income "both in their own right and in the right of their wives", together with the value of their goods. No partiality was to be used in the investigations.

In the following January the Council followed up all these enquiries by asking¹⁶ the Marquis of Winchester and the Earl of Southampton what kind of weapons and armour had been found in Hampshire; who were the owners; where it was all stored; and what precautions were being taken for its safe-keeping. A year later the Government are still concerned about the recusants and their arms; and the Bishops and Ecclesiastical Commissioners in the counties are asked¹⁷ to fur-

nish particulars of those recusants "of quality" who have been set at liberty on bond and "where they are bestowed", so that "the ill-contented might be known and they disfurnished of their armour ... and suspended from any office they may hold ..." Three months later Burghley is considering¹⁸ "what is fit to be done with the multitude of recusants in the realm", whilst in November 1595 information is required about the recusants in every parish of every diocese, "so that it may be known how needful it is to restrain such recusants to prevent their giving comfort to the enemy". This seems to have been the most extensive investigation yet made¹⁹.

In March 1596, William Day, the newly-appointed Bishop of Winchester, is very much disturbed at the extent of recusancy in Hampshire; and in writing²⁰ to Sir Robert Cecil about the profits of his see, he mentions that for two years no bishop has been in charge, the last Bishop having died before he came to Winchester²¹. History is thus repeating itself, for a situation has been created similar to that which existed after the death of Robert Horne. There was much delay in appointing a successor to Horne and during the interval the seminary priests overran the county, resulting in a very considerable increase in recusancy²². William Day now says²³ that the county is "full of recusants and men backward in religion. There hath (sic) been landed of late (as I am informed) some Jesuits and seminaries provided to seduce the people". Unfortunately for the Government, Day had little time to do much visitation work, for he died in 1596, whilst

on the other hand, the recusants were able to consolidate their position. Thomas Bilson was appointed Bishop in June 1596, but, as will be seen²⁴, he had been only a few years in charge of his See²⁴ when an unprecedented number of cited recusants was recorded.

The Government's vigilance continued; and in November 1596, because of the Spanish menace, Burghley advised that further enquiries should be made about recusants in Hampshire and other maritime counties.²⁵ They were to be apprehended and committed to the prisons of the shires, unless "they shall give good assurance by bond... to remove out of the county where their dwelling is to the custody of some other (sic) good loyal subject dwelling in no maritime county". They were not to depart thence "without special knowledge and licence of the Lord Lieutenants". Their horses, weapons and armour were to be delivered up "to be employed for the common service of the realm". The cost of the maintenance of the horses was to be borne as a charge upon goods of the recusants. Recusant widows of value were to be treated in the same way as men recusants. Any recusants who had children "fled out of the realm as fugitives" were to be bound "to good a-bearing" and not to have any "intelligence" with them or to ~~relieve~~ them in any way.

Some at least of these suggestions were implemented, for later in November 1596 the Council gave instructions that recusants who were at liberty on bond should again be imprisoned in Ely or Banbury²⁶, whilst in Dec. 1596 the Council said that if such

recusants were

infirm their eldest sons were to be imprisoned instead²⁷. Orders were also given for the seizure of the arms of recusants in maritime counties, and for the imprisonment of those spreading false rumours²⁸.

Arrangements for the strict surveillance of Hampshire recusants seem to have been completed with the grant of a further ecclesiastical commission for the county in October 1597²⁹. It was renewed in April 1602³⁰.

Not only were Hampshire recusants required, in common with those in other maritime counties, to surrender their weapons, armour and horses, but they were also called upon to make a contribution towards the Government's purchase of arms. Thus, in July and August 1598 the recusant gentry in the county were asked to contribute either £30 or £15 each for the supply of horses for the Army in Ireland³¹. George Cotton, Gilbert Wells and William ffawkenor, the wealthier of the Hampshire recusants, were asked for £30³², whilst ten others were asked for £15³³. In February 1600 some recusants complained that they were unable to meet the demand "by reason that the greatest part of their lands have been lately extended (sic) and leases granted of the same"³⁴. This was undoubtedly true of some Hampshire recusants, particularly of the three mentioned above who were paying large sums to the Crown for their recusancy³⁵. In February 1600 the Deputy Lieutenants of Hampshire were required to see that "certain gentlemen of ability", who had refused payment, made their contributions, otherwise they were to appear before the Council³⁶.

In the following May (1600) the Council wrote stiff letters to nine Hampshire recusants and some in other counties who had not yet made any payments³⁷. The Council said that they did not think that "so much delay and slackness would have been shown". The recusants had been "most grievously and mercifully dealt with" by Her Majesty in the light of their non-conformity, and they should therefore be the more willing to make the required contribution. The delay in payment "might be imputed to evil disposition and unwillingness to do Her Majesty's service, and must needs be so taken if it be continued". The Council hope, however, that "this admonition" will suffice to "reform" the slackness, but, if not, the recusants' presence at the Council would be required.

This action seems to have had some effect, for in July 1600 it is stated that £100 has come to the Treasurer's hands "by the recusants and others"³⁸, whilst in October 1600 a further payment of £300 is recorded³⁹.

II

Few citations for recusancy or non-Communicating seems to have been made during the years following the Armada, and from 1588-9 till 1598, only a partial record of citations confined to the month of November 1593 exists⁴⁰. It is difficult to suggest a reason for this sparseness during the first part of this period. The vigilant

and exacting Bishop Cooper did not die till 1594; and the fact that a good deal of activity in one month is recorded seems to suggest that there may have been further citations, but that the records have not survived. As regards the period after the death of Cooper, the circumstances connected with the failure to have a bishop in active charge of the see was no doubt partly responsible. The number of recusants at this time had not diminished, for Bishop Day, as has been mentioned, said that the county was "full of recusants".

The record for November 1593 has points of interest. There was a total of 113 citations, relating to 31 recusants, and 82 non-Communicants. Of the recusants, 21 were cited for coming to church "very negligently" or "negligently", facts which may indicate that they were Catholics who conformed casually, to escape statutory penalties. The case of William Young of North Wallop was probably a case of this kind: it was stated that he came to church "once a month and not above"⁴¹.

Of the non-Communicants, Thomas Warburton, gentleman, of Easton, said that he could not go to Communion until a matter of controversy between him and Mr. Edmund Trafford was settled⁴². This was probably only an excuse, for the Warburtons seem to have been Catholics. The name of his wife, Anna, appears on the Recusant Roll for 1592-3 as having recently been fined £160 for recusancy⁴³. In 1601 she was cited as a recusant with six others from Easton⁴⁴. Her husband was probably a Church-Papist. Similarly, Robert Langford of New Alresford was "not in charity"⁴⁵. William ffairmann of Idsworth, the seat of

the recusant Banister family, had "not received the Communion since Easter last twelve months", and alleged that "by reason of some controversy between him and Mr. Smith, the curate there, he hath forborne to receive the Communion, but at Mr. Dr. Nevell's coming he hopeth the controversy shall be ended"⁴⁶. Nevertheless, he was ordered to receive Communion "at Hillary or thereabouts" and to be certificated accordingly. No certificate was later produced and he was excommunicated⁴⁷. Edmund Page of Southwick had also "by reason of some controversy" not been a Communicant, and he failed to furnish a certificate of communicating when ordered to do so⁴⁸. The final judgment in his case is not stated.

Another type of excuse for refusing Communion was put forward by two non-Communicants which has been met before⁴⁹. John Slidell of Ringwood said that "if the Communion might be ministered with wafer according to the Queen's Injunctions he would be ready to receive, otherwise he cannot be persuaded"⁵⁰, whilst Joseph Wyatt of Meonstoke also complained that the Communion was "ministered in common bread and not in wafer bread"⁵¹.

Long absences from Communion are recorded. Margery Pollard and Joan Coke, widow, had not communicated for five years⁵²; John Knight, gentleman, of Andover, Jane his wife, and his servant for four years⁵³; John Pollington of the same place for twelve years: the record mentions that he had fled⁵⁴; John Baldrie, senior, Alice Hooper and Elizabeth Garnett, all of North Stoneham, had "not been partakers of the Holy Communion at Easter last nor at any time the year before"⁵⁵.

There is still evidence that known recusants are being cited as non-Communicants. For example, the wife of Henry Pitts, gentleman, of Alton, whose name has so often occurred in recusancy history, is cited because "she refuseth the Communion"⁵⁶. Similarly, Nicholas Collins and his wife, of Corhampton, recusants in 1583⁵⁷, were now cited for not having received Communion at Easter last⁵⁸.

The offence of Christopher Crape of St. Laurence parish, Winchester, is a fresh one in its precise terms: he was accused, according to this same record of November 1593, of "harbouring Thomas Pauling, gentleman, a wilful and obstinate recusant"⁵⁹. Thomas Pauling's name does not seem to occur in other Hampshire records of recusancy, even though, judging by the description, he was probably a convicted recusant. The offence here was, possibly, contravention of the recently-passed statute of 1593 which restricted convicted recusants to a distance of five miles from their usual dwelling^{-place}. Pauling may have belonged to another diocese and his leaving it may have constituted the offence⁶⁰.

During the last five years of the reign proceedings against the recusants cited to the Ecclesiastical Court are important enough to warrant the making of a separate record. This record⁶¹ deals with 587 citations for recusancy during a period of five years, from March 1598 to March 1603. Some of the recusants were cited more than once and the net number of recusants concerned in the total citations is 437. In addition, a record⁶² of detecta contains particulars of non-

Communicants and a small number of recusants for the period December 1599 - April 1600, partly filling a gap in the longer period of 1598-1603.

Of the total number of recusants (437), the women very much outnumber the men: there were 155 men and 282 women, and these included 27 gentlemen and 47 gentlewomen. Of the women, there are numerous cases where they are cited as wives, without the citation of their husbands, indicating that, if the husbands were indeed Catholic at heart, they conformed outwardly. There are actually fifteen cases in which only the wives of gentlemen were cited for recusancy⁶³. Here the husbands were probably Church-Papists in order to avoid, as they were persons of position, the financial penalties of the recusancy laws. One husband was cited as a recusant but made it clear that he did not refuse to attend Common Prayer, though he admitted that he was a non-Communicant. Thus, John Mowdy of Little Somborne was cited⁶⁴ with his wife, Elizabeth, for recusancy in January 1602-3. Elizabeth did not appear at the Court and was excommunicated for her contumacy, but her husband came and "alleged that he neither did nor doth refuse to come to church, but saith he will not receive the Communion"⁶⁵. There seems little doubt of his "Church-Papism" and this is a good example of what was very probably taking place on a fairly wide scale.

A wholly unprecedented happening was the absolute refusal of a large number of recusants (329) to come to the Ecclesiastical Court: they were all excommunicated. Of these 32 could not be found at their

houses, although they had been sought, and it is probable that they had moved to another parish or shire to avoid trouble for themselves. In the case of fifteen others, who did not make any answer to the citation, the action taken by the Court is not stated, but they also may have been excommunicated. A large proportion of the total number of the recusants cited (437) were subsequently convicted and fined. The Recusant Roll for 1602-3⁶⁶ - the last Roll of the Queen's reign - contains the names of 317 Hampshire recusants, 260 of whom had recently been fined for recusancy⁶⁷.

Altogether, 95 parishes are concerned in the total of 587 citations⁶⁸. At this time there seem to have been 232 parishes in the Archdeaconry of Winchester⁶⁹. According to the records, therefore, there were no recusants in a good many parishes, and to a large extent the north, north-west and west of Hampshire were unrepresented⁷⁰.

The record of detecta for 1599-1600⁷¹ contains particulars of six persons who were recusants, 20 who attended church negligently (casual conformants) and 110 non-Communicants, making a total of 136 over a period of four months (December 1599 to April 1600).

Some illuminating details emerge from the records. For instance, Robert Elston, gentleman, probably a Church-Papist, appeared at the Court in March 1598⁷² on behalf of his wife who, he said, was a septuagenarian and very weak. He confessed that she had absented herself from the church services for 30 years⁷³, but he undertook to use all possible means to persuade her to conform. In the meantime the

penalty of excommunication was withheld. At a later stage she did not appear when cited, and was then excommunicated (July 1598)⁷⁴. She was cited again in January 1603, but did not attend at the Court, her servant on her behalf saying that she could not appear without danger to her life. No further action seems to have been taken⁷⁵.

William Myles of Weeke was cited in July 1598⁷⁶. He said that "in Queen Mary's reign he went to church and not since". Asked whether he would now come to church, he replied: "God forbid if I should come to church. I am fully resolved not to church". Shortly following this he seems to have been imprisoned in the gaol at Winchester⁷⁷.

Thomas Abraham of the parish of St. Bartholomew, Winchester, but who, at the time of citation, was in the House of Correction at Winchester, admitted that he had been a recusant for nine years, and said that "yet he is not resolved to conform himself"⁷⁸. In the following year he escaped from the Gaol at the same time as Edward Kenyon, a priest⁷⁹. Johanna Morley, widow, of Martyr Worthy, had not been to church for 19 years⁸⁰. Anna Palmes, widow, of Overton, did not appear at the Court when first cited, but eventually attended. She said that "she had been a recusant many years and intended to continue"⁸¹. Exhortations were made to induce her to conform, but without avail. She was pronounced "a most pertinacious recusant" and excommunicated. John Goter of Timsbury, of which place Sir Walter Sandys, husband of the recusant, Lady Mabel Sandys, held the manor⁸², said he had not been at the church at Timsbury for twenty years and refused to conform⁸³.

John Clemence, of the parish of St. Lawrence, Winchester, said that he had not attended the Established service for sixteen years. He refused to go to church because he "could not find it in his conscience to do so"⁸⁴. Alice Mills of Itchen Abbas said she had not been to church since Queen Mary's time and refused to conform for the same reason as that given by John Clemence⁸⁵. Similarly, six others refused to attend church⁸⁶ because they would be acting against their consciences, whilst seven recusants of the parish of St. Clement, Winchester, including Anthony Norton and Stephen Henslowe, gentlemen, when asked whether they would conform, "answered all with one voice that their conscience will not serve themselves"⁸⁷.

In April 1601 Alice Kewen of Hursley told the Ecclesiastical Court that she had refused to attend church because her conscience would not let her, adding with unconscious humour, that "these twelve years last past she hath forborne the church and ... that so long as she used to come to church she could not have her health, but since she hath forborne the church she hath had her health". Asked "whether she will come to church she saith she will not" and that "she did confer with the vicar thereof". Mr. Stamp, an officer of the Court, was asked "to certify thereof"⁸⁸. There is no more information about Alice Kewen.

In a few cases the Court took some trouble to induce recusants to conform. For instance, in November 1598 eight in a batch, including John Beconsawe and John Tichborne, gentlemen⁸⁹, were cited for their

recusancy. They were apparently in the House of Correction, for they were led into Court by Thomas Bedham, Custodian of the House. They all refused to conform, but Beconsawe and Tichborne, as persons of substance, appear to have been selected from among the others and given the opportunity of attending service in some church in Winchester. They refused this particular overture⁹⁰. All were excommunicated. Elizabeth Cowdrey of the parish of St. Thomas, Winchester, was also strongly urged to conform, but "after long exhortations" without success was pronounced excommunicate⁹¹.

As has been mentioned, the penalty imposed in all these cases of "obstinate" recusancy was excommunication. This was still a penalty to be feared, for in the case of the citation of Richard Davys of Compton, it was stated that "Mr. Warden (churchwarden) would not have him excommunicated"⁹². There is no indication that he was.

In January 1603 Ralph Hedges of East Meon was able to make good his case with a rather special reason. His son, William, had been cited as a recusant⁹³, and Ralph, answering the citation, alleged that "his son hath dwelt out of this shire in Sussex, with one Mr. John Browne, brother to the Lord Montacute (Montague) (they were well-known Catholics), and that he hath not been with him in two or three years but seldom times ... to visit him a night or two, and at harvest time last he remained with him for the space of three weeks or thereabouts, and he doth believe that he is not a recusant". The decree of excommunication which had apparently been made was, in consequence, withdrawn, Ralph merely being warned that "if he (his son) do come to his house

that he procure him to come to the church"⁹⁴. It is necessary to add that the Hedges family were apparently Catholics: William himself with his mother, Elizabeth, had been cited for recusancy in April 1601 ⁹⁵, whilst in December 1599 Ralph Hedges who seems to have been a yeoman, had been cited as a non-Communicant and was most probably a Church-Papist⁹⁶.

Instead of completely refusing to appear at the Court, as happened in so many cases, lameness was sometimes one of the reasons given for non-appearance when summoned. This was put forward when three persons were cited for recusancy in April 1601 ⁹⁷. Richard Hunt, son of one of the three (Amy Hunt of Farley Chamberlayne) made it quite clear, however, that his mother was a recusant, "she will not come to divine service if she were able to go to church"⁹⁸. It is not known whether any of them were excommunicated.

With regard to non-Communicants at this time, Arthur Silvester, his wife, and his mother were cited from the recusancy centre of Warblington for not having received Communion at Easter⁹⁹. They were excommunicated in December 1599, but in March 1600 Arthur Silvester appeared at the Court and said that he was willing to communicate at Easter next. As regards Silvester's wife and mother, the rector said that they "are of late fallen backwards in religion, but he hopeth to reclaim them again, having had conference with them". He was asked to "do his best endeavour to reform them and bring them to the Communion"¹⁰⁰. It is not known what happened to the mother, but Silvester's wife was

cited as a recusant in January 1602-3¹⁰¹. The ecclesiastical authorities appear to have exercised much vigilance on the stronghold of the recusant Cottons.

Cases are recorded of long absence from Communion . Thomas Ynge, William Cowdry and Laurence Smith of the parish of St. Thomas, Winchester, had not communicated for seven years¹⁰²: it is not recorded what further action took place. William Stickling of Stevington, who had not received Communion for "two years next Easter", was warned to produce a certificate of reception: there are no further particulars.¹⁰³ Matilda Whitehorne of St. Michael's parish, Southampton, who had not communicated "these many years past" did not appear when cited, and was, in consequence, excommunicated¹⁰⁴.

CHAPTER VII

Leading Recusants and Centres of Recusancy

I - Introductory

The existence of considerable areas of recusancy in Hampshire was due to two main reasons: (1) the work of the Jesuits and the Seminary priests;¹ and (2) the active self-sacrificing co-operation of the Catholic gentry. The natural protectors of the Catholics were those recusant gentlemen who, in their manor-houses, not only gave shelter to the priests at the risk of incurring the severest penalties, but also enabled people of lower rank to receive spiritual ministrations, - ministrations which were often, in the nature of things, necessarily infrequent. The vital part played by lay people generally in the maintenance of Catholicism under the most restrictive conditions received full recognition by contemporary Catholic authorities. For example, Henry Garnet, the Jesuit, wrote² in 1588 to Aquaviva, the General of the Jesuits, that "the resolute patience of the Catholics is a model to us ... We receive from them more than we give". But it is to the Catholic gentry, so often interrelated through marriage, that, in particular, we must look in order to understand the incidence and strength of recusancy: it was the example set by their religious constancy that prevented others from conforming and generally averted a complete collapse.

So far as the position in Hampshire is concerned, it therefore seems necessary to know who were the leading recusants; where their estates lay; whether their manor-

houses were actual Mass-centres; and also to have some idea of the history of their recusancy. Moreover, in assessing the position we have to bear in mind that, in a small, compact county like Hampshire, recusant estates were often only a comparatively short distance apart, and the ease of communication between them was an important factor in maintaining a strong nucleus of secret Catholic practice.

The following groups have been compiled of places where recusants are found and are based on a consideration of two main sets of statistics: (1) the official return of 1583³, indicating the existence of some 300 known recusants; and (2) the presentments of some 437 recusants during the period 1598-1602⁴. The latter figures afford an interesting comparison with those of some 15-17 years earlier. In addition to these figures there is a record⁵ of some 136 citations in 1599-1600, filling a gap in the period 1598-1602; but ~~the greater part~~^{most} of them are cases of non-communicants and, although some recusants are found, the figures have not been taken into account in compiling the groups.

The groups are as follows: (1) Winchester; (2) Slackstead (Timsbury, Farley Chamberlayne, Little Somborne, Romsey); (3) Coastal group (1) (Titchfield, Forchester, West Boarhunt, Fareham, Wymering, Farlington, Warblington); (4) Coastal group (2) (Christchurch, Lymington, Fawley etc.); (5) Meon Valley - Ropley group (Hambleton, Meonstoke, Exton, East Meon, West Meon, Bramdean, West Tisted, Ropley, etc.);

(6) Twyford-Otterbourne Group (Twyford, Otterbourne, Compton, etc.); (7) Itchen Abbas-Preston Candover Group (Itchen Abbas, Itchenstoke, Easton, Ovington, Avington, Swarreton, Preston Candover, Bighton); (8) Hartley Maudit (Medstead and Hartley Maudit): this small group is eliminated for the later period, 1598-1602; (9) Buriton (Mapledurham) - Idsworth (Buriton, Idsworth, Catherington); (10) Outlying (Basing, Longparish, Crondall, Ellsfield, etc.).

The accompanying map shows the position of the manor-houses of the recusant gentry and the groups to which they belong. The key at the side of the map gives the names of the gentry and of their manors. Short accounts of the more important recusant leaders follow in this Chapter, but brief particulars of the remaining recusant gentry will be found in Appendix II. Appendices III and IV give detailed figures in respect of the relative parishes in each group for the "key" period, 1583, when the revival of Catholicism in Hampshire was being felt in fuller measure, and for 1598-1602, when there were many citations for recusancy possibly owing to relaxed conditions.

Coastal Group (2) does not become important till the period 1598-1602: it is then that eleven recusants are returned for Holdenhurst and thirteen for Christchurch, the total for the entire group being 35. For 1583 only 4 recusants are returned, and none at all for these particular places. The precise reason for this difference is not clear: there may have been connivance at abstentions from church

before the later period, whilst, as regards Christchurch, the influence of John Tichborne, gentleman, who was returned for this place in November, 1598⁶ may have been relevant latterly. Moreover, Henry Carewe⁷, esquire, an undoubted recusant, who had estates at Hordle Bremor and Keyhaven near the coast, is not in the returns for either period. This seems to indicate some amount of connivance in this corner of the county.

II

Winchester

The strength of surviving Catholicism in Winchester has already been emphasised. Recusants are indeed found in good number there till the end of the reign.⁸ This was due largely to individual Papists of position in the city who harboured the Missionary priests and passed them round to each other. Prominent among these Papists was the Lady Mary West.

Lady West was the wife⁹ of Sir Owen West, a half-brother of Sir Thomas West, Lord de la Warr, who bought Wherwell Abbey. She does not appear to have come under notice for her Catholicism until comparatively late in the reign. About the end of 1578¹⁰, an informer said that a priest, Stone, celebrated Mass "at the house of my Lady West, sometimes used in Winchester. Were present Jaques, that serveth the lady; James Bird".

In April 1583 Lady West was returned as a recusant for the parish of St. Thomas, Winchester".¹¹

In December 1583¹² the Bishop of Winchester, the Mayor and others wrote to Walsingham that Lady West's house had been searched and "in a secret place enclosed with boards were laid divers new and old papistical books, printed and written. In another place, more secret, vaulted underground, was found a chest bound with iron, wherein was all kind of massing apparel; a chalice of tin; a box full of singing cakes; a rich canopy of silver, of goldsmith's work; needlework clothes upon velvet for the altar; corpus cakes; a pax (pyx) of ivory set in wood. There was also wrapped in green silk two Agnus Deis enclosed in satin, broken in many pieces ... And also in the same chest were divers new Mass Books, manuals and catechisms. In one other place of the same house were found above forty old Mass and Latin service books". The discovery of so much religious "material" was incriminating enough, whilst the presence of so many Missals seems to indicate that the house was a supply centre for the district. But more was discovered: "in the ladies' chamber was found a super-altar (i.e. for the celebration of Mass); and it is confessed by one Frances, her servant, that the same chest was that morning also in the ladies' chamber and removed into the vault when they heard there was search in the city. The Agnus Deis, printed papers, myrr (incense?) bugles, beads and glasses, as we found them wrapped together with a box of singing cakes (wafer bread for Holy Communion) we send ... by these bearers ... The Lady West remaineth in her house. Frances, her servant, we have committed to

prison ...".

All this did not daunt the Lady Mary and in February 1584 a spy, Thomas Dodwell, who had been in the seminary at Rheims and in Hampshire was making full use of the information he had obtained there, told¹³ the Government about the priests she was harbouring. "My Lady West of Winchester keepeth ffisher als Homes in her house for the most part; and also entertains four others, including Nutter and Dickinson, who is now apprehended and in Newgate."¹⁴ In August 1584 another spy, James Hill,¹⁵ told Walsingham that Ballard, the priest and one of the chief conspirators in the Babington Plot, "had his abode chiefly in Hampshire, and at the house of an old lady called the Lady West".

On the 18th June 1585 she with eight others including Mistress Mary Warnford (see below) was presented for recusancy by John Paice and his fellows,¹⁶ but she does not seem to have come under notice again. She was not imprisoned for her offences, possibly because of her advanced age, and it is probable that soon afterwards she died.

Mistress Elizabeth Norton was another Catholic gentlewoman residing in Winchester. She was returned as a recusant for the parish of St. Maurice in 1583¹⁷. Mistress Norton was apparently the wife of Richard Norton of Punsholt Manor, West Meon,¹⁸ and the mother of the recusants, Benjamin and Anthony Norton¹⁹. Benjamin Norton many years later said²⁰ that John Body, executed at Andover in 1583²¹, was his schoolmaster " a year or two before his apprehension", and

"by reason of this former acquaintance his good mother coming to see her son (he was then in the gaol at Winchester) came to my mother's house from Wells in Somersetshire...".

The wife of Jerome Heath, Averia, was a well-known Winchester recusant and was fined £180 for recusancy in 1592-3.²² Jerome himself was not a recusant and his house was therefore not subject to so much suspicion as were the houses of actual Papists in the city. Ben Beard, an execrable informer and a kinsman of the Tichbornes, writing to Morgan Jones, of Grays Inn, in 1594 said²³ that "Jerome Heath, dwelling at Winchester, not being a recusant nor suspected for religion, was wont in time of disturbance to harbour such persons (i.e. priests); when the writer's grandmother (Mistress Elizabeth Tichborne, the mother of Sir Benjamin Tichborne) lived, Fennell and Richards, two priests, were continually in her house, and upon search, fled thither for three or four days together ...". Nevertheless, Jerome's house did not escape search, for Benjamin Norton later said²⁴ that James Bird, the Winchester martyr²⁵ "was apprehended at one Mr. Hierom Heath's house ... in a busy time when they searched that house and many others for my poor self ...".

William Beckinsall (or Beckonsaw), gentleman, of Moyle's Court, Ellingham, the son of Richard Beckinsall, gentleman, and grandson of Walter Beckinsall of Hartly Waspell²⁶, was cited in 1583 as a recusant with his wife Julia, for the parish of St. Peter's-in-the-Soke.²⁷ William

was then in the gaol in Winchester.²⁸ His wife harboured priests, Thomas Dodwell said²⁹ that "Mr. Beckinsall lying in prison for Papistry and his wife a recusant hath in her house most commonly all these seminary priests that resort to Winchester". Elizabeth Beconsawe, ~~also a recusant~~³⁰ widow, of the city of Winchester, was also a recusant³⁰.

Richard Warnford, gentleman, Wykehamist and Fellow of New College, Oxford, and his wife Mary, were also Winchester recusants who sheltered priests. Richard was the second son of John Warnford of Sevenhampton, Wiltshire, by Susan, daughter of John Yates of Lyford, Berks.³¹ In 1577³² he and his wife were returned as recusants for the parish of Southwick, Hants, and in April 1583³³ they were cited for the parish of St. Maurice. Richard is then stated to be in the gaol at Winchester. In 1592-3 two-thirds of his lands in the Manor of Newland, Southwick, were "seized into the hands of the Queen".³⁴ He spent a number of years in prison.³⁵

The Warnfords' house was searched in 1585 and John Owen (alias John Gardiner), a seminary priest, was found there.³⁶ At his examination after capture he said he was "let into the house of Mistress Warnford in Winchester by her maidservant. And he also saith that the said Mistress Warnford, Elizabeth St. Aubyn, widow, Walter Treveven and this examinant (i.e. John Owen), kept company the same night together and did eat and drink in the house of the said Mistress Warnford...".³⁷

In forwarding to Walsingham the report of the priest's examination, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners mentioned that there was a house in the city "whereunto there is too easy access, and other persons kept unfaithfully, to the great opportunity of corrupting many and advantage of evil enterprises".³⁸ The Commissioners sought help in this connection from the Council.

All the searches of recusants' houses in Winchester which have been mentioned were effective enough, but a search made late in 1598 had results of a different kind. In November of that year the Mayor and some of his men were ordered³⁹ by the Bishop and other Ecclesiastical Commissioners to search the house of the "late Mr. Pottinger's"⁴⁰ in the city, upon information that sundry recusants, unconfined, dangerous to the State were there secretly harboured". They found old Mistress Goldsmith⁴¹, widow; the widow of Dr. Marten's son; and the servant of Mistress Goldsmith, daughter of one Churcher of Michelmars. These were presumably the recusants who were being looked for. In the course of the search the maidservant suddenly exclaimed that she had lost her purse with about four shillings in it. "It was by the searchers supposed that she did it but for a perverse and false purpose to slander the searchers. Whereupon diligent search was first made in the house lest that by negligence the servant might lose it". But she persisted in saying that she had actually lost her purse; and so "the Mayor in regard of his particular credit and of the state of the city, searched everyone of the persons aforesaid". It could not, however,

be found and the time for "Sermons" (Matins in the Cathedral) having arrived, he attended the service with his men.

The service over, the Mayor ordered the constables "to search one other part which was not searched, namely, whether any of them had put the purse within his hose". As soon as this search began Richard Alderly, one of the serjeants "finding himself like to be discovered, and his conscience touched, disclosed that he had taken up the purse, and thrown it aside; and thereupon praying favour upon his knees was sent with an officer and brought it". The Mayor and the searchers then went to Mr. Pottinger's house "and, before Mistress Goldsmith, delivered the said maid her said purse, which she opened". She found the contents to be "without any diminution even as she lost it".

At one o'clock in the afternoon, the Mayor repaired to the Council House and caused the town bell to be tolled three times. He wished to be advised by his company what was "meet to be done concerning the impudent and slanderous action of the said Richard Alderly". After Alderly had been examined the Mayor ordered "his gown and mace to be left in the Council House and committed him to the Westgate unto Mr. Payce, bailiff". Alderly was not to be let out of custody "until he put in surety to answer to the fact at the next Sessions".

To what extent connivance at Papist activities entered into this curious episode, it does not seem possible to say. The "dangerous" recusants sought were apparently found, but the Mayor, in the involvement of the incident of the theft, seems to have forgotten all about them -, and nothing was ever

done to them. The Mayor's heart may not indeed have been in the business of the recusant hunt at all. On the other hand, it was unpleasant for the Mayor to have had one of his men accused by a recusant of theft, - assuming the maidservant was a recusant. *P Newport.* ⁴² In the same month, November, 1598, a further search was made in the city, this time for a priest who was stated by the Dean and other Ecclesiastical Commissioners to have been harboured in the houses of some unnamed recusants. This search was similarly fruitless. The "seminary priest or Jesuit" in question was said to have "most boldly attempted to convert Mr. Symondes, Vicar of Hursley, lying sick at Crocker's house in Kingsgate Street". A "special watch" was set by the advice of the Mayor, and the constables were ordered to make "very secret and diligent search throughout the city, in all suspected places, but they certified that they could find no such person".

One remaining recusant family deserves notice in considering the chief Winchester recusants, and the neighbourhood, - the Corham family at Hyde. Roger Corham, who held the manor of Brown Candover, the property of Hyde Abbey until the Dissolution of the Monasteries⁴³, was the third son of John Corham of Ottery St. Mary, Devon. He married Mabel, daughter of Sir George Paulet of Crondall, younger brother of the first Marquis of Winchester.⁴⁴

Roger's name appears in a list of recusants in 1577⁴⁵ for the Inns of Court. He ~~was~~ one of five excluded in 1569 from Lincoln's Inn "for not coming to divine service or

receiving the Communion, and for using unlawful rights and ceremonies". Three of this number before 1577 "are reconciled into our house", but Roger is not among them. He is described as: "Roger Corham of Hampshire: of £200 yearly by livelihood".⁴⁶

Roger, who died in⁴⁷ ~~15~~ 1600 does not appear again⁴⁸ in any returns of recusants, but in 1586 he is presented as a non-Communicant. It is possible therefore that he may have conformed outwardly. Only his wife, Mabel, is cited⁴⁹ as a recusant in April⁴⁹ 1583 for the parish of St. Bartholomew, Winchester, and in 1592-3 she was fined a total of £480 for recusancy.⁵⁰ She is then described as the wife of Roger Corham. Her husband was still living, but he incurred no financial penalty for recusancy. This seems to confirm his position as a Church-Papist.

The Corhams' house was known to seminary priests.⁵¹

III

SOME LEADING RECUSANTS

Lady Mabel Sandys - (Group 2: Slackstead)

The importance of ~~this~~ Group²- at least till after his execution in 1591 - is due to the activities of the martyr, Ralf Miller,⁵² of Slackstead, (in the parish of Farley Chamberlayne), working in conjunction with some of the missionary priests, and to two prominent recusants who lived near, - Lady Mabel Sandys of Timsbury, and Mistress Frances Tichborne of Sherfield English. The group is not a distinct entity, for Slackstead itself is near the

Twyford group (Group 6) and Ralf Miller must have had close associations with Gilbert⁵³ and Swithun Wells and other recusants in the Twyford-Otterbourne area. Sherfield English is some distance to the west.

17 recusants were returned from Farley Chamberlayne in 1583⁵⁴, including Ralf Miller himself, his wife Elizabeth, and apparently two relatives, Maude Miller and Philip Miller. This small parish as a centre of recusancy seems to have declined in importance by the period 1598-1602, for only two recusants are then returned.⁵⁵

Lady Mabel Sandys was a daughter of Thomas Wriothesley, first Earl of Southampton, and was therefore the sister of the Catholic Second Earl, Henry.⁵⁶ She married Sir Walter Sandys⁵⁷, Sheriff of Hampshire in 1576 and ~~in~~⁵⁸ 1592, and J.P. of the quorum in 1585.⁵⁹ Sir Walter Sandys held the manor of Timsbury in the Test Valley,⁶⁰ ~~but~~ Like most of the important Hampshire families, the Sandys, ~~as has been seen,~~ had in addition to their own manor-house/^{a great house} in Winchester.⁶⁰ Both Lady Mabel and her sister, Lady Katherine Cornwallis came under notice for recusancy in 1583⁶¹, but they also appear to have been presented and indicted as recusants at Reigate in 1576⁶². Their important family connections saved them from further proceedings for, though a writ was issued against them, "further process against the said Katherine (was) stayed by Mr. Secretary Walsingham's letters and the exigent went forth 'gainst the said Mabel and she standeth waived .."⁶³

Similarly, in 1582, "Mabel Sandys was certified by the Clerk of the Peace for Surrey to be indicted for recusancy in the 24th year of Elizabeth dwelling then at East Horsley (Surrey) but, now departed thence, she standeth waived upon the same indictment"⁶⁴.

Sir Walter Sandys, Lady Mabel's husband, held the rectory and advowson of Sparsholt, and at his death the advowson would revert to his wife⁶⁵. His local power was therefore considerable and it would have enabled him to stay any presentments for recusancy initiated by the parson, dependent as he was on his patron's goodwill. This influence was reinforced by his position as a J.P. of the quorum. Lady Mabel Sandys was therefore possibly of considerable assistance to her fellow recusants. When she herself was cited as a recusant in 1583 it was by means of a special inquisition throughout the county and not as a result of a local presentment⁶⁶.

Mistress Frances Tichborne of Sherfield English -(Group 2: Slackstead)

MISTRESS FRANCES TICHBORNE was presented as a recusant for the parish of Sherfield English in 1583 with two visitors, Francis Tichborne, gentleman, and Francis Spenser, gentleman⁶⁷. She was apparently the widow of Lionel Tichborne of Sherfield⁶⁸. Lionel Tichborne had left the manor of Sherfield English to his son, Roger⁶⁹.

The manor-house of Frances Tichborne was a Mass-centre. In the examination of Nicholas Tichborne shortly before his execution at Tyburn in 1601 it is stated⁷⁰ that "... about Whitsuntide twelvemonth (that is in 1600) there was a Mass said in the house of Roger Tichborne,

gentleman, where the mother (that is Mistress Frances Tichborne) of the said Roger being a recusant, doth lie. But Nicholas Tichborne saith that the said Roger was not present at it, but Mr. William Ringwoode, Francis Tichborne, old Mistress Tichborne (Frances) heard the Mass, and in the afternoon of the same day, Thomas Tichborne (brother of the examinee), being a seminary priest that said the Mass in the forenoon, preached in the afternoon, and that the said three persons were present at the sermon. But the said Roger was not present nor heard the same."

Three people, all of Romsey, were each fined 100 marks (266.13.4.) in 1583-4⁷¹ for hearing Mass. They were Richard Chydden, tailor, Thomas Phillips, yeoman, and Joan Spencer, wife of William Spencer, yeoman. It is possible that it was at Sherfield English that they heard the Mass since the manor house of the Tichbornes is only distant some seven miles.

Sherfield English apparently continued for many years as a Catholic centre, for, described as Shirefield, it was served by a Jesuit Mission in the 18th century⁷².

The Second Earl of Southampton - (Group 3: Coastal (1))

HENRY WRIOTHESLEY⁷³, second Earl of Southampton, was the only surviving son of Thomas Wriothesley, the first Earl, colleague of Thomas Cromwell and Henry VIII's Chancellor. He married Mary, daughter of the Viscount Montague of Cowdray, Sussex. Thomas Wriothesley obtained possession of some rich monastic foundations at the Dissolution of the Monasteries, including Titchfield Abbey and Beaulieu. He converted Titchfield into a private mansion and this became the chief family seat.

The Second Earl inherited considerable wealth; and although the

remaining feudal power of the English Earls was destroyed in the Northern Revolt of 1569, he retained a good deal of influence in Hampshire by virtue of his wealth and his position as a peer and a J.P. He was a strong Catholic and in a paper written by William Allen in 1574⁷⁴, the Earl's family is mentioned as one of the great Catholic families of England. Camden said that the Earl was "a man of all others devoted to the Romish religion"⁷⁵. He was suspected of complicity in a number of political intrigues and offences, and was imprisoned. These matters do not, however, closely affect the question of Hampshire recusancy.

Shortly after returning to Titchfield from the hospitable "custody" of his father-in-law, Viscount Montague, the Earl was placed (1574) in the Commission of the Peace for Hampshire, and with the tightening-up of measures against Papists this naturally gave him considerable local influence⁷⁶. We find, for instance, that up to the time of his death in October 1581 there is a record, among all the episcopal documents relating to citations since the beginning of the reign, of only two citations from Titchfield for non-Communicating, - one in 1566 and the other in 1577,- and one for recusancy, in March 1581⁷⁷.

The Earl's family life seems to have been peaceful until about 1577 when an estrangement between him and his wife began what was to have far-reaching religious and other consequences. The cause has not been clearly established: there was some suspicion of infidelity on the part of the Countess, but in a long letter which she wrote in 1579 to her father she denied that she had been at fault⁷⁸. This was of course only an ex parte statement, but some other evidence of a

secondhand nature is equally inconclusive⁷⁹. Whatever the reason, the Earl had no further dealings with his wife and withdrew his small son and heir from her charge. He also seems to have given his complete confidence to his Catholic gentlemen servants and principally to Thomas Dymock, his bailiff, whom the Countess blamed for all the trouble.

The Earl died on 4 October 1581. In his will drawn up on 24 June 1581⁸⁰, he left a considerable legacy to Thomas Dymock and said that he wished "the said Thomas, for the good opinion and trust I have of him, should be specially one of those appointed after my decease to be attentive to, and daily about, the person of my son and heir, Lord Wriothesley, to have care and charge thereof, whose duty in that behalf to be carefully and honestly performed I nothing doubt"⁸¹. The Earl also willed that his daughter was "to be brought up by his sister, Katherine Cornwallis or his aunt Lawrence, and if both of these refuse, or should die, she was to be placed in some good virtuous house at the pleasure of his executors, provided always that she should not be in the house with her mother".

Thomas Dymock, who was only one of the executors, tried to prove the will without consulting the other executors⁸², but was unsuccessful. The Countess made a determined effort to remove the young Earl, who was just on eight years of age at the death of his father, from the sphere of Dymock's influence, and wrote to Leicester asking for his help⁸³. The result was almost a foregone conclusion, and eventually Burleigh, as Master of the Wards, became young Henry's guardian. He was brought up as a Protestant and stayed for a time in Burleigh's own house. While Henry was at Cambridge, Burleigh was still taking an interest in him⁸⁴.

The Countess's victory was indeed to be complete: Leicester, Burleigh and the Montagues were far too formidable a combination for the solitary efforts of an obscure Catholic gentleman-bailiff, like Thomas Dymock.

It is necessary to add that the Earl seems to have had a stronger hold on Catholicism than had his wife, and though there is no evidence that this difference of religious attitude was even a minor cause of the dissension between them, it did not help matters. While he was detained at Losely, the Earl, like so many other Catholics at the time (1570), had temporised as regards attendance at Common Prayer⁸⁵, but he afterwards gave up the practice and certainly brought up his son as a strict Catholic. He kept a Catholic priest at Titchfield, Henry Allway, to whom he left a yearly rent of £5 in his will⁸⁶. Moreover, as will be seen, Thomas Dymock was an undoubted recusant, and his religious constancy no doubt appealed to the Earl.

On the other hand the Countess seems, to say the least, to have had flexible religious views. Writing on 25 October 1581⁸⁷ to Leicester, who had befriended her in the past, she told him "that my little son refused to hear service is not my fault that hath not seen him almost this two years. I trust your Lordship esteems me to have some more discretion than to forbid him that which his few years cannot judge of. Truly, my Lord, if myself had kept him, he should in this house (Cowdray, her father's home) have come to it (Common Prayer) as my Lord, my father, and his doth. I pray your Lordship that he may understand this from me to put her (Majesty) out of doubt I was not guilty of that folly ..."

One result of the whole unfortunate business was an investigation into the extent of recusancy at Titchfield and other places formerly

within the Wriothesley orbit of influence. We find, for instance, that in November (a month or so after the Earl's death) four presentments were made for recusancy at Titchfield and four for non-Communicating⁸⁸. In 1583, there were eight recusants at Titchfield, including Thomas Dymock, and three at Dogmersfield, where the Earl had a house which he had for some years been rebuilding⁸⁹. The recusants presented from this place included the Earl's priest, Henry Allway. Moreover, Dymock himself, thwarted in his attempts to carry out plans in accordance with the late Earl's wishes, and now bereft of his influence, was henceforth carefully watched. In 1584⁹⁰, he was closely questioned regarding the alleged conveyance of Papists overseas from Hampshire. In 1586, at the time of the Babington Plot, he found himself in prison, but there seems to have been little enough reason to suspect him of any complicity⁹¹. In November he was discharged from prison⁹². In 1592-3 he was fined £180 for recusancy⁹³.

John Ludlow, gentleman, of Fareham - (Group 3: Coastal (1))

THE LUDLOWS of Cams Hall, Fareham, who were probably a branch of the distinguished Ludlow family of Wiltshire, had been connected with Cams since the 14th century⁹⁴. John Ludlow, gentleman, was returned as a recusant with his wife in 1577⁹⁵, and again in 1583 with Barbara, his wife, for the parish of Fareham⁹⁶. He is then stated to be in the gaol at Winchester.

Cams Hall⁹⁷ was situated by the side of Fareham creek, which formed an excellent landing place for missionary priests, who could conveniently take refuge in the manor house. Thomas Dodwell informed the Government⁹⁸

in 1584 ⁹⁸ that "Mr. Ludlow of Cams lying in prison for Papistry, and his wife being a recusant and out of prison, keepeth in his house continually Gardiner and receiveth Derbyshire alias Escham with any seminary priest that cometh".

In 1586 in connection with the Government's request for financial offers from the recusants, John Ludlow is stated to have conformed⁹⁹. He had been fined £240 for twelve months' absence from church from 1 October 1581 and a similar sum for twelve months' absence from September 1582¹⁰⁰. These amounts were not paid. It is possible that the mounting recusancy debts had caused him to conform. At any rate, neither John Ludlow's name nor that of his wife appears in subsequent recusant records during the Queen's reign. They were the only Hampshire recusants known for the shelter which they gave to the priests from abroad who conformed. It would seem, however, that John Ludlow had returned to Catholicism by the early years of James I's reign¹⁰¹.

The Henslows of West Boarhunt (Southwick) - (Group 3: Coastal (1))

RALPH HENSLOW, gentleman, of West Boarhunt and Iwerne Minster, Dorset¹⁰², was returned as a "strong Papist" in 1572¹⁰³. In 1574 he was Clerk of the Peace for Hampshire¹⁰⁴. He died in 1577 and there is a memorial to him in the ancient Saxon church at Boarhunt.

In 1577 the following are returned as recusants: Mistress Henslow, widow (probably of Ralph Henslow), Christian, her daughter, and the wife of Thomas Henslow¹⁰⁵. (Thomas Henslow¹⁰⁶ was the son and heir of Ralph Henslow and a Church-Papist.) In the same year, Stephen Henslow, a

Wykehamist and deprived Fellow of New College, Oxford, who was probably a brother of Ralph, was also returned as a recusant¹⁰⁷. It is then stated that in the parish of St.Aldate's, Oxford, is "one Henslowe, a M.A. of nine or ten years' standing, once of New College and expelled out of that house for Popery, who lieth now at the sign of the Blue Boar at one Easton's and never cometh to the church"¹⁰⁸.

In 1583 the following are cited as recusants for West Boarhunt¹⁰⁹:
Mistress Christian Henslow, Mistress Edith Cuffold, Mistress Mary Cuffold¹¹⁰, William Fowle, Agnes Papyr, Joan Carter, the wife of Hugh Hyde, gentleman, and Sislie Hide, his daughter.

Thomas Henslow, although a "Church-Papist or "schismatic", harboured priests. In 1584 Thomas Dodwell, the spy, said that "Mr.Henslowe of Borrant (Boarhunt) being a schismatic, his wife a recusant, kept Somerfield als Holland, a Seminarist, in his house. Secretly, he entertaineth Mitten als Longe, Askew, Gardiner, with any other Seminary priest that cometh"¹¹¹. This did not prevent him from commanding part of the Hampshire military defensive force at the time of the Armada: he was in charge of the men in the hundreds of Bosmere, Hayling, Alverstoke and Gosport¹¹², a considerable force, in a strategic part of the county.

In 1592-3 Thomas Henslow was made Crown grantee of the lands of Thomas Pounce, his kinsman¹¹³, and in the same year, Catherine Henslow, his wife, was fined £180 for recusancy¹¹⁴. In 1596-7, Henry Henslow, probably the brother of Thomas, described as of West Boarhunt, was fined £140 for recusancy¹¹⁵.

In 1580 a Henry Henslowe, probably a member of the Boarhunt Henslowe family, was ordained at Rheims ¹¹⁶.

Thomas Pounce - (Group 3: Coastal (1))

THOMAS POUNDE of Belmont (or Beamonds), Farlington, near Havant, was the son of William Pounce, esquire, who married Anne, the sister of Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton¹¹⁷. He was thus first cousin of the Catholic, Henry, Second Earl of Southampton. He was also one of the most active and distinguished of Hampshire recusants, as well as one of the most well-to-do.

Thomas Pounce, in the earlier years of the reign, was one of the Queen's courtiers, but in 1569, offended at some words spoken to him by the Queen, he hastily left the Court and retired to his estates at Belmont (Farlington)¹¹⁸. A little later he was reconciled to Catholicism¹¹⁹.

In 1574 began Pounce's long series of imprisonments¹²⁰. He was then ordered to appear before Sandys, Bishop of London. After examination by the Bishop he was committed to prison. The actual reason for this seems to have been the advice which he gave to Catholics in Winchester to refuse the reception of Communion in the Established Church, but there was also a suspicion that he intended to leave England for Catholic countries abroad¹²¹. There was an offer of release from prison if he would, as an example to others, present himself once at a Protestant sermon. He refused, but after being in prison for six months he was released through the influence of the Earl of Southampton. The Earl became Pounce's surety that there would be no departure from the country nor interference with religion. Pounce was to remain at Belmont and be ready to appear if cited¹²².

After being free for some sixteen months, Pounce was in trouble

again on account of religion, and was summoned to the Consistory Court and examined by Horne, Bishop of Winchester, in 1576¹²³. Thomas Stephens, a Jesuit, writing in 1578 to Rome gave an account¹²⁴ of the examination. He says that Pounce was summoned to Winchester with some of his Hampshire neighbours, among whom was George Cotton, the recusant, of Warblington, and "not a few others of his county, men of high family. This, however, I did not myself see, but heard from others who were present, and were very fervent in their commendation of him". Pounce is said to have defended his faith with great ability and to have provoked the Bishop, who was unable to answer him, to anger. People left the Court "favourably inclined to Catholicism". Thomas Stephens adds that "within a few months nearly (sic) twenty persons of both sexes and various ages and conditions were converted by his labours".

Thomas Pounce ~~was~~ known to the Government as a receiver of Jesuits and Seminary priests¹²⁵. In 1578 he was admitted to the Jesuit Order as a lay-associate¹²⁶, a step which, as he was already well-known to the Government, did not tend to diminish his troubles.

He played a principal part in the drama of his friend, Edmund Campion, and assisted in the publicising of the Challenge¹²⁷. In 1580 Pounce, inspired by Campion's own writing, wrote his religious controversial work, Six Reasons, which he sent to two Puritan ministers in London, Tripp and Crowley, challenging them to a public disputation¹²⁸. The main effect of all this was greatly to provoke Aylmer, Bishop of London, who decided to remove Pounce to a semi-derelict castle at Bishop's Stortford which was within the Bishop's control¹²⁹. He was indeed to spend a good many years in various prisons till his death in 1615¹³⁰. In addition to being imprisoned, he paid a considerable sum

to the Crown in rentals of two-thirds of his lands "seized" under the Recusancy Act of 1586-7 ¹³¹.

Thomas Pounce was, as has been mentioned, a neighbour of George Cotton, recusant of Warblington, who was also a considerable harbourer of priests ¹³². There must have been a constant interchange of these along the short stretch of the narrow coastal road between the estates of the two recusants.

Two of Pounce's younger brothers were recusants: Henry, who was returned as a recusant for the parish of Farlington in 1583 ¹³³, and John, who became a Jesuit ¹³⁴.

George Cotton - (Group 3: Coastal (L))

GEORGE COTTON was the eldest son of Sir Richard Cotton of Warblington and Bedhampton, Comptroller of the Household to Edward VI ¹³⁵. The family lived at Warblington Castle, built expressly for Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury, last Plantagenet princess, aunt of Henry VIII and executed by him ¹³⁶. George Cotton married Mary, daughter of John Shelley of Michelgrove, Sussex ¹³⁷. (The Shelleys of Sussex, like their kinsfolk the Shelleys of Hampshire, were prominent recusants in Elizabeth's reign.)

Cotton at an early date came under notice for recusancy. In 1577 he was included in Bishop Horne's return of recusants ¹³⁸. In the later 70's the Government, alarmed at the growing evidence of recusancy in the country generally, tried the effect of conferences between notable recusants and "learned divines" in an attempt to induce obedience to the Act of Uniformity. Thomas Pounce, as we have seen, came before Horne at Winchester in 1576. In September 1578 the Bishop wrote ¹³⁹ to the

Warden of the Fleet, to which prison Cotton had been committed for recusancy in 1577¹⁴⁰, asking that he should be sent to the Bishop "to be further conferred withal in matter of religion". But Cotton was recalcitrant and remained in prison.

At a later date we get some idea of the opinion of the Cottons held by an agent of the Government in a report made in 1588 by the Earl of Sussex to Walsingham in the year of the Armada¹⁴¹. He commences by saying that Richard Cotton, the son and heir of George Cotton, is not only an obstinate recusant, but also a "disobeyer of Her Majesty's Commissioners for necessities to be used hereabouts for Her Majesty's town (apparently Portsmouth) and fortifications, to the evil example of the wholeshire". Demands are evidently being made in connection with defensive measures against the Armada and Richard Cotton seems to be acting for his father who, with other leading recusants, was apparently held in Wisbech¹⁴². These demands on the Cottons' resources may have been excessive and have caused Richard Cotton's resentment.

There is no evidence that Richard was imprisoned for his disobedience and perhaps Walsingham wisely let him remain at liberty. George Cotton had already commenced paying the very large sum of £260 a year in recusancy fines - payment which was to continue regularly till his death - so that the Government did not want to run the risk of losing this large and regular sum or any part of it. This might have happened if Richard who, as heir, was probably managing the estates, had been in prison as well as his father.

The home of the Cotton family was so well-known for harbouring priests that it was called the "common Refuge"¹⁴³. In his report to

Walsingham Sussex adds something which may justify this description. He says that "that house (at Warblington) is a dangerous place and divers evil conferences had and made there, which I know no way to amend or restrain, unless the same house may be in the charge for a time of such as be well-affected, whereof here be few ..." This may also indicate, in the excitement of the times, some suspicion of treasonable motives, but there is no evidence that the Cottons were other than loyal to the Queen in temporal matters.

The harbouring of priests at Warblington did not cease and Sir Charles Cornwallis, writing¹⁴⁴ to the Lord Treasurer as late as 20 May 1609, said "that in the house of one Mr. Cotton there is harboured a Jesuit, who names himself Thomas Singleton. He teacheth the grandchildren of the said Cotton". Other priests who took refuge with George Cotton were Thomas Lister, Jesuit, and Father Baldwin. The Government let the latter out of the Bridewell, London, in the belief that he was a Neapolitan merchant. He then went into hiding at George Cotton's house¹⁴⁵.

Recusants like the Cottons, as well as the Banisters of Idsworth and the Shelleys of Mapledurham (Buriton), were conveniently situated close to the Sussex border, and were thus able to escape to their recusant friends or kinsmen in another diocese with consequently separate jurisdiction, whenever they were wanted for an irksome reason by the ecclesiastical or Government authorities in their own county. They could also give shelter for similar reasons to kinsfolk and fellow-recusants from Sussex. This subterfuge was known as riding "up and down". It seems to have been specially employed in connection with any proposed financial exactions.¹⁴⁶

The Government were well aware of all this. In 1590, for instance, the Council wrote¹⁴⁷ to the Bishop of Winchester saying that many recusants lurking in certain houses in the corners and confines of Hampshire "do, upon notice of search and enquiry after them, convey themselves into some other shire next adjoining and do thereby escape imprisonment etc". Instructions are therefore to be sent to the Lord Lieutenants of other shires in order that such persons may be apprehended forthwith and sent back under safe custody to the place of their usual abode. They were then to be dealt with by the Bishop.

Because George Cotton was the only Hampshire recusant to pay year by year the statutory find of £260 a year under the Act of 1581, his large estates escaped "seizure" by the Queen and he was able to hand them on to his heir, Richard, though apparently in a diminished state¹⁴⁸.

John Cotton of Warblington, was probably a younger brother of George Cotton. He was possibly one of the students from Oxford captured with Edmund Campion at Lyford, to which place he had returned with Campion¹⁴⁹. He is said to have spent many years in prison at Winchester and elsewhere¹⁵⁰.

Mistress Elizabeth Tichborne (Group 5: Meon Valley-Ropley)

MISTRESS ELIZABETH TICHBORNE was the wife of Nicholas Tichborne of West Tisted, Sheriff of Hampshire in 1555¹⁵¹. She was one of the best-known and most constant of Hampshire recusants in the reign of Elizabeth, and was the mother of Sir Benjamin Tichborne.

The Tichbornes were settled at Tichborne probably in the twelfth century, but the family claim a more ancient origin¹⁵².

Mistress Elizabeth was returned with her son, Benjamin, as a non-Communicant in 1568, but she, at least, was probably always an "obstinate recusant"¹⁵³. In 1572 she was ordered with her kinsmen John, Nicholas and Roger Tichborne to appear before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners at Winchester "for matters respecting religion, chiefly for their neglecting the Divine Service and receiving the blessed Communion"¹⁵⁴. In 1577 she was returned as a recusant by Bishop Horne¹⁵⁵.

According to the spy, Ben Beard, who was her grandson, she harboured Simon Fennell, a Seminary priest, for five or six years, and also Richards, another priest¹⁵⁶. After her escape from prison in Winchester, Elizabeth Sanders, the nun, and sister of Nicholas Sanders, went to West Tisted and spent some days with Mistress Tichborne¹⁵⁷.

Elizabeth Tichborne was still living in 1586, for she was one of the Hampshire recusants who were asked to make a "composition" offer to the Queen in return for a possible alleviation of the penalties of the recusancy statutes¹⁵⁸. Her name is not on the first Recusant Roll, 1592-3, and it is presumed that she must have died in the interval

Gilbert Wells - (Group 6: Twyford-Otterbourne)

GILBERT WELLS, the eldest son of Thomas Wells of Brambridge, Twyford¹⁵⁹, and the elder brother of Swithun Wells, the martyr¹⁶⁰, was at an early date imprisoned for religious reasons and at some time between 1559 and 1567 was in the Fleet "for the Bishop of Winchester's matters"¹⁶¹.

Notwithstanding this he was made High Sheriff of Hampshire for 1570¹⁶². He was returned as a recusant in Bishop Horne's special list in 1577¹⁶³. In 1583 he was in the Gaol at Winchester and, altogether, spent a good many years in prison on account of recusancy¹⁶⁴. He was included with his son and heir, Thomas, in Lord Burghley's list of recusants in 1588¹⁶⁵.

Gilbert Wells possessed the manor of Brambridge and property in the neighbouring parishes, and also land in King's Somborne¹⁶⁶. Boyatt Manor in the parish of Otterbourne was in the tenure of Thomas Wells, his heir, and perhaps this explains the long list of recusants for this parish in 1583 and 1598-1602¹⁶⁷. Thomas was returned as a recusant with his parents in 1583¹⁶⁸.

Like his brother, Swithun, Gilbert Wells was a friend of Henry, the Second Earl of Southampton, and was an executor of his will¹⁶⁹.

He was a considerable harbourer of priests. In 1584 Thomas Dodwell said¹⁷⁰ that "Mr. Wells of Otterbourne, near to Winchester, of late being a prisoner at Wisbech and now in the Marshalsea, hath Darbyshire, sometimes called Hampshire, sometimes called Escham, resorting to his house". Later, in March 1594, Ben Beard told¹⁷¹ Morgan Jones of Gray's Inn that "the two Jesuits lately with Mrs. Yates have gone to Mr. Wells at Brombridge (Brambridge), which Wells is ordered by the Council with divers other recusants of Hampshire to confine himself to Ely". In May 1594 Beard informed¹⁷² Lord Keeper Puckering that "Grafton, a learned Jesuit, has lately come over, and is supposed to be at the house of Wells, a confirmed recusant". Gilbert Wells was actually imprisoned in Wisbech "for harbouring of a Seminary priest contrary to his bond"¹⁷³.

Mistress Elizabeth Pitts of Alton - (Group 8: Hartley Maudit)

MISTRESS ELIZABETH PITTS of Alton was the wife of Henry Pitts of Alton. Henry Pitts was not a recusant, but, ~~173~~¹⁷⁴ said Bishop Cooper, in writing to Walsingham in 1585, he was "not so sincerely affected in religion, although for the penalty of the law he is obedient". He may therefore have been a Papist at heart.

Mistress Pitts was the sister of the celebrated Dr. Nicholas Sanders and of the nun, Elizabeth Sanders. Her house was searched in 1581 for the copy of Campion's Challenge which had found its way there. On that occasion Elizabeth Sanders was discovered and committed to the House of Correction at Winchester¹⁷⁵. It is probable that Mistress Pitts also harboured priests, for John Owen alias John Gardiner, who was apprehended at the house of the Warnfords in Winchester in March 1585, said¹⁷⁶ that in journeying from London he and his companions rode to Alton and there they waited; "and from Alton they came altogether the same Sunday night to Winchester", after John Owen had probably said Mass on that Sunday at the home of the Pitts.

Mistress Pitts had two sons, John Pitts, the Wykehamist and celebrated author of De Illustris Scriptoribus Angliae, and William, who had assisted in the dispersal of Campion's Challenge and who subsequently became a priest¹⁷⁷.

The Shelley Family - (Group 9: Buriton (Mapledurham - Idsworth)

The SHELLEY FAMILY were mentioned by William Allen in 1575-6¹⁷⁸ as one of the great Catholic families in England. There were branches in Hampshire, Sussex and Surrey. In Hampshire the chief recusant Shelley

in Elizabeth's reign was Henry Shelley, esquire, the son of Thomas Shelley of Mapledurham (Buriton) by Mary, daughter of Sir Roger Copley of Sussex and Surrey¹⁷⁹. He married Mary, daughter of Sir John Luttrell of Dunster Castle, Somerset¹⁸⁰.

Henry Shelley was returned as a recusant by Bishop Horne in 1577¹⁸¹. He was also presented in 1583 with Mary, his wife, and Mary, his daughter, for the parish of Buriton¹⁸², being then stated to be in prison in London¹⁸³. He died in prison in 1585¹⁸⁴.

The Shelleys' manor-house¹⁸⁵ at Mapledurham gave shelter to many priests and Mass was frequently said there. Edward Jones, formerly the servant of Chideock Tichborne, in his examination by the Earl of Sussex in June 1586, said¹⁸⁶ that "he was reconciled in the room of Mr. John Shelley's brother. He went down to the Shelleys' home at Mapledurham. Mass was celebrated every day by a priest called Wrenche. Other priests there were Jasper Heywood, Jesuit, Shelborne, Chapman, Oldames, Warblington, Farmer, Eskew (Askew?) and Stone¹⁸⁷. Such as came to hear Mass (at Mapledurham): Mr. Stephen Vachell and his wife, Martin Truncher and his wife, Mr. John Shelley and his wife." John Body, the Wykehamist and martyr, resorted to the Shelleys' home and it was there in 1583 that he was found by Sir Richard Norton, the J.P.¹⁸⁸. It was also to Mapledurham that the nun, Elizabeth Sanders, went from the manor-house of Mistress Elizabeth Tichborne, after her escape from prison¹⁸⁹.

Mapledurham was an excellent hiding-place for priests and recusants, and its isolated position must have made searches for them a difficult business. Later in the reign, Ben Beard, the informer,

gave particulars of the priests resorting to the manor-house together with a description of the hiding-holes there. In March 1594 he speaks¹⁹⁰ of two Jesuits moving about Hampshire of whom he has obtained information and says: "If the others (the two Jesuits) are missed at Wells' (Gilbert Wells' of Brambridge) house, they may be at Thomas Shelley's¹⁹¹ at Mapledurham, where Mr. Strange dwells¹⁹²; Strange and Wells are great friends and shift such persons between each other. At Mapledurham there is a hollow place in the parlour by the livery cupboard, where two men may well lie together, which has many times deceived the searchers". In May 1594 Beard gave further information about Mapledurham which found its way to Lord Keeper Puckering. He said¹⁹³ that John Shelley (probably Henry's brother) at Barns or Bails Farm in Hampshire, lived in an old park "paled and locked, that none can come at him without a key; his consorts are Strange, who was with Lord Montague and kept a college of priests at Mapledurham (and) Robert Knight of Lidshott (Ludshott) ... The house at Mapledurham belongs to Thomas Shelley ... and now Strange farms it... At Mapledurham there is a vault under a table, with a grate of iron for a light into the garden ... and has rosemary growing against the grate..."

Another Seminary priest harboured by the Shelleys was Simon Fennell, who, besides coming to Hampshire, moved about Berkshire and Oxfordshire, and sometimes went to London¹⁹⁴.

LONDON

Leading Hampshire recusants came to London occasionally not only to conduct essential business in connection with their farms and estates, but also to meet any priests who had been directed to come to Hampshire to replace those who were possibly too well-known and for whom there was danger in staying in the county any longer. In London, too, information vital to the Catholic cause could be obtained from reliable sources abroad, as well as useful news about any new Government measures intended against recusants. Prominent among the centres to which Hampshire Catholics came and where they met the priests was Southampton House. It was originally the inn or London house of the Bishops of Lincoln situated in Holborn and later came into the possession of the Earls of Southampton¹⁹⁵. It must have been a considerable Catholic centre while the second Earl, Henry, was alive and the house was not then liable to be searched for priests, peers being immune from such searches¹⁹⁶. Even after his death in 1581, Hampshire recusants continued to resort to it.

In 1584 Dodwell, the spy, informed the Government that two priests, "Askew (Nutter) and Smithe", frequented Southampton House¹⁹⁷. Later (in August) of the same year, it was reported that "at Southampton House were found: Gilbert Wells and his wife and Jane, their daughter; Felix, servant to Gilbert who had been in prison before...; Henry Wells and his wife, who lately dwelt at Purbeck ...; Mr. Banister and his wife who lately came from Hampshire and came to this house but two days before (27 August 1584)"¹⁹⁸. Two years later in June 1586 Mistress Banister was reported to be staying at Southampton House¹⁹⁹, whilst in 1587 Swithun

Wells was lodging there²⁰⁰. Much later (1594) Southampton House was still being used by priests, for Ben Beard informed Burghley's agent that two Jesuits who had gone to Mr. Wells at Brambridge, Hampshire, would return to London before Easter and that "they always abide about Chancery Lane and Southampton House"²⁰¹.

The district of Fetter Lane and Fleet Street was also a favourite place of resort for Hampshire and other recusants. A report made about 1586 says²⁰² that "in Fetter Lane, a gentlewoman, Mistress Fuller's house (was) appointed receptacle for Papists to hear Mass ..." Ben Beard in 1591 mentioned²⁰³ that "Goodacre's wife, who washes for the writer (Ben Beard), says that Wilford's lodging is at Payne's, in a court in Fetter Lane, and is the continual resort of dangerous persons; she recommended it to the writer as a quiet lodging, when he came out of prison; other Papists dwell there, and priests and evil persons resort to them ... (He) asked Mrs. Goodacre, Lathom and Thompson, all Papists, the news in London; they spoke of the late searches, and said John Tichborne, a Seminary, son of old Mistress Tichborne of Winchester, had come over with Norton ..."

George Cotton seems to have had a house in Fleet Street, for a spy reported²⁰⁴ in 1592 that Robert Southwell (the Jesuit martyr and poet) "useth to Mr. Cotton's in Fleet Street". The same report says that "there was a Mass said at Haley's house in the Old Change by one Mr. Willson, priest, who after went to St. Mary Overy's to My Lord Montague's house. Names of those present ... Mr. George Cotton, Mr. Banister and his wife" (she was Mary, the sister of Robert Southwell the Jesuit and poet - see Appendix II).

Another place of meeting for Hampshire Papists was an unspecified house in Fenchurch Street mentioned by Edward Jones, in his confession in June 1586. He said²⁰⁵: "There lies (sic) Doctor Martin and his wife, Mr.Chideock Tichborne and his wife, with many more resorting there, one Powlwheel and his wife, and one Mistress Hall, a Hampshire woman: a house greatly suspected for these causes".

The Shelleys also had a house in London to which priests resorted: its location is unknown. Thomas Dodwell in 1584 said²⁰⁶ that at the house of "Mr.Shelley of Mapledurham", London, were received Seminary priests, Dryland, Wrenche, Shelborne and Derbyshire. At least two of these had been at Mapledurham.

G Gilbert Wells had a house in Holborn which was searched by Sheriff Spencer on 27 August 1584. He found there "Robert Holme, alias Finch, clerk, a Jesuit priest, close prisoner (sic) in Newgate: Robert Aden, gent, Felix Smith, yeoman, close prisoner in the Counter, Wood Street. There is of the said Finch's a silver chalice, a silver saucer (paten?), a super altar (?altar stone), a pyx, a box of wafer cakes with divers Papish toys, Mass books, portasses and divers Papistical books of invocation of saints and divers other naughty books, a cope and all other things appertaining to a Massing priest"²⁰⁷.

Chapter VIII

Priests, Seminaries, and Martyrs

I

The list of leading persons in Hampshire compiled in 1572 indicated, as has been mentioned,¹ a considerable amount of "earnest" Papists. Many of these were the inflexible recusants of a later date when the stringency of the penal statutes tempted Catholics to conform. These Papists of 1572 were probably "strong" in the sense that even then they absolutely declined to attend the service of Common Prayer. But how did they provide for their own religious needs? The first seminary priests did not come from Douai till 1574 and only four landed in England in that year. It is inconceivable that until then Catholics generally had received no spiritual ministrations since Elizabeth's accession, and the answer must be that these ministrations were provided by the deprived Marian priests who encouraged the recusants in their non-conformity. There is also evidence² that Anglican clergy in Hampshire, who had been priests in the time of Mary, performed Catholic ceremonies in exceptional need; and the extent of surreptitious Catholic practice of this kind in the earlier part of Elizabeth's reign may have been greater than actually came to light.

A fair number of deprived Marian priests were probably working in Hampshire, but only eight have been traced. They were: Henry Allwey³, chaplain to the Earl of

Southampton; John Bryne⁴, who was a prisoner in Winchester in 1583; Sigebert Buckley⁵, the last surviving Benedictine monk of Westminster, who lived with the recusant Norton family at Punsholt Manor, West Meon; Simon Palmer and Thomas Coke who lived in the parish of St. Maurice, Winchester⁶; one of these may have been responsible for the recusancy of the wife of the Rector of St. Michael's, Winchester⁷; Thomas Palmer⁸, who was probably a relative of Simon Palmer and was presented for recusancy in 1570 from Andover (the considerable concentration of recusants and non-Communicants at Andover in the early 1570's, due no doubt to the presence of this priest in the town, has already been mentioned⁹); one Richards, living in the manor-house of Mistress Elizabeth Tichborne at West Tisted;¹⁰ and, finally, one Appleton, another "old priest", who lived at Crondall, the home of Lady Elizabeth Paulet.¹¹

Generally speaking, the Marian priests performed their sacerdotal duties satisfactorily, but Thomas Pounce, the recusant of Farlington, found one who did not. He heard¹², for instance, that a certain old priest living in Winchester, where, it is stated, there were many poor recusants, seldom said Mass. Pounce examined the recusants' social conditions and mode of life, and provided dinner for them after Mass and Holy Communion. He also gave alms to the priest, exhorting him to celebrate Mass more regularly in order that the recusants might communicate more frequently. Pounce had his own chapel and collected young men of rank to hear Mass, which he had "secretly

procured to be said in his private oratory".¹³

George Gilbert¹⁴ in 1583 also expressed criticism of the old priests. He says¹⁵ that "in this matter the proper instruction of his flock by the priest^y some of the old priests were found to be blameworthy, because they made it their habit to say Mass only and devote themselves after that to quiet and recreation, or spend their time with their host or other gentlemen in pleasant intercourse".

On the other hand, there is evidence that, from the Catholic point of view, they were not unsatisfactory. In 1564, for example, the Bishops wrote¹⁶ to the Privy Council that "Popish and perverse priests, which, misliking religion, have forsaken the ministry, yet live in corners, are kept in gentlemen's houses and had in great estimation with the people". Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, at the same time, desired¹⁷ active measures to be taken against "the straggling doctors and priests who have liberty to stay at their pleasures within this realm and who do hurt secretly and in corners". William Allen praised the Marian priests and said¹⁸ that "not only our own priests (from Douai and Rheims), of whom we had but few in the beginning, but also others who were ordained in England formerly in the Catholic times had, by the secret administration of the sacraments and by their exhortations, confirmed many in the Faith and brought back some who had gone away".

Later in the reign these priests had certain advantages, for the animus of the Government was directed less against them than against the seminary priests. John Gerard, the Jesuit, for instance, said¹⁹ that sometimes an old priest was employed to administer the sacraments where it was dangerous to have a seminary priest. "As such priests", he said "do not go about in the same danger and peril of their lives, we made use of him on this occasion to give the lady all the last rites of the Church".

There were, it was estimated²⁰, as many as forty or fifty of the old priests in England in 1596. There must have been many more in the earlier part of the reign. In 1580 Campion said that he found them everywhere,²¹ though the total could not then have been very considerable.

II

If the Marian priests in the earlier years of the reign were doing their best to cope with a gradually deteriorating situation, the Government realised that, though it chose to interfere little with crypto Catholic practices, it was winning a slow but sure battle against the forces of the older faith. "Time and the slow moral attrition of repeated church attendance might be relied upon to convert unwilling obedience into a real conformity".²² Moreover, the older generation who were recusants, together with the ancient priests, would eventually die out; and the younger generation not knowing, in their enforced and habitual conformity, any other form of religion, would be completely won over. William Allen saw clearly the danger to Catholicism in England, and his work at Douai, where he trained the priests to serve in England, threw down a vital and enduring challenge to the English Government.

Allen, of an old Lancashire family, was at Oriel College, Oxford, of which College he became a Fellow. In 1556 he was made Principal of St. Mary's Hall, Oxford. Refusing to conform in Elizabeth's reign he went to Louvain, and was ordained to the priesthood in 1565. In 1568 he founded the seminary at Douai. His object originally was to establish an institution where English students might receive a collegiate education. It was only some time after its foundation that Allen conceived the idea of

training Englishmen for priestly missionary work in England.

William Allen, from the first, had a considerable advantage in the kind of material he was able to obtain for the making of his priests. There were suitable men of all ranks: many were gentlemen's sons and a high proportion came from Oxford and Cambridge, but chiefly from the former. "They brought with them the traditions of English University and collegiate life and ... a high esteem for learning".²³ Allen in writing to Rome in 1583²⁴ said that "since the 1st of March this year ... 80 students have come hither from the English universities and schools; so that in these months we have hardly ever been fewer at Rheims²⁵ than 200". As a pendant to this it may be mentioned that 49 of the Elizabethan martyrs came either from Oxford or Cambridge, but chiefly from Oxford.²⁶

Since the work of the missionary priests was hard and dangerous, carefully-selected and well-trained men were needed. In their theological training they had the inestimable advantage of instructions originating from the labours of the Council of Trent: the priests were imbued with the spirit of the Counter-Reformation. The number of students at Douai or Rheims increased considerably from year to year, despite the stringency of the penal laws.²⁷ Other seminaries and colleges were founded from time to time.²⁸

The sons of many well-known Hampshire recusants found their way to Douai and other seminaries and colleges: for

example, Hampshire names like Henslowe, Tichborne, Norton, Hoorde, Goldsmith, Warnford, Shelley, Powlwheel, Pitts, Pounde, Cotton and Cuffaud occur over the years in the Douai Diaries.²⁹ Many recusants' sons did not intend to become priests but merely to receive a good education appropriate to their rank. They were deprived of educational facilities in England, and, as the colleges and schools abroad acquired a reputation for sound learning, an increasing number of recusants flocked to them, despite the severe statutory penalties if this were discovered. It was unfortunate that among those admitted to Douai or Rheims there were a few spies. Two of them, Thomas Dodwell and Edward Pemberton, gave much information to the Government about Hampshire recusants and about priests working in the county.³⁰

The influence of the Catholic educational movement abroad on the national life was pronounced.³¹ The loss to English education was considerable; and, because there was no intention on the part of the English Government to grant any form of toleration, the acute division in the nation due to religious differences became permanent. The crisis is seen in Hampshire in microcosm: the recusants educated on the Continent came back to work in close co-operation with the missionaries, greatly increasing the problem of recusancy for the Bishops of Winchester.³² Moreover, a good deal of English money was flowing to the Continent. The Government were well aware of this, but

could do little to prevent it. In 1586, for example, in connection with the Government's demands for the supply of light horse, the Queen was irate with certain prominent Hampshire recusants who were sending money abroad, although they were unwilling to pay her what was expected of them.³³ The refusal by recusants to pay fines or other recusancy debts may indeed partly be explained by the financial support given to the seminaries and colleges where their kinsfolk were being educated.³⁴

The work of the seminaries in providing priests for England was increasingly³⁵ fruitful from 1574 onwards. By 1578 a total of 40 had been sent to England. In June 1581 it was stated³⁶ that at least thirty priests entered England after Easter and were not stopped at the ports or afterwards captured. By 1585 229 priests had been sent from Douai and 33 from Rome.³⁷ Despite the Act of 1585 which made it treason for a seminary priest or Jesuit to be in England, priests continued to come from abroad, and towards the end of the reign the number in the country was substantial.³⁸ Sir Henry Neville, English Ambassador in France, writing to the Government from Paris on 27 June 1599, said³⁹ "that there are great numbers of Jesuits and priests now in England".

It is not possible to say to which part of the country priests were sent because the Douai Diaries, the main source of information about students at the Seminary (Douai or Rheims), merely state that they were sent on the English Mission. For Hampshire, as for other counties, some names are obtainable from other contemporary documents,⁴⁰ particularly those recording the work of spies. But the number found by this means is only a small proportion of the total number who must have ministered in the county for so many years. Changes were frequent, for priests had to be constantly on the move to avoid domiciliary searches by J.P's and their pursuivants; and they would depart to neighbouring counties after they had

spent a good deal of time in one county.

Hampshire itself had considerable advantages for the reception of the missionaries; it was directly opposite France, particularly to ports like Havre and Dieppe, and the sea voyage across the Channel was comparatively short. In addition, it possessed a large number of creeks and small harbours where the priests could land in security, avoiding detection by spies and searchers. The risk of being caught at large ports like Portsmouth or Southampton was considerable.

Some of the more prominent Hampshire recusants were in "strategic" positions along the coast, for their manor-houses were near creeks or small harbours where priests could be landed.⁴¹ Titchfield Haven at the mouth of the River Meon led into the Solent and a short distance inland to the home of the Earl of Southampton. Although he died in 1581, the Earl, as long as he lived, was in a favourable position to receive priests and then to pass them on into the interior. Probably some of the priests making by stages for Winchester landed near Titchfield. The Earl possessed the additional advantage that, as a great peer, his house and estates were not liable to be searched by pursuivants.⁴² Other recusants near creeks or harbourages were: John Ludlow at Cams Hall, by Fareham Creek; Thomas Pounce of Farlington and Anthony Cope of Bedhampton⁴³ with George Cotton and Mistress Edborow Bullaker of Warblington⁴⁴, all of whom were close to the quiet little

harbour of Langston. With the exception of Anthony Cope, they were known to the Government as sheltering priests. At Wymering Manor on the coast, some five miles from Thomas Pounce on the east and a similar distance from John Ludlow on the west were the Bruning family.⁴⁵ In the south-west corner of the county, Henry Carewe, esquire, possessed the manors of Keyhaven and Hordle Bremor containing creeks.⁴⁶

The coast of Hampshire was carefully watched. Bishop Cooper, for example, in dealing with the greatly increased number of recusants in the county had suggested to the Council that there should be more vigilance on the sea-side and the creeks in order to capture incoming priests.⁴⁷ In May 1586 the Council, apparently in answer to Cooper's suggestion, wrote⁴⁸ to the two Lord Lieutenants of Hampshire requiring the due execution of the orders which had been sent in the past for "the preventing of the access and landing of Jesuits and seminary priests from the parts beyond the seas at the ports, creeks and landing places within the said county". The Council had been informed that many priests had landed at such places and "have prevented and drawn a great number of Her Majesty's subjects from their due obedience in religion who before were dutiful and conformable". The orders were therefore to be carefully observed and the Lord Lieutenants were to add to or alter them as they thought fit.

In August of the same year (1586) instructions were

sent to Hampshire (and other counties) concerning the defence of the county.⁴⁹ In these specific reference was made to the "landing of Jesuits etc."

It seems that following these orders special appointments were made for watching the coast. We find, for instance, that John Paine, a minister, in September 1586⁵⁰, was paid the sum of five pounds, "being especially appointed to make search and apprehend certain 'seminaries' and other suspected persons along the coast of Sussex and Southampton (i.e. Hampshire) and the harbours thereabouts".

The coasts continued to receive attention. In 1590 a paper written⁵¹ by Maynard, one of Burghley's secretaries, refers to the increasing number of recusants in the country, and among the measures for the security of the State, Maynard makes the proposal that no notable recusant should be allowed to continue to live "near the sea-side". Such a person should be "commanded to some inland habitation within the country and to be bound with sureties not to depart thence without necessary cause". In March 1593⁵² strict care was required to be taken "of those towns near the sea, though not ports, lest any of the traitors (i.e. Jesuits and Seminary priests) should land slyly on the coast and so go to such towns, without touching at any port". It is difficult not to envisage the conditions in Hampshire in connection with this instruction.

IV

The passage of priests to England and of boys and youths to and from the seminaries and colleges abroad seems to have met with considerable success, in spite of the watch kept on the coast. Traffic of this kind must have been fairly frequent. There was also conveyance of money for the support of the seminaries and the students, as well as of letters and messages, whilst there existed constant need of religious books from abroad for the priests and recusants in England. Occasionally, there were discoveries in Hampshire which throw light on what was happening.

For example, in January 1577 the Council wrote⁵³ to the Bishop of Winchester and other Ecclesiastical Commissioners requiring them to take bond of Humphrey White for his appearance before the Council because he had been "a conveyor of letters and messages to and from Her Majesty's evilly-disposed subjects remaining in the parts beyond the seas".

Probably in December 1581 a spy, with the incredible name of Malinery Catilin, writing to Walsingham said that someone he had met "although in Portsmouth he durst not enter into conference with me" admitted that "he was in France at Christmas last from whence he conveyed to England one Adams, a priest⁵⁴... He hath a brother on the other side (France) called by the name of Richard Thomas but truly named Gyles White,⁵⁵ from whom he receiveth

letters and books for his friends three or four times every year and these things are conveyed to another brother...dwelling with a merchant in Billingsgate...He brought over with him three Agnus Dei's at his last being over, one for his wife, another for his mother and the last for his sister...He hath certain jewels of Edmund Campion's. He conveyed over into this realm of late one Chapman,⁵⁶ a priest, and landed him at Stokes Bay by Portsmouth and gave directions what course he should take and many other matters greater than these..."

In June 1584⁵⁷ Thomas Dymock, the gentleman-bailiff of the late Earl of Southampton, was exhaustively examined about the conveyance abroad of certain Papists from Titchfield to Dieppe. He was asked: Whether he knew Thomas Hall⁵⁸, Powlwhele⁵⁹, and one Green and his son; and whether he was made acquainted with their passage from Titchfield to Dieppe about a year ago, and for what cause? Dymock replied that he knew Powlwheel (Powlwhele) and Green, but not Thomas Hall or Green's son. He knew of their passage, "for that I sent answer by Mr. Green to my sister" (who was apparently in France). Whether, before the return of the said parties, he appointed one Holford to carry likewise over to Dieppe, one Burlacye, a stranger, and two boys, or any other at any time and for what purpose? He answered that one Burlacy, a merchant, whom he had seen sometimes in the country, knowing that "I had occasion to send to Beaulieu sometimes, willed me to send to Holford that he might keep

promise not to fail of his boat at the day appointed; and accordingly the said Burlacy came with two boys, whose names I know not". What conference he had with the parties aforesaid at Titchfield before their going over; and what news did they bring from France at their coming back? He said that he had had no conference, except with Mr. Green, "whom earnestly he desired my sister ... not to come over, for if she did she would not only bring her own trouble and the rest of her friends; also who willingly would receive her, if they might without danger". Further news he had none. Whether he was not more acquainted with the carrying over of Mistress Powlwheel, her two daughters, two servants and certain others; for what purpose they went; and whether he lent no money to Burlacy, who went with them, to pay for their passage? He replied that he was ignorant of all this, except "for the money which was parcel of that which I paid for Burlacy's horse". Whether he knew not any place beyond the seas where some of the passengers had placed their children at school and with whom? He answered that he knew of "no place beyond the seas". Whether he did not about Shrovetide seek to persuade Holford to carry over a friend of his and who it was? And whether he did not have a friend "that should lately be come from beyond sea unto you and be now returned back again"? Who was the same and wherefore came he? He replied that he asked Holford "when he would pass over again, and thought to have sent

[his friend], but upon better advice I did not proceed therein".

William Braye was a servant of the Earl of Arundel and "a common conveyer of priests and recusants....and was taken carrying the Earl of Arundel overseas".⁶⁰ Nicholas Berden, the spy, wrote to Walsingham on 13 April 1585⁶¹ about Braye. He told Walsingham to look "towards the creeks near Arundel and towards Portsmouth", and to watch them carefully during the next few days. In consequence, Braye was arrested where Burden said he would be found.⁶² In 1586 William Braye was a prisoner in London.⁶³

In May 1585, after the Earl was captured in trying to leave the kingdom from the coast of Hampshire, he was asked "for what purpose he and Sir Mathew Arundel viewed the haven of Langston" at his first coming into Sussex.⁶⁴

Edward Pemberton, another spy, who had been at Douai, in a long report to the Government in November 1593,⁶⁵ gave a good deal of information about priests at the seminary and about those who had come to England, mentioning the places to which they went. In addition, he gave particulars of some of the recusants who had sons at the seminaries and of the gifts sent to Douai and Rheims. He said that "there is one Mr. Edmonds in Hampshire or Somersetshire who doth entertain priests and relieve them, as those that have children at Douai do likewise, and send money by messengers as oft as it ^{is} convenient. For Mr.

Brocke is now a messenger in Hampshire for money sent to Edmund Lewkmor, priest, his cousin".⁶⁶ Pemberton added that "when they [the priests] go forth of England [they] take shipping at Portsmouth or else at Arundel, and do agree with the shipmaster what time they shall come. And so they come at night; and before the morning they go away...".

In 1597 an event took place at Warblington which gave rise to suspicion of the recusant Cottons. William Uvedale, a J.P., rode down⁶⁷ to Langston Harbour and found two French sailors looking after their barque, but "their master and the rest" had gone. It was stated that these sailors had lain one night in the previous week at "Mr. George Cotton's at Warblington". They said that they had come to buy horses, that they had brought money to pay Cotton for them and that in the previous year they had bought nine or ten horses. One of the two sailors was specially examined by Uvedale and said that M. Lalore, Deputy Lieutenant of Normandy, came over in the barque and was at Court with the object of obtaining a licence to transport the horses. All this may have been true, but it is probable that, in addition to the horses, missionary priests or children from the colleges had been carried from France. In any case, William Uvedale was full of suspicion, for he had "stayd the barque and taken away their sails till he hears further".

In June 1599, Sir Henry Neville, the English Ambassador

X in France⁶⁸, wrote to the English Government saying that there was "too free passage out of England: whence come daily young men over, which are presently conveyed to the colleges at Douai or Rome". There was adventure in the business, though a good deal of danger, both for the youths and their parents or guardians; but the traffic did not stop, as the Ambassador testifies, and the seminaries and colleges continued to be filled.

In July 1601, George Cotton, son of Richard Cotton, who was son and heir of George Cotton, esquire, of Warblington, was caught at Dover. In his examination⁶⁹ George junior said that two years previously "he took shipping at Margerite (Margate) in Kent, and from thence to Flushing and so to Amsterdam, and from thence to Antwerp and to Brussels, and so to St. Omers, where he went to school these two years. The reason he came from thence was that a gentlewoman, Mistress More⁷⁰, who lately came out of England, told him that she had directions from a cousin of his, Mr. Pooley, that he (Cotton) should come over with her, whereupon he did so; and, moreover, went by the name Pooly; and in St. Omers was called by the name of Pooly and not by the name of Cotton".

On 27 July, 1601, Lord Henry Cobham⁷¹ sent to Sir Robert Cecil a letter written by Pooly (Cotton) to Bredgate of Dover. This letter referred to the "passing over of Mistress More and for his (Bredgate's) well-usage of

her upon her return, and of young Cotton under the name of George Pooly". Cobham said that he had put Bredgate, "being one of the Commissioners at Dover for restraint of passage", out of the Commission, presumably for his misdemeanour. As regards Cotton, Cobham leaves him to Sir Robert's censure, "that shall presume so to write in this kind. He seems to be very sorry for it; and, for that you haply may know how to make use of his service, I think your private reprehension will be a sufficient reprehension for him".

Lastly, there was the information given by a third spy, William Smith, to Cecil on 27 December 1601. He wrote:⁷²
"I ... could discover many notable things, as a boat which the Jesuits have in Hampshire to transport their money, for the greatest maintenance of the seminaries comes from England".

If the passage of priests and of children to and from abroad was a dangerous business, so too was the traffic in religious literature. But Catholic books were constantly being received in England, despite the heavy penalties if discovery were made by Government agents. It was dangerous to possess Catholic books or to distribute them in England. Sale by booksellers was out of the question, for the Ecclesiastical Commissioners required to know beforehand what foreign books were proposed to be sold.⁷³ There was often diligent search for Papistical books at the ports and creeks, and considerable rewards

were given to informers and others who turned Queen's evidence.⁷⁴ Sometimes books were concealed among cargoes or were brought by priests coming to England. There were numerous Proclamations prohibiting the importation, circulation or even reading of Catholic books.⁷⁵

The Government were well aware of the influence of Catholic literature in creating converts to Catholicism and in fomenting recusancy; and it has been seen how, quite early in the reign, the books of the Wykehamists and other writers at Louvain were made the subject of enquiry at episcopal visitations.⁷⁶ There is a particular illustration of this influence in the case of John Chapman, a seminary priest, who was captured in Hampshire in 1582.⁷⁷ He had held an Anglican benefice in Dorset, was converted to Catholicism and afterwards went to Rheims, where he was ordained priest.⁷⁸ He was examined in Winchester after his capture, and "being asked by whose instructions he declined from the religion (of the Establishment), answereth, by reading certain controversies and by certain books".⁷⁹

When recusancy began to assume considerable proportions and the prisons were being filled with Papists, searches for books were made among the prisoners. In Winchester in 1583 religious and controversial books were found at the Gaol in the recusant prisoners' rooms⁸⁰. In the previous year the Bishop of Winchester had something to say about the conditions in the Gaol, for, after examining John

Chapman, he committed him to the House of Correction in Winchester, "for the Gaol hath so many backward people that we thought (it) not good to commit another priest nor the widow Bullacre (who had harboured John Chapman at Warblington) therein".⁸¹ The ecclesiastical authorities were usually afraid of the influence which imprisoned priests or well-known recusants might have on non-Catholic fellow-prisoners or visitors to the prison; and the use or loan of Catholic books was an effective means of creating and stimulating recusancy.

Recusant agents made it their business to distribute books among Papists in the country. In Hampshire William Pitts of Alton was one of these, but he had the misfortune to fall into the company of an informer.⁸² Swithun Wells, the schoolmaster and martyr, was probably another. In 1587 when examined about his recent movements he said⁸³: "And whereas you require of me whether I have carried any letters, books, messages or tokens from or to any of the suspected in religion any time this twelvemonth, I answer that I have not dealt in any such matters this twelvemonth and more".

Nicholas Berden, the spy, who in 1585 made the acquaintance of William Braye, obtained⁸⁴ useful information from him by offering to buy some of his books, if he had any to sell. Braye, who, as has been seen, knew Hampshire, not only "conveyed" priests, but also, "naughty books over the seas".⁸⁵

After landing on lonely parts of the Hampshire coast, the missionary priests no doubt sheltered at first in the coastal recusant manor-houses, and then, passing inland, made their way by stages to Winchester. Hampshire was a small, compact, well-wooded county; and because of the propinquity of the recusants' estates, it was hardly necessary for the priests to travel on main roads which, to escape detection by spies and other persons, they would avoid as far as possible: they were easily passed from one manor-house to another at short distances. From the eastern part of the coast a good route was through the wooded Meon country which contained a number of recusant gentry.⁸⁶ The first centre after leaving the coast would be the home of the Henslowes at Boarhunt, well-known for sheltering priests.⁸⁷ The missionaries would then probably make gradually for Twyford and Otterbourne, where members of the Wells family lived, and then to Winchester.

Further east a very probable route would have been an old Roman road⁸⁸ from the "Common Refuge", - the home of the Cottons at Warblington, - across the Downs and the Forest of Bere, past Idsworth, the seat of the Banister family,⁸⁹ to Mapledurham at Buriton, where the Shelleys sheltered priests on a large scale and where protection was so strong and skilful that no priest in the hiding-places there ever seems to have been discovered.⁹⁰ From Mapledurham the missionaries probably made westwards to Winchester.

There were plenty of Catholic manor-houses en route.

The priests could not advertise their priesthood and the disguises which they were forced to assume took many forms. The Queen's Proclamation of 18 October 1591⁹¹ concerns itself in some detail with their nature and is evidently based on considerable experience. After mentioning that these "traitorous persons" come into the realm by secret creeks and landing places, it says that they are "disguised both in their names and persons, some in apparel, as soldiers, mariners or merchants, pretending that they have been heretofore taken prisoners and put into galleys and delivered". Others come dressed as gentlemen using false names, "in comely apparel, as though they had travelled into foreign countries for knowledge". All, or most of them, after they have landed, are clothed "like gentlemen in apparel and many as gallants; yea, in all colours and with feathers and such-like disguising themselves". Many "do attempt to resort to the Universities and houses of ~~Law~~ from whence in former time they departed".

John Gerard, the Jesuit, a few years before this Proclamation, gave⁹² his own example of disguise and emphasised how important was a suitable one. "My dress", he says, "was always that of a gentleman of moderate means, and the wisdom of this was clear and often demonstrated later ... I had to move in public and meet many Protestant gentlemen, and I could never have mixed with them and brought them slowly back to a love of the faith ... had I

dressed in any other way. Apart from being able to move in their society more freely and safely now and with greater authority, I could stay longer and more securely in any house ... where my host might bring me as his friend or acquaintance ..."

Dress and behaviour as a gentleman were particularly desirable in the country and perhaps especially in the house of a crypto Catholic where the remaining members of the family were openly recusant. For example, Thomas Henslowe, the "schismatic", harboured priests (probably constantly)⁹³; he was a man of substance, and at the time of the Armada commanded an important division of the military defence forces.⁹⁴ At this and other times, his manor-house at Boarhunt was no doubt visited by numerous Protestants of position, and the circumstances described by John Gerard seem to be particularly relevant.

Accounts of particular priests' disguises do not often come to light, but Ben Beard, the informer, gives a brief description of Pixter, a priest in Hampshire, dressed as a gentleman, who managed to evade Topcliffe, the torturer. Writing to Lord Keeper Puckering on 11 May, 1594⁹⁵, Beard said that "... Driffield, who is in the Tower ... knows Pixter, a priest, lately come over; he was near being taken by Topcliffe at Basing when the Queen was there in her progress; Topcliffe came so near as to be able to take his girdle, hangers, rapier and cloak, but he made his escape and went beyond sea...". Ben Beard also said⁹⁶ that he

had seen "one John Shelley, who was with the old Lord Montague," carry two priests, Fennell and Richards, about the country with chains of gold about their necks. While old Mistress Tichborne lived, "this Simon Fennell abode there, and the other priest Richards at Mapledurham in Hampshire". In the livery of Lord Montague, who was in favour with the Queen, such priests would be safe from molestation.

Priests coming to Hampshire were no doubt fully informed about the topography of the country and about the more important recusants whom they would meet. It is in this connection that the many Wykehamists, who went to Douai or Rheims, especially those who were natives of Hampshire, were able to give particulars of inestimable value to the priests. There were, for example, those important Wykehamists who taught at Douai, like Owen Lewis, Richard Whyte of Basingstoke and William Raynolds;⁹⁷ others, like John Shelley of Mapledurham, Henry Norton of Tisted and John Pitts of Alton were all Hampshire men; whilst Thomas Hyde, the deprived Headmaster of Winchester, of whose prudence William Allen thought highly, lived at Douai till 1597, - the date of his death. Some Wykehamists came to Hampshire to work there in the 1580's. John Body was a schoolmaster and was executed at Andover in 1583. John Mundy,⁹⁸ a priest came to England in 1582 and was also executed (in 1584 at Tyburn). John Shelborne was ordained at Rheims in 1582 and came to England in that year.⁹⁹

In addition to the Wykehamists at Douai (or Rheims) priests already working in the county were able to give guidance to the missionaries arriving from the seminaries. In 1584, for example,¹⁰⁰ Thomas Dodwell, the ex-Rheims spy, furnished particulars to the Government about the priests who were shortly to come to England. He adds to this information that "the rest of Dr. Allen's appointment should go to such priests in Hampshire as were of their acquaintance who should direct them".

In travelling about the country the missionary priests could not carry much equipment with them, but essentials seem to have been some materials for saying Mass, including a portable altar. John Gerard says¹⁰¹ that his own Mass equipment "was simple but fitting and specially made, so that it could be carried easily with the other things I needed, by the man who acted as my servant". In 1583 when recusancy was substantially increasing there was complaint of a lack of portable altars. William Allen, in his letter to the Cardinal Protector in September 1583,¹⁰² said that "there is such a want of portable altars, which are the only kind used in the kingdom, and such difficulty in getting them ... that everybody is complaining of it". In some houses, however, there was every facility for the priest. At the Lady Mary West's home in Winchester in this same year (1583), for example, a large quantity of religious "material" of all kinds (including a "super-altar") was found in various places in the house,¹⁰³ whilst even in the

Gaol there seem to have been facilities for saying Mass.¹⁰⁴

A missionary priest did not travel alone but with a companion, who often acted as his servant. This formed part of the scheme used by Robert Persons and Edmund Campion, the Jesuits, for extending Catholicism in England, - a scheme which, in turn, was no doubt based on some of the experiences of the earlier seminary priests. It was fully described in a memorandum written by George Gilbert in 1583.¹⁰⁵ Gilbert says that among qualities which the chosen companion should possess were zeal, loyalty and discretion. The companion's responsibility was considerable, for a strange priest was virtually in his hands. He was required to have a reputation for companionable qualities and to know the country well, - the roads and paths, and the habits and dispositions of the gentry.

There were two companions of priests in Hampshire who were both remarkable men and who were both subsequently executed: one, Swithun Wells, was a schoolmaster and a younger brother of Gilbert Wells, esquire, of Brambridge near Winchester; the other, Ralph Miller, a husbandman of Slackstead, Farley Chamberlayne. They were converts to Catholicism and both did a good deal of work in extending recusancy in the county.

Swithun Wells, according to a statement which he made when examined in August 1586,¹⁰⁶ kept a school for gentlemen's sons in Wiltshire. He became a Catholic three years previously, "but, before, he was a Protestant and used the church, and

received the Communion". He seems to have given up the school in 1583, since which time "he hath lived amongst his friends, and now liveth upon the benevolence of his friends, as of his brother Gilbert Wells and others". As a native of Hampshire, and belonging to a family of standing, he knew the county and its gentry, Catholic and non-Catholic well, - a considerable advantage in the work he undertook. He is said to¹⁰⁷ have been "of great virtue, pleasant in conversation, courteous, generous, courageous .. and (he) delighted in hawking, hunting and other diversions".¹⁰⁷ He is also stated to have had particular talent for effecting conversions to Catholicism.¹⁰⁸ His house was constantly open to priests and it is said that often two or three Masses were said there daily.¹⁰⁹ He accompanied many priests on their journeys; and Thomas Stanney, who ministered for years in Hampshire,¹¹⁰ related how, soon after his arrival in England, Swithun Wells acted as his conductor to what is described as the "West of England", which probably is intended to include Hampshire.¹¹⁰ Thomas Stanney is said to have made some hundreds of converts in the course of three or four years.¹¹¹ Swithun Wells also acted as a conductor to other priests "till he became so well-known to the justices and pursuivants that it was not safe for any priest to ride in his company".¹¹²

Ralph Miller lived for the greater part of his life near Winchester and was closely associated with the work of the priests, Thomas Stanney and Roger Dicconson.¹¹³

Stanney said that Miller came once a month to the house where the priest resided in order to conduct him about the villages and provide for the religious needs of the people there.¹¹⁴ He stated that Miller was able to secure many reconciliations to Catholicism.¹¹⁵ This is confirmed by some figures furnished two years before Stanney arrived in England (1585), for in 1583¹¹⁶ 17 recusants are returned for one small place alone, - Farley Chamber layne, two or three miles north of Slackstead, where Miller lived. Both Thomas Stanney and Ralph Miller were probably well-known to Lady Mabel Sandys, the recusant who lived in Upper Somborne and in whom they no doubt found an influential protector.¹¹⁷

Ralph Miller was able to obtain another priest to help Thomas Stanney, and Roger Dicconson came to Winchester¹¹⁸; this need for additional help throws further light on the increase of recusants in Hampshire in the 1580's. Miller seems also to have been a conductor for Dicconson, who is said to have been highly successful in his work among the people.¹¹⁹ They were both captured at a celebration of Mass in 1591 and executed together at Winchester in July 1591.¹²⁰

William Braye also did useful work for priests and laymen. Described as "the common conveyer of priests and recusants",¹²¹ he helped to convey John Owen alias John Gardiner, a Seminary priest, from London to Winchester in February 1585. Owen was caught in a search at the house of Mistress Mary Warnford in Winchester.¹²² In his

confession,¹²³ the priest said that he came out of London on 13th February, 1585, "having intent and purpose to travel into Hampshire and to Winchester. And as he travelled alone ... at Putney ferry there overtook (him) two gentlemen; the one called Bray and the other called Brierton, who travelled together with this examine (viz. Owen) to Kingston". They went to Hampton Court Park and met servants of the Lord Montague (the Catholic noble of Cowdray, Sussex). They then travelled to Alton and Winchester.

Roger Brierton, gentleman, the priest's other companion, who was captured with the priest, confirmed that Bray travelled with them to Hampshire. He said he "did not know the name or calling of the said stranger until ... apprehended in Winchester. And now he knoweth .. the name .. to be John Owen".

David Ringstead, an Under-Keeper at the Gaol in Winchester,¹²⁴ and a notable capture for recusancy, also helped priests in their journeys while still an Under-Keeper. He was committed to the Clink in June 1586, when it was stated that "it is suspected (he) hath been a carrier of priests from place to place by the space of three or four years".¹²⁵

The seminary priests with the aid of their conductors and the Catholic gentry achieved considerable success, and by 1583 the recusancy problem was becoming serious. The activities of the schoolmasters, Body and Slade, in that connection have already been mentioned.¹²⁶ They must have

co-operated closely with the missionaries among whom, for part of the time, was John Mundy, who, like Body, was a Wykehamist, Fellow of New College, Oxford, and Martyr.¹²⁷ Another Wykehamist and priest working in Hampshire at this time was John Shelborne,¹²⁸ who probably knew Body well. He stayed at the Shelleys' manor-house where Body was seized.

In 1584, Thomas Dodwell, the spy, alluded to the success which was being achieved by the seminary priests. Under the heading, "A brief note of such things as have specially to be considered", he makes particular reference to the following priests in Hampshire¹²⁹: Somerfield (alias Holland), Askew (alias Nutter), Barnes (alias Bond) and Young (alias Adams). "These priests", says Dodwell, "are to be apprehended with as much speed as may be, for they withdraw more subjects from their obedience towards Her Majesty than any in England of equal number. These are the men that counsel them to be steadfast in their opinions, persuading them that the Protestant religion cannot last long, and when the world changeth they shall live in credit for ever; they give counsel to whomsoever they are acquainted to go over".

Dodwell seems to have known the position well for in the following year (1585), the Clerk of the Peace could not cope with the multitude of indictments for recusancy in Hampshire.¹³⁰ In 1586 both Bishop Cooper and the Government are very anxious about the mounting number of

-202-

recusants,¹³¹ whilst in 1589 the problem has become acute.¹³²

VI

By the year 1583 the number of recusants in Hampshire, as has been seen, was greatly increasing. Imprisonment necessarily had its limits in the face of these large numbers, whilst it did not seem to provide a solution of the problem. Executions of prominent recusants were therefore periodically made; and though these sometimes took place at times of national excitement, the Government doubtless hoped to secure by them some decrease in the number of recusants.

There were in all 8 Hampshire-born martyrs,¹³³ and of these 7 were laymen and one was a priest. 5 of the laymen were converts. 4 laymen were executed in Hampshire, and 3 laymen and one priest in London. There were five further executions in the county of two laymen and three priests, none of whom was a native of Hampshire.

John Slade and John Body, the two schoolmasters who had worked in Hampshire and who were both executed in 1583, were condemned together for denying the Royal Supremacy. Their cases were unique (1) because there were two trials, the first of which contained a technical flaw which has never been explained; and (2) because a full and impartial account of their executions managed to get into print, apparently causing the Government considerable annoyance and probably some embarrassment.¹³⁴

William Allen referred to Body and Slade in his Defence of English Catholics, which itself was a reply to the publi-

cation, the Execution of Justice in England.¹³⁵ He says that they "for confessing their faith of the Pope's spiritual supremacy, were condemned to death in public judgment at two divers sessions, and that at twice (a rare case in our country) the latter sentence being to reform the former (as we may guess in such strange proceedings) which they perceived to be erroneous and insufficient in their own laws". No explanation of the "insufficiency", seems ever to have been made but it is possible that the indictment had originally been drawn up in accordance with the Supremacy Act of 1559. That Act, however, did not apply to Schoolmasters among certain professional classes: it was the Act of Assurance of 1563¹³⁶ which made the second refusal of the Supremacy Oath by members of those classes a matter of high treason. If, therefore, the Supremacy Act alone was invoked, the condemnation was illegal and a further trial was necessary to secure complete legality. (On the assumption that conviction then took place under the 1563 Act, the Oath must have been twice refused when tendered). In addition, it should be mentioned that the Government was sensitive on the whole question of the Royal Supremacy, if only because they felt bound to justify it to countries abroad; and they probably felt that they could not afford in this particular matter to be in legal error. Moreover, the legal and other authorities concerned were probably not unmindful of the case of the astute Bonner, the deprived Marian Bishop of London, who pointed out the illegality involved when the Oath of Supremacy was tendered to him in

1564 by Horne, Bishop of Winchester, for the second time.¹³⁷

On this question of the Royal Supremacy, The Execution of Justice denied that the Queen used the title of Supreme Head of the Church. It said:¹³⁸ "... which title adversaries (i.e. the Papists) do most falsely write and affirm that the Queen's Majesty doth now use ...". This was no doubt literally correct. William Allen, however, affirmed¹³⁹ "that indeed the Queen is commonly of Protestants called 'Supreme Head of the Church'. So their preachers in pulpit do sound out daily as all men know". The contemporary account¹⁴⁰ of the execution of the two schoolmasters mentions a discussion between them and Dr. Bennet, Master of St. Cross, Winchester, ~~and Sir William Kingsmill,~~ ~~Winchester,~~ and Sir William Kingsmill, a Hampshire J.P. In this discussion no other title was used for the Supremacy than "Supreme Head of the Church". Bennet told Slade that he should not let the Pope be preferred before his "own natural princess, who is the lawful supreme head of the Church next under Christ". Body addressing the people assembled for his execution said, after protestation of his loyalty to the Queen in temporal matters: "You shall understand, good people, that I suffer death for denying Her Majesty to be Supreme Head of Christ's Church in England...".

The Government, according to Allen, were annoyed at the publication of the account and the author of it was imprisoned. He said: " ... and for that they had an intention straight to publish at home and in foreign parts that none were put to death for any such matter of faith

or religion, they suppressed the said pamphlet ... and punished the author thereof, though he wrote in that point the plain truth as he heard and saw ...".

Of the Hampshire men who were executed, Laurence Humphreys was charged with having uttered seditious words against the Queen and was apparently indicted under the Act of 1571.¹⁴¹ Ralph Miller was condemned for relieving the priest, Roger Dicconson.¹⁴² James Bird, son of the Mayor of Winchester, and John Thomas were executed because they had been reconciled to Catholicism.¹⁴³

Swithun Wells was hanged for harbouring Edmund Jenings, a priest. His execution seems to have been undoubtedly illegal. According to Richard Challoner¹⁴⁴, a Mass was said in Swithun Wells' house in London. He was absent at the time, but returned home to find his house ransacked and his wife taken to prison. "He sought Justice Young and expostulated with him ... demanded his wife and the keys of his lodging. But the judge sent him to bear company with the rest ...". Wells was examined next day and said that "although he was not instrumental in Mass being said in his house, wished he had been present". Swithun Wells was found guilty with the rest.

Nicholas Tichborne was executed in 1601 with Thomas Hackshot. Both were concerned in the rescue of Thomas Tichborne, the brother of Nicholas and a priest¹⁴⁵, while he was being conducted through London by a prison keeper. Thomas escaped, but was later caught and executed in 1602.

As regards the trials and executions of the priests, there were no exceptional circumstances: they were condemned under the Act of 1581 or 1585, having been charged with high treason.

The executions of Catholics in Hampshire amounted to 9 in all: two (of laymen) occurred in 1583; two (priests) in 1586; three (two laymen and one priest) in 1591; and two (laymen) in 1593. Those occurring in 1583 and 1586 must, it would seem, be related to the acuteness of the recusancy problem in Hampshire which has already been mentioned. In 1583 there were some 300¹⁴⁶ recusants in the county known to the Government, and in this year and the following years the Winchester prisons were filling. The policy behind the executions seems to have been an attempt to stem the growing tide of recusancy. But there were no further executions till 1591, not even in the year of the Armada, when the execution of Papists in the country reached the record total of 30.¹⁴⁷

The three martyrs of 1591 were caught up in the wave of drives against Catholics in that year. The tension in the country culminated in the Queen's Proclamation of 18th October 1591, which referred to the renewed designs of Philip II against this country and ordered special action to be taken against the recusants.¹⁴⁸ In May 1591 it was stated¹⁴⁹ that "the persecution of Catholics begins to be great and is likely to increase", whilst William Allen in December 1591 addressed¹⁵⁰ words of encouragement and

instructions to the Catholics in England on account of the "excessive troubles and perils which they daily suffer in that extreme heat of persecution". There was a total of 15 executions in the country in 1591.¹⁵¹ But in Hampshire the executions must also be related to the serious recusancy position, for in the previous year (1590) the Council, in writing to the Bishop of Winchester,¹⁵² had spoken of recusants in Hampshire "to the number of 300 or upwards yet at liberty".

In 1593 James Bird and John Thomas were executed apparently in the excitement which reached a head in the last recusancy law of the reign, the Statute of 1593.¹⁵³ Here the Government professed alarm at the successes of Philip II in Brittany, and the recusants were once again caught up between the designs of Spain and the anti-Catholic plans of the Government. There was a total of 4 executions in the country in 1593 and 10 in 1594.¹⁵⁴

CHAPTER IX

PRISONS AND PRISONERS

I

The imprisonment of recusants did not become a serious problem till the later 1570's when the work started at Douai in 1568 was beginning to be effective as seen in the labours of the Seminary priests. Recusants were, of course, imprisoned in earlier years but, generally speaking, only important Papists were then noticed by the Government. Members of the lower social classes were considered of less account and their names do not figure frequently in prison returns: they could be relied upon to follow their masters and protectors¹. Horne, for example, in 1561², said that "the common people may easily be brought to conform themselves to the better sort of them in dignity and reputation, as they see them bent forward".

In 1577, however, the Government became anxious. There had been trouble in Cornwall where the first Seminary priest, Cuthbert Mayne, to come to England had been captured in June of that year. (He was executed in the following November.) Measures were considered for preventing the general extension of recusancy, whilst, as regards the question of imprisonment, the number of recusants in the country was reported to be so great that the existing places of restraint were not able to hold them³. It was for this reason that "the recusants of such dioceses as were most corrupt" were ordered to be first dealt with⁴.

Three years later (in 1580) the whole religious situation in England

was transformed by the "Jesuit" mission⁵ which the Government interpreted as a challenge to its prestige and security: it was met by further penal legislation and the imprisonment of Papists on a large scale. We find, for instance, the Council ~~is~~ writing⁶ to the Bishop of Winchester in August 1580 that they "are given to understand of the names and examinations of certain notorious Papists ... lately apprehended in that county and detained in safe keeping; and forasmuch ... that they be men not only obstinate in matters of religion, but also of very lewd behaviour, Their Lordships think it convenient that the said persons be forthwith committed to Her Majesty's gaol there and restrained from having any conference with any person, saving such as shall repair to them by order, and do pray them (the Bishop and others) to use their best endeavours from time to time to bolt out of them all such matters as they think may by any good means be gotten at their hands, and thereof to advertise Their Lordships forthwith." William Allen wrote in the following month (12 September 1580) to Cardinal Cofomo in Rome referring to the action which was being taken in the counties. He said⁷ that "she (the Queen) orders in each county all the more powerful and notable Catholics should be apprehended and committed to prison or to the custody of heretics ... This persecution is heavier and extends to more persons than any of those before it ..."

There is a record of only two Hampshire recusants having been committed to prison in 1580: John Goldsmith, who was detained in Winchester Gaol because of his wife's recusancy but released in 1581, and Elizabeth

Sanders, the Bridgettine nun⁸. There were probably others. Several recusants had been imprisoned in 1579⁹, whilst it is possible that some of the 29 recusants in the gaol at Winchester in 1583¹⁰ had been there for some time. Robert Persons, in the previous month (August), had also referred to the increased imprisonment of Papists, saying that "new prisons are appointed in every county, as the old ones are full of recusants".¹¹ Some years later (probably in 1584) there is confirmation of this. "In Hampshire", a contemporary account says¹², "as many in the gaol, Bridewell¹³, and other new erected prisons; for the most part very poor men that live by spinning and such base trades, and alms ... In Hampshire three prisons full of Catholics to the number of eighty at least, but most poor men ..." This information is confirmed by the Bishop of Winchester in December 1585 in a letter¹⁴ to Walsingham in which he mentions that he had sent "the wife of one Pitts of Alton" (Mistress Elizabeth Pitts, wife of Henry Pitts) to the Clink "to dis-burden the prison here". The contemporary account goes on to say that "the gentlemen are removed from their country (district) lest among their neighbours, tenants and acquaintance their good life and behaviour should win many unto them, as in truth it did whilst they were there imprisoned." As a commentary on this it should be mentioned that many of the Hampshire recusant gentry in the 1580's were imprisoned in London and at other places outside Hampshire¹⁵.

The London prisons to which Hampshire recusants were committed were the Marshalsea, the White Lion, the Clink, the Fleet, Newgate, the Poultry and Wood Street Counters, the Gatehouse and a few were sent to the Tower. Several of these prisons were in Southwark¹⁶.

Most Catholics were imprisoned for recusancy, ^{and,} in particular ~~and~~, after the Act of 1581, because they could not or would not pay the recusancy fine of £20 a month under that Act; but sometimes more serious offences are indicated in the reasons given in the London prison returns. (The terms of the indictment of Hampshire recusants in Elizabeth's reign are seldom available as no Assize Rolls or similar documents for the county survive). Of Hampshire recusants, for example, Thomas Pounce, in the Tower in 1585, was there "for religion only and intelligence with Jesuits and priests - dangerous man and apt for any practice: fit to be banished"¹⁷; in 1586 Benjamin Stockwith was in the Clink for hearing a Mass¹⁸; the description against the name of Anthony Tuchinor, who was in the Tower in the same year, was: "very suspicious (he was suspected of complicity in the Babington Plot), but no direct proof against him, but a dealer with priests"¹⁹; William Braye in 1588 (the prison is not specified) had been a "conveyor of priests and naughty books"²⁰; Alice Wells, the widow of Swithun Wells, the martyr²¹, was in Newgate for "receiving of Seminary priests"; and (Richard) Dowse was in the Clink in 1602 as "a very forward fellow and intelligencer (with priests)"²².

Conditions in the prisons varied considerably. In some London prisons, like the Fleet, where exorbitant charges could be met, life was fairly tolerable: study could be pursued and by bribing gaolers arrangements for celebrating Mass could be made, and in other respects a recusant was able to practise his religion. But a life with tolerable conditions was generally only possible for the well-to-do, and it is significant that well-known members of the Hampshire recusant gentry, like Thomas Pounce, George Cotton, Gilbert Wells and Peter Tichborne, who spent a good many years in London or other prisons lived to old age,

sometimes advanced old age²³. It is undeniable that they endured considerable hardship - particularly was this so in the case of Thomas Pounce, who spent over 30 years²⁴ in various prisons; but the petition of a recusant of wealth and rank for some amelioration of his lot might be successful whereas that of a recusant regarded by the Government as one of the "baser sort" was likely to be ignored²⁵. Life for the poorest recusants in Elizabethan London prisons was incredibly hard: they were condemned to live a common life among thieves, drunkards and diseased persons and to endure the gross brutality of the gaolers²⁶. Conditions were generally appalling and deaths frequent. Professor A.O. Meyer, referring to some statistics which he examined, says that "to every four or five Catholics who suffered death by execution, we must add one who died in prison"²⁷.

The harsh lot of poorer recusants in prison was relieved by the charity of their co-religionists. Thomas Pounce was particularly generous in almsgiving. He is stated to have regarded it as a favour to be informed about Catholics in distress and he begged alms from his wealthy friends for imprisoned recusants in London²⁸. To his cousin, the Earl of Southampton, he sent for perusal a treatise which he had written on almsgiving²⁹. In 1584 a spy sent³⁰ to Walsingham a list of "Papists, nobility and gentry", who were contributors for the relief of recusant prisoners; and according to one Robert Weston in 1591³¹, whose father was said to be a lawyer and notable recusant in Clerkenwell, but who was not a Catholic himself, there was "an order among the Papists for a collection for the relief of prisoners, Jesuits and laymen, in the Clink, Marshalsea and Newgate; Lord Monteagle begins

it and it is to go on till it reaches £150 a quarter".

These are only a few illustrations of what was doubtless a constant effort at relief. Care had, in any case, to be taken to ensure that the recusants themselves were benefited. In October 1581, for example, Mendoza told³² Philip II that the Government "... have ordered that the gifts sent to them (the recusants) should not be given to them alone, but divided among all the prisoners. They are mostly incarcerated with crowds of thieves ... If anyone goes to ask after them he is arrested, and consequently most of the gifts are sent through me and are distributed amongst them by my own servants, the Catholics alone receiving them..." There was, however, no Spanish Ambassador to do this when Mendoza left England in 1584.

The Clink, belonging to the Bishop of Winchester, to which, naturally, many Hampshire recusants were committed³³, was one of the less uncomfortable London prisons. John Gerard, the Jesuit, in his Autobiography³⁴, describes the conditions there in 1594-1595: "There (i.e. to the Clink), then, I was taken and after a few months we had, by God's grace, everything so arranged that I was able to perform there all the tasks of a Jesuit priest, and provided only I could have stayed on in this prison, I should never have wanted to have my liberty again in England.... Though I was locked up, I looked on this change to the Clink (from the Poultry Counter, where conditions were apparently bad) as a translation from Purgatory to Paradise. I no longer heard obscene and bawdy songs, but, instead, I had Catholics praying in the next cell." Many things could be done, with the aid of the gaoler, moved by discreet persuasion and gold: "With bribes and a little coaxing", says John Gerard³⁵, "I

induced him (the gaoler) not to pry too closely into our doings, and to come to me only when I called him, except for certain regular times when he always found me ready to receive him ... With this concession of liberty I was able to take up my apostolic work again. I soon heard a large number of confessions and I reconciled many people to the Church."

> The Jesuit, William Weston, in his own Autobiography³⁶, confirms what John Gerard says. He speaks of the devotion and skill of the Catholic prisoners in the Clink in arranging everything for Mass and the sacraments. "One of them, in the days when he was a heretic, had been a keeper of Catholic prisoners. His ingenious cunning covered a wide range of practice and with other accomplishments he was most clever at picking the locks of our doors and closing them again. He went round every cell in order, unfastening each door. Then he opened mine, and they all entered, and through the whole of the night we celebrated the Feast (Christmas 1586)" This was doubtless David Ringstead, formerly an Under-Keeper of the gaol at Winchester, who had been committed to the Clink by the Bishop of Winchester on 8 June 1586³⁷.

In the Fleet, where conditions could also be tolerable and where Hampshire recusants were sometimes imprisoned, there was a fixed rate for maintenance according to social rank. A knight or the wife of a knight or a Doctor of Divinity "or other of like calling having 200 marks a year living" was charged 18s.6d. a week. This seems to have involved individual treatment for "an esquire, a gentleman or gentlewoman that shall be at the parlour commons, or any person or persons under the degree that shall be at the same ordinary commons of the parlour (shall pay) 10s. for their weekly commons, wine"³⁸. A yeoman

was charged five shillings³⁹.

The Tower, where Hampshire recusants like Henry Allwey, the Earl of Southampton's chaplain, Francis Bruning, Thomas Pounce and Anthony Tuchinor were imprisoned⁴⁰, could also boast, at least at times, of less severe conditions than in some of the other prisons. John Gerard⁴¹ said that by means of bribery a prisoner in the Tower could get what he wanted and it was from the Tower that Gerard made a dramatic escape in 1597⁴². "The food there", he says, "was provided at the Queen's expense and it was plentiful ... The grades of diet in this prison vary according to the rank of the prisoner. The scale is a purely social one."⁴³

As regards the Marshalsea, to which the Hampshire recusants Henry Carewe, Thomas Cook, priest, Gilbert Wells and Thomas Pounce were committed, a complaint by the recusants was made apparently in the early part of 1582⁴⁴. The Keeper had been ordered to take a note of "all such persons as brought or sent relief to any of them", the consequence being that they "were short from all charity and relief in their wants, sickness and common distress, their friends and kindred ... not daring to come to them for fear of displeasure." They also complained that they were kept close prisoners and deprived of fresh air whereby they had "fallen into sickness and life endangered". These conditions were remedied by instructions given by the Council on 18 February 1582.⁴⁵

After this, surveillance in the Marshalsea does not seem to have been generally strict and Gerard said⁴⁶ that while he was there (in 1583) he was not in the least downcast: "I had all the opportunity I wanted to carry on my studies." Over ten years later Ben Beard wrote that he was at Mass in the Marshalsea every Sunday⁴⁷. It was at this prison,

too, that Robert Persons found Thomas Pounce, who slipped off to the celebrated meeting with Edmund Campion at Hoxton⁴⁸.

We find that even "close" prisoners sometimes managed to get away from London prisons owing to lax supervision. For instance, in the search made of the house of Gilbert Wells, the Hampshire recusant, in Holborn in 1584, a Jesuit, "close" prisoner in Newgate, and two laymen, "close" prisoners in the Counter, Wood Street, were discovered⁴⁹. Four years later (in December 1588) there were still abuses in Newgate prison, for William Dews, Keeper of Newgate, was to be examined regarding "sundry abuses and misdemeanours committed by him against Her Majesty"⁵⁰.

II

Whilst London prisons, in addition to those in Winchester, were used for Hampshire recusants, the plan of putting leading recusants into selected castles which had been discussed in 1577, but had not been pursued⁵¹, was revived in 1580⁵². Recusants who were "most notorious and of the better sort" were to be committed to these strongholds and suitable persons to take charge of them were appointed⁵³. The main object of this policy was effectively to isolate those "obstinate" and important recusants who were able to pay for their keep, so as to render them less capable of doing "harm"; and we find that Hampshire recusants like George Cotton, Thomas Pounce, Gilbert Wells, Nicholas Scrope and Thomas Travers were sent either to the castle of Wisbech or to the palace of the Bishop at Ely. Although the latter place was not actually a castle, it is always found included in the "castle"

scheme. Other castles used were Framlingham and Banbury.

Wisbech was the best known of these prisons. In 1580 it was out of repair, but instructions were given to put it in order⁵⁴. It was regarded as a suitable place "to keep them (the recusants) from conference and infecting others"⁵⁵. Priests were also detained there and in course of time there was a total of 35 priests and lay Catholics in the place⁵⁶.

Conditions at first were unpleasant and in September 1587 there was an enquiry by some J.P.'s into certain disorders alleged to have been created by the recusant prisoners⁵⁷. The chief offenders were Charles Borne and Nicholas Scrope, the Hampshire recusant, both of whom, it was alleged, had, among other charges, beaten the wife of Gray, the Keeper, and also his servants. Borne, as the "greater culprit", was put in irons, whilst Nicholas Scrope was confined to his room. It is difficult to assess the blame in this case, because the evidence surviving is Gray's and no attempt was made to sift it; but there seems little doubt that Gray had been guilty of harsh treatment generally, and this is confirmed by Thomas Travers, another Hampshire recusant, in a pathetic letter which he wrote at this time to Walsingham⁵⁸. Travers, a substantial yeoman, had been a constant recusant. He had been one of the two churchwardens in Mary's reign at St. John's in the Soke, Winchester⁵⁹, and had frequently been cited for recusancy⁶⁰. He was in Winchester gaol from 1579 to 1583⁶¹ and some time after the latter date was sent to Wisbech. He was now approaching the age of 90⁶².

Thomas Travers complained⁶³ bitterly of Gray's treatment, saying

that he had been kept a close prisoner for over two and a quarter years: the laws, said Travers, rightly, spoke of imprisonment, but not of close confinement. He had wished to go to London and had offered Gray a bond of £100 with this object, but his application was refused. "Thomas Gray's hard dealing with me hath been a cause of my long prisoning at Wisbech", and Travers asks for "compassion and pity on my poor old wife and me, being an old couple; and fain I would go and help my wife as God's laws do require." He was evidently worn out in mind and body, for his handwriting and composition bear all the signs of extreme old age and probably ill-health⁶⁴. It is not known whether his petition was granted: ~~his~~ name does not recur in recusancy records and it is possible that he died soon afterwards.

65

As a result of the troubles at Wisbech rules were drawn up to regulate the life of the recusants⁶⁵, and if these were observed there must have been some improvement. But the prisoners at Wisbech had to wait till after the defeat of the Armada before conditions improved. By 1590 the position seems to have eased for in September of that year, Thomas Gray, the Keeper, was charged with not having taken sufficient care in the "keeping of the recusants": he had permitted "priests and prisoners to have more liberty than was convenient"⁶⁶. The laxity, however, continued, and in 1596 William Weston, the Jesuit there, is able to speak of the "better and freer life" which had become possible⁶⁷. The improved conditions existing towards the end of the reign are confirmed by minutes of the Privy Council⁶⁸, and the continued slackness in supervision culminated in the escape of six priests in 1600⁶⁹.

The Bishop's Palace at Ely which was also used for recusants was

described in July 1588 ⁷⁰ as "large and great and strong enough to keep safely a great number (of recusants) ... the only fault is, it standeth in a populous town; it hath many bad people, whereby they may receive or send out intelligence." Nevertheless, it was used.

In March 1590, when there was news of fresh preparations by Philip of Spain against England, recusants who had been released after the Armada were ordered to be detained again in the castles. Among those who went to Ely were Gilbert Wells and George Cotton⁷¹. It was still being used in 1592 ⁷².

Conditions were somewhat better at Ely - at least while Gilbert Wells and George Cotton were there - than those at Wisbech in the earlier years. There is a record of one complaint from the recusants: it occurred in 1590, but it seems to have received prompt attention⁷³.

III

Release of recusants from prison was allowed from time to time for reasons such as ill-health or special business. But in 1581 there was an alteration in the Government's general policy. It was then decided to release recusant prisoners on their giving bonds in good sums of money. The reason for this change of policy was possibly the passing of danger owing to the collapse of the Irish Rebellion of 1579-80, but expense to the Government in keeping many recusants in prison was also probably a factor.

Conditions⁷⁴ were attached to the release: a recusant was not to depart out of the country without a licence; he was to be restricted to three miles radius (this was a substitute for actual

imprisonment and foreshadows the main provision of the Act of 1593, the last recusancy statute of the reign⁷⁵; he was not to allow the access of any Jesuit, "Massing priest" (presumably this was a reference to Marian priests as distinct from the Seminary priests), Seminary priests or any recusant; and he was to forebear the society of recusants. Among Hampshire recusants released in 1581 were Henry Shelley, ~~and~~ Peter Tichborne⁷⁶, and ~~also~~ John Ludlow⁷⁷.

This policy of relaxation was, however, short-lived, and next year and the following year the imprisonment of recusants was renewed⁷⁸. The Government had previously (in August 1581) asked the Sheriffs of many counties (including Hampshire) how the conditions on which recusants had been released were being observed⁷⁹.

The Government sometimes authorised temporary release from prison. Thus, in May 1586, John Beconsawe, a Hampshire recusant in the White Lion, was allowed to "go to the baths for recovery of his health"⁸⁰ and there are several similar cases from other counties in 1585 and 1586⁸¹. These cases are not numerous, at least as regards Hampshire; and from the small amount of available evidence the reasons for release of any kind had to be strong ones.

In November 1595 Mistress White of South Warnborough (probably the wife of Richard White, esquire, of South Warnborough)⁸² was released from an unspecified prison because of her great age and "continual sickness and indisposition of body", and allowed to live at home⁸³. The Government were often anxious to obtain some undertaking of endeavouring to conform as a condition of release, and in Mistress White's case it was stated that there was "good hope of her conformity by the endeavour

of her husband". (He was, or had been, a "schismatic").⁸⁴ No "ill-affected person" was to approach her, but there was to be "conference of learned preachers" with a view to her conversion. She was accordingly released on bonds taken of her husband.

Similarly, Mary Warnford and her children who were imprisoned for recusancy and were consequently in debt were "enlarged"⁸⁵. The exact date of the application for release is not stated, but in 1594 Mary Warnford was in the Fleet.⁸⁶ They were willing "to have conference for their satisfaction in religion and conformity". Their "enlargement" was to be limited "according to the last statute", that is to say, they were confined to a radius of five miles of their home⁸⁷.

The Government was always careful to deny "obstinate" women recusants, in particular, opportunities to prevent the conformity of others, and it apparently required, as a condition of release, especially where there was a large household, some undertaking that its wishes would be met. For instance, in October 1592, John Serle, gentleman, of Botley, applied for the release of his wife, an imprisoned recusant⁸⁸. The Council told the Bishop of Winchester that "obstinate" women recusants, "thought to be perverters of their families" or who "seduced others from their religious obedience", should be imprisoned, but Mistress Serle, "an aged and very sickly woman" was not, so it was alleged, a recusant of that kind. She had eight children and a great household, and "not one of them inclined that way in religion, but are, and have been, always conformable". Her husband promised to give security that "she shall live in all things (her religion to herself excepted), as shall become a dutiful

subject", and her release was accordingly sanctioned.

Release was sometimes allowed for business reasons, but here the Government's interests possibly dictated it. For example, in July 1589, George Cotton, who was regularly paying the recusancy fine of £260 a year, petitioned⁸⁹ the Council for three months' liberty to settle his affairs and to make sale of his lands in Hampshire and Cheshire "for payment of fines to Her Majesty". On 7 July 1589 the Council ordered him to be "enlarged" until "the first day of the next term"⁹⁰. In August 1593, however, the ground of his release was ill-health. He appears then to have been imprisoned in Banbury Castle and was allowed to go "to the Baths for the recovery of his health, being of late much diseased"⁹¹. In February 1595 he was at his home at Warblington, and the Council were informed that he was not able to travel "without extreme danger to life". A doctor's certificate was required⁹². This seems to have been supplied, for in December 1596 he was still at home and allowed to remain there⁹³. He was to live for another 13 years⁹⁴.

The case of Lady Elizabeth Paulet of Crondall, who was allowed to reside in Winchester in 1600, indicates that the penal Act of 1593 was still being enforced, resulting in virtual imprisonment. She was now advanced in years and subject to "divers infirmities and diseases", and for these reasons was allowed to leave Crondall for the city to obtain suitable "physic" and "for the benefit of the air of that place". There was no condition, except that she was to be confined, in accordance with the Act, to a radius of five miles⁹⁵.

IV

If there was occasional laxity in the management of the London prisons, at Winchester the conduct of the Gaol and the House of Correction, in both of which a considerable number of recusants were imprisoned from 1580 onwards, was, on the other hand, for many years almost consistently favourable to the Papists. So far as the Gaol itself was concerned - at least from about 1587 or 1588 - the reason was a simple one: its custody was in the hands of a well-known recusant, Anthony Uvedale, esquire⁹⁶, and, after his death in 1597, in those of his son-in-law, Richard Bruning, who was also a recusant. It appears that Anthony Uvedale had inherited from his father, Thomas Uvedale, the manor of Woodcote, near Alresford. This property was held as a tenure-in-serjeantry, traceable back to the time of the Norman Conquest⁹⁷. In 1535 Thomas was granted the office of Constable of Winchester Castle, in which the gaol was situated, by Henry VIII⁹⁸; and although Woodcote Manor was not actually mentioned then, Thomas was seized of it in 1548, for in that year it was settled on himself, his wife and heirs⁹⁹. It is not known when exactly Thomas Uvedale died and Anthony inherited Woodcote, thus becoming Keeper of the Gaol, but the year can be stated within narrow limits, for on 13 April 1586 Anthony Uvedale offered to the Crown as an amelioration of the financial penalties of the recusancy statute of 1581 the sum of £6.13.4. through Thomas Uvedale¹⁰⁰. By 1588-9 Anthony had evidently obtained possession of Woodcote, for two-thirds (£16.4.6.) of the rental of a farm there are stated to be owing to the Queen on account of his recusancy¹⁰¹. The death of Thomas Uvedale, therefore, apparently occurred

between April 1586 and 1588-9

Anthony Uvedale died seised of the Manor of Woodcote in 1597, his heir being his daughter, Eleanor, the wife of Richard Bruning¹⁰². Soon after his death extraordinary events which had taken place in the Gaol were revealed to the Council and a special plea was made by the Bishop to have the custody of the Gaol removed from the hands of the Brunings¹⁰³.

Irregularities in both the Gaol and the House of Correction begin, however, to be disclosed from the early 1580's. The escape of the recusant, William Pitts¹⁰⁴, from the Gaol in 1581 was the commencement of some remarkable revelations. At that time David Ringstead, who was some years later to open the doors of recusants' chambers in the Clink by adroitly picking the locks¹⁰⁵, was an Under-Keeper at the Gaol; and when he was presented as a recusant in 1583 he dauntlessly stated that it was well-known that he had been a Papist for three years¹⁰⁶. It was probably, therefore, with Ringstead's help that Pitts had escaped. Yet it was not till three years later that the Bishop of Winchester committed Ringstead to the Clink¹⁰⁷.

It was probably some time in 1583¹⁰⁸ that Mass was stated to have been said two years previously "in the room over the parlour in the Gaol" by a priest called Stone. "Widow Burt of Longparish" and her two daughters who were prisoners were present. The priest was not apparently a prisoner, so that he must have been let in surreptitiously.

In January 1583 ~~was~~ a search of the recusants' rooms in the Gaol was made by Sir Richard Norton and two other J.P.'s.¹⁰⁹ In the chamber of Mr. Warnford and Mr. Hoorde they found "a super-altar" (for the cele-

bration of Mass), cope, five pieces of "massing ornaments", a vestment (?chasuble), a stole, two great wax candles, various office books and books of devotion. In "Slade and Body's chamber" (John Body and John Slade were the two martyrs of 1583) they found devotional and religious controversial books (including books by William Allen) and in Thomas Travers' chamber similar books, but not books by Allen. In Mercy Deane's chamber "a great Mass Book in Latin" (a missal) was found. It is obvious from all this that Masses were being celebrated in the Gaol.

As regards the House of Correction, orders were drawn up by J.P.'s in October 1582 and again in January 1583 for its better government¹¹⁰. But abuses continued and a scheme for its re-organisation, which affected the custody of the Gaol as well, was proposed by J.P.'s in October 1584¹¹¹. It mentioned that "inconveniencies" had arisen by the separation of the two places of detention and it was therefore thought necessary that they should both be in the charge of one "sufficient" man chosen for the purpose. In this way a better "living" would be available which would attract an abler person.

The J.P.'s go on to say that the custody of the Gaol "is challenged (sic) in perpetuity as annexed to certain land (that is the Manor of Woodcote)." The opinion of the Justices of Assize was that "(because of) sundry escapes and other disorders that have been committed, the said grant is forfeited ...". It was therefore decided that the scheme of re-organisation should be represented to

Walsingham and the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer " with the declaration of the objections against it". If the scheme was liked, Walsingham was asked "to procure licence of the Queen's Majesty" for putting it into effect. Evidently the plan was not liked for things went on as before.

CHAPTER X

PRISONS AND PRISONERS (continued)

I

Elizabeth Sanders, who was captured in November 1580 in connection with the "dispersal" of Campion's Challenge¹ was imprisoned in Winchester from that date till 1587. She was, as Watson, Bishop of Winchester, described her, "a professed nun beyond the seas",² being one of a number of Brigettine Nuns of Syon who went to Malines at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. On account of the troubles in the Low Countries they were forced to leave their convent in 1579, came to England and subsequently went to Rouen³.

In a long letter which Elizabeth Sanders wrote to Sir Francis Englefield after her return to the Continent in 1587 she gave a graphic description of her experiences in England⁴. This letter is of special interest and unique importance because it is the only surviving private letter written during the Queen's reign dealing in detail, from the recusant's own point of view, with various aspects of recusancy in Hampshire, but, in particular, with prison experiences in Winchester in the 1580's.

After her capture Elizabeth Sanders was twice examined by Sir Richard Norton, the J.P. responsible for her apprehension, and three times by Bishop Watson, whilst people from Winchester College made ineffectual attempts to induce her to conform. Considerable importance was evidently attached to the conformity, if it could be secured, of the sister of the celebrated Papist, Dr. Nicholas Sanders: it would

be a choice weapon in the armoury of the Government now engaged in its struggle with the Catholic renaissance in England. Moreover, the nun might have vital secrets to tell. But, as will be seen, she could not be moved.

Soon after her arrival in England, Elizabeth Sanders spent a year and a half with the recusant Yates family⁵ in Berkshire and then went to Hampshire to the home of her sister, Mistress Elizabeth Pitts⁶, the wife of Henry Pitts of Alton. She remained a month or six weeks there before her capture, the day after which she was brought before Sir Richard Norton, who, says Sister Elizabeth, "asked for my priest, for my alb and vestments wherewith he had said Mass, because they had found a chalice and a Mass-book in my chamber, which the day before they had rifled most straightly in every corner and beaten the walls thereof. To which I answered that I know of no priest, alb or vestment, and that the chalice and book was (sic) mine own, for I brought it (sic) over with me."

The same day she was brought "unto the Superintendent (Bishop) of Winchester, who was one Watson. And he took me apart to examine me ... only his clerk present who did write all that I said. And asked me many questions: first, wherefore I came to England? And who sent me? ... I answered that we were driven out of our House by heretics and by that reason we were forced to seek to our friends ..." Watson said that all this was false and that she had been sent to England by her brother, Doctor Sanders, "and put in hope that our religion and Order should come up again. But no, Sanders, no: it shall not be."

Elizabeth Sanders told the Bishop that she had not seen her brother for many years and scarcely ever heard from him.

The Bishop then tried to obtain information about those English persons who, he assumed, had helped to maintain the Brigettine Nuns abroad. "Yet further, Sanders, I pray thee, let me have one true word out of thy mouth 'ere we part. Who maintained your House and company?" She replied that they had been supported by the King of Spain and the Pope. At which words he laughed and "made a pretty pause, and bade me go a little aside and wa~~ym~~ me, for the weather was cold. By and by he called me again and sat himself down upon a little stool, and looked and spake very pleasantly ...: 'I pray thee, Sanders, come hither to me and tell me again in mine ear what thou toldest me even now, those gentlemen's names that maintained your House'. To which I answered ... that our House was maintained by King Philip and by His Holiness. And other gentlemen I never knew of, nor spake of anyone. 'No?', said he, 'did'st thou not tell me that Mr. Francis Yate did help towards your maintenance?' 'No, surely', said I, '... I named neither Mr. Yate nor any man else but only His Majesty of Spain and His Holiness.' And so for that he sent me away and delivered me unto a minister's wife to be forthcoming the next day."

The next day was Sunday and at about 8 o'clock in the morning Watson sent for the nun. "He spoke me very fair," she says, "and asked me whether I would go to the church and hear a sermon." She refused, but rather pertly said that if she could hear Mass there she "would go thither with all my heart". The Bishop persisted: "If wilt

but go and hear one epistle read there, thou shalt have thy free liberty to go whither thou wilt." But she was adamant and so was sent away.

Four or five days later Winchester College took a hand in the proceedings, "and", says Sister Elizabeth, "divers of the masters and scholars ... were (sent) unto me to persuade with me, concluding that if I would yield, I would have great favour showed me, for his Worship (the Bishop), they said, was very pitiful and full of compassion to such as would yield and relent." If, however, she did not yield, she would find "as much straightness and tyranny as might be."

In the meantime the Council had received the result of the nun's first examination by Watson and on 1st December 1580⁷ they wrote to the Bishop, Sir Richard Norton and other J.P.s saying that, as she had refused "to confess where she was harboured since she came into England and where she had that seditious challenge (Campion's Challenge) found about her", she was to be pressed "more straightly to confess the truth". Her brother-in-law, Henry Pitts, who was not a recusant, and some of his household servants were also ordered to be examined. The Government were persistent, apparently because they were then searching all England for Edmund Campion, and these examinations at Winchester were probably part of the plan for obtaining clues as to his whereabouts or associates. The authorities evidently knew that Elizabeth Sanders had stayed with the Yates of Lyford and it was at Lyford that Campion

was eventually caught.

A few days later the nun was subjected to a further examination by Sir Richard Norton and other Justices which was on the lines of the first. She was asked, in particular, whether any priest had been with her in her brother-in-law's house at Alton and how often she had heard Mass there. But she would give nothing away. Finally, Norton said: ... " 'Did'st thou learn to do no other thing at home than to make lies?' To whom I said, 'No, Sir: I learned at home no other thing but serve our Lord God.' " And so she was sent away again.

A further examination by Watson with a similar result took place a fortnight later. She was then sent to the House of Correction (the Bridewell), "a place indeed for rogues where I remained close prisoner for 23 weeks." While there, "the Warden and divers of the College had recourse unto me, using many persuasions to make me yield, promising me freedom and liberty if I would conform myself." She refused to conform and at the end of the period of close confinement was arraigned at the Assizes. There were six or eight arraignments in all, but she continued to refuse to attend Common Prayer, her reply in Court being the common answer of recusants at this time that "it was against their conscience so to do".

In order to pay the necessary fines which were steadily amounting to a considerable total⁸ she was asked to borrow from Mr. Thomas Travers⁹, the recusant, who was imprisoned at this time in the gaol at Winchester. But she was "not disposed then to stretch my credit by

borrowing to pay such debts, being content with silence to let the debt run unpaid unto such time as the Queen and I should meet at a Mass and there reckon with her how many months I was indebted to her." The Queen would not "deceive" her or "misreckon" her, "for, since my coming home, into the kitchen, I have learned to cast an account, which I never could do before."

II

Elizabeth Sanders' escapes from prison are described in vivid detail and these afford further confirmation of the lax conditions in the Winchester prisons at this time, - conditions which were to continue for many years. She mentions that all the Brigettine nuns in England had been urged by their Mother Superior and Chaplain in letters at various times "to seek all means possible, well and conveniently" to return to their convent abroad. She showed these letters to some priests - at least four in number - "virtuous and learned", who were in the gaol, asking for their advice. They told her plainly that she could not leave prison "with any good conscience, except I were, by the Council or the judges set at liberty". The plea that she was under obedience to take all possible means to return to the cloister did not prevail with these priests. It would apparently have meant breaking her parole and they took a strict view of its nature.

The nun then consulted some lay recusants in the gaol: Gilbert Wells, William Hoorde, Richard Warnford, John Body and John Slade¹⁰. They helped her with money, and offered the gaoler £20 for her liberty,

but "when it came to the point, my name, 'Sanders', being known," neither suits nor money could prevail. Later, however, she had better luck, for "by some good chance, breaking prison, going with others secretly to hear Mass half a mile from the prison, I was taken at that Mass with other prisoners and so delivered of all my debt in the old prison, by reason that I was sent to another prison under another keeper." When she had been in this prison for a reasonable time she begged the keeper to let her escape, but he refused. "Then I talked with his wife ... and offered her £5 ... But she answered, 'She might not do so'. Yet I offered her £5 more, and so for £10 I was free." She let herself down "by a rope over the Castle wall", and so got away.

Sister Elizabeth stayed some days with Mistress Elizabeth Tichborne¹¹ at West Tisted and then went to the Shelleys¹² at Mapledurham, where she talked with one "Mr. Doctor, a priest"¹³, who "was very inquisitive to know the manner and fashion of mine escape". Elizabeth Sanders told him her story in full. "He disliked it very much and told me that I was bound to return to the prison again". She pleaded her duty to her convent, but two other priests staying with the Shelleys who were consulted agreed with "Mr. Doctor": she was bound in conscience to return and "there to remain till by some ordinary means I might come to liberty". And so "the next morning, betimes, with horse and man and a crown in money, he ("Mr. Doctor") sent me back again to prison ... where I remained till I could hear from London from the prisoners there all about, declaring the case ... what were best for me to do." The reply was

favourable: "she might most safely and with a most secure conscience follow mine own purpose and detemination ... to return to my company."

Sister Elizabeth's second departure from prison was easily managed and the bribe which she had already given to the gaoler's wife apparently still held good. All that she says about it is that after the opinion from London, "I went forth out of prison to a good honest poor woman's house in the town, a friend of mine, with whom I tarried till I could provide horse and man which, as soon as I could get, I went to a kinswoman of mine dwelling in Surrey". This was some time in the first half of 1587¹⁴.

She mentions some of the recusants who helped her while she was in prison and also at the time of her departure. Mistress Tichborne of West Tisted was her "singular benefactrix" all the time of her imprisonment and when she left prison "a great aid and help" towards her journey. "Old Mistress Hall" (Mistress Katherine Hall of Easton, stated in 1583 to be in the gaol at Winchester¹⁵), says Elizabeth Sanders, "did help me with much comfort and relief for the space of three years and at my coming away was my special aid and helper." She also mentions "Mr. Dachell" (apparently Stephen Vachell of Buriton¹⁶), "who would himself come and visit me in prison and bestow his charity very liberally". Richard Warnford¹⁷ contributed towards the sum of £10 which she gave the gaoler's wife, whilst William Hoorde¹⁸ was "a very father all the time of my being with him in prison ... and also since my coming away he hath not forgotten me."

Sister Elizabeth had more adventures after she left Hampshire, but in time she managed to obtain a passport under another name through the assistance of William Hoorde, who was acquainted with Nicholas Berden the spy. No doubt Berden had to be paid liberally for it.

She eventually reached Rouen in May 1587¹⁹, having spent, as she says, fully six years in prison.

III

The lax conditions in the gaol at Winchester during Elizabeth Sanders' stay there were serious enough, but the disorders which were revealed in 1590 were sufficiently grave to justify a special report by the Bishop to the Council. This time it was George Vaux, an Under-Sheriff, who was at fault: it was complained that he had allowed the recusants in his charge to have their liberty and had behaved "in a very undutiful manner ... notwithstanding our strict order formerly given to the contrary"²⁰. He was called before the Council and charged with having permitted, in particular, the recusant prisoners Burley and Beconsawe²¹, too much liberty. Vaux excused himself by saying that, "as they were delivered in execution for debt ... by indenture from the former Sheriff and thereby standing charged with them, he thought they were more at his disposition and the more excusable until he had sufficient knowledge." It was not a very convincing reply. He was, however, allowed to remain in his post, but was ordered to keep Burley and Beconsawe "and their like" as close

prisoners²².

In 1596 fresh troubles came to light, and one Edward Mathew of Winchester complained²³ to the Council of "divers great abuses committed in the keeping of the Gaol" by William Udall (Uvedale). Uvedale, the Deputy Keeper, who, in 1598 and 1599, was to come under notice for some extraordinary events in which recusant prisoners were concerned, had, Mathew alleged, arrested him "upon an untrue and supposed action of debt" and had imprisoned him "only because he intended ... to reveal the abuse of the Gaol." The offences committed were, the Council told²⁴ the Dean of Winchester, "such as breed no small danger to the State and do argue great misdemeanour in the said William Uvedale, if they be true." If any measures were taken on this occasion to remedy the mismanagement of the Gaol they were quite ineffective, for the "great misdemeanours" continued.

In September 1598 Thomas Canteron, alias Grove, alias Steven, alias Bale, was examined²⁵ by Ridley, Chancellor of the Diocese, in the course of his visitation at Romsey. Canterton said that he was a prisoner in the Gaol for recusancy, but that he had not been there since the last Assizes. He was absent from prison by leave of Mr. Uvedale²⁶, who told him that a licence had been obtained from the Justices of Assize for "the enlargement of him and some others to work for their living". He used to return to the Gaol at every Sessions and Assize upon warning sent to him by the Keeper. He was asked what sum he had given for his "enlargement" and replied that he had given nothing. Being pressed upon

this point, he refused to take an oath on his statement.

Richard Bruning, the husband of Eleanor, daughter of the late Anthony Uvedale, who had died in 1597, was summoned before the Bishop of Winchester in October 1598²⁷. The inheritance of the Keepership had passed to his son, Anthony, through the mother, Eleanor, but as the son was only seven years old, Richard Bruning was evidently acting as Keeper during the child's minority²⁸. The Bishop charged him with complaints that "many recusants" committed to the Gaol were at large and required him to enter into bond that they would be safely kept in the Gaol according to the law. Richard Bruning told the Bishop that William Uvedale was Deputy Keeper in the time of the late Anthony Uvedale. He proposed "to oversee Mr. Uvedale that he shall better look to the Gaol and to the safe custody of the recusants ... he thinketh it very reasonable that the said William should be bound to that effect"²⁹.

William Uvedale then appeared (5th October 1598)³⁰ before the Bishop and said that "Canterton is a wanderer" and that he had not seen him since twelve months last Midsummer and asked for authority to attach him to the Gaol again. Uvedale also stated that two of Gooter's (Goter's) children, ^{with} one Gendge and one ffidler³¹, had, by abusing the privileges which he had allowed them, long absented themselves from the Gaol. Furthermore, "he pretendeth that by the leave of the Justices of the Assize and motives for charity he suffered seven of the poorer sort of recusants ... to go at liberty for a small

time to get their living by their labour." He asked for time to find them all and get them back.

Almost a year later (on 28th September 1599) Robert Joy, gentleman, of East Meon, a well-known recusant³², appeared before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners at Winchester, "being lately apprehended by warrant from the said Commissioners"³³. He said he had been a recusant "these twenty years and ... a prisoner for his said recusancy in the Common Gaol at Winchester during most of these years". For a period of seven years while he was in the Gaol he was not put in the calendar when the Assizes were held at Southampton. About seven years ago he obtained leave (from Mr. William Uvedale) to go to his house at East Meon, and had not since returned to the Gaol. Moreover, "since his said liberty obtained he hath been at London three weeks together in the term time"³⁴.

Joy was apparently put in the Gaol again, for a little later (see Section IV below) he figures in further episodes there.

IV

On 11 August 1599 Edward Kenyon, a Seminary priest, landed at Southampton and was caught at night the same day at Romsey³⁵, with which place, as has been seen, Canterton, the recusant prisoner, was associated. He was sent by Bilson, the Bishop, to Sir Robert Cecil for further examination: the Bishop considered that threats of torture might draw from him more than "a gentle course of examination" would achieve³⁶. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners had apparently failed to

obtain much useful information from the priest. But in September Bilson received Edward Kenyon back from the Council in order that he might be put on trial for treason under the Act of 1585³⁷. It does not appear that the priest had been severely punished in London. The Bishop committed him to Winchester Gaol; and the Keeper was strictly ordered to "closely keep him as a traitor and not suffering any person to speak with him, unless it be in your presence or in that of your Under-Keeper"³⁸. In view of the considerable abuses in the Gaol which had already occurred and of which the Bishop was fully cognisant, he must have been remarkably sanguine if he imagined that the priest would receive the treatment desired. At 8 o'clock on 2 October 1599, the day on which he was to appear for trial, Edward Kenyon escaped from the Gaol³⁹.

The next day Valentine Noyse, one of the Under-Keepers, was examined⁴⁰. He said that he had given Kenyon into the charge of Thomas Garnet. Since then - that is, three weeks ago - Garnet had not spent more than five nights in the Gaol. The priest was accustomed to spend the day in the parlour near the entry of the Gaol and at night he had generally shared a room with Anthony Norton⁴¹, a well-known recusant, but some nights he spent in the parlour.

An hour or two before the escape the priest's father and some recusants in the Gaol were very busy about what appear to have been the final plans for flight. At six o'clock, said Noyse, Kenyon senior came to the prison⁴² and talked to his son for a quarter of

an hour. Anthony Norton, Marks White⁴³ and one Bidlecombe⁴⁴ were present. When the priest's father had first visited the Gaol - presumably after arriving in Winchester - he had enquired for Anthony Norton (whom he probably knew already) and not for his son. Kenyon, senior, was lodging with one Field at Fulflood, near the city, and Noyse said that after the priest had fled he met Field and the priest's father in a lane off Hyde Street coming away from Field's house.

On the morning of the escape, Thomas Garnet, said Noyse, had taken two prisoners with him into the town for a drink. He himself remained in the Gaol. After a time Robert Joy asked for permission to go into the garden of the Gaol and "so through to Richard Cook's house to see his nag". Noyse then went with Joy to the garden, but Edward Kenyon called out, "desiring him to stay Joy that they two might walk in the garden together". Noyse let them both go into the garden. He "locked the garden door and came back to the prison again, and there remained by the space of a quarter of an hour". When he came out again and opened the garden door he found nobody there: the priest had gone.

Joy, returning, so he said, from Richard Cook's house, was then asked by Noyse about the priest. Joy knew little: "the priest borrowed of me two shillings in the garden before I went to Cook's, which I lent him, and, since, I saw him not". But there was more to tell. Joy said that the priest came into the garden "with his rug

gown wrapped close about him". This gown was found, said Noyse, "in goodwife Baylis's garden which is within a hedge of the Gaol garden ... (It) was the gown of one Thomas Abraham⁴⁵, the recusant prisoner, then in the Gaol with the priest, which Abraham escaped within a half an hour before (i.e. before the escape of the priest) ... Immediately after him went out also Geoffrey Miles⁴⁶, another recusant ... The priest is said to follow the said Miles out of the North Gate, with a greyish cloak on his back, which cloak was Marks White's, for he had such a cloak which now, upon search, is missing."

Valentine Noyse went in search of the escaped priest. He mentions that Thomas Abraham had a house in Hyde Street, Winchester, and that "two boys that were in a close, at harrowing, hard by the end of Hyde Street ... saw the said Abraham, whom they knew well, with one other young man, going very fast over the fields." Noyse tracked them a little way and "found it was Abraham by the back of his foot, having clubbish short feet". He concluded his statement by saying that Edward Kenyon never had any irons placed on him since he came to the Gaol.

William Myles⁴⁷, another recusant prisoner, was also examined on 3 October 1599⁴⁸, but he contributed little in explanation of the escapes. He said he was allowed by Garnet, the Under-Keeper, to go out of the Gaol at about 8 o'clock (this is, in itself, suspicious, for it was near the time of the priest's flight). He then passed out of the North Gate "and stayed at the lane at the bridge's end

and, not seeing his wife, whom he looked for, immediately returned". He saw nobody following him.

The testimony of Thomas Garnet was heard on 25 October 1599⁴⁹. His statement was short and confirmed some of the disclosures already made. He had been an Under-Keeper, he said, since the previous Christmas, having been ~~given~~ ~~the~~ position by William Uvedale, "whom he had long served". (This selection by Uvedale, therefore, ensured partiality to recusants.) He had charge of Edward Kenyon and understood that he was safely to be kept as a traitor. But the priest was never placed in irons, for Uvedale had said that if he could be kept in safe custody without them, they were not to be used. He added that Edward Kenyon had twice (sic) dined with Uvedale at the request of Uvedale's wife.

On the same day (25 October) Valentine Noyse, the other Under-Keeper, was again examined⁵⁰; and to him was read the warrant of commitment of the priest to the Gaol as a traitor, to be closely kept "at uttermost peril" of those responsible for his custody. He never, however, heard William Uvedale mention irons. He added that the priest was twice at dinner at his master's house, "being sometimes sent for by Mrs. Uvedale or her son. Uvedale, on going out of town, left order that if his wife ever sent for the priest, he was to be permitted to go to her".

Thomas Abraham, said Noyse, had been a prisoner for recusancy for ten or eleven weeks, during which time he often lay at his house

in Hyde Street, "and had a door open out of the Gaol, by which he went in and out when and where he would, until a week before his departure (i.e. flight)." Noyse added that he knew the priest's father, "who was found, the same morning his son escaped, at the house of Roger Coreham⁵¹, near Winchester, and was brought to prison by William Uvedale and there detained two days, when he was let go without further examining."

On the following day (26 October), Andrew Valence, a tanner at Romsey, who was a prisoner for debt, appeared before the Bishop⁵². He was not a recusant and was thus able to be more expansive in his version of recent events. He said that Valentine Noyse had, in the beginning, intended to lay irons on the priest, but that after Mr. Uvedale had come up and spoken to Kenyon, nothing more was said about the matter. The priest was sent for to dine at Uvedale's house (unlike the other recusant witnesses, he does not mention the number of times). He remained there most of the afternoon, and often venison ready-baked and fresh fish were sent to him by recusants. Mrs. Uvedale came to him the Sunday after his commitment and brought with her five or six recusants' wives, who walked with the priest in the garden. (It seems fairly certain from this that they came specially to attend Mass said by the priest.)

Valence went on to confirm what Noyse had said about Robert Joy's walking with the priest in the garden. "During all the time of the priest's abode in the Gaol," he adds, "the keys of the prison

were kept by recusants, who went out at their pleasure, and let out whom they liked and when they liked, and no man was denied speaking to him (i.e. the priest)."

V

The Bishop was now faced with a perplexing and unpleasant situation. The disorders in the Gaol which had occurred before the priest's escape, such as those in which Thomas Canterton and Robert Joy had been involved, the Bishop was able to keep from the knowledge of the Government, attempting to have them remedied by local action. But Edward Kenyon had been sent up to the Council after his capture and had been returned by them to stand his trial in Winchester for treason. In the light of the history of the times there seemed only one possible result of the trial, more especially in view of the Council's interest in the matter, - condemnation and execution of the priest; and the eagerness with which all concerned had arranged the escape can consequently be readily understood. Kenyon's flight, therefore, was an event of importance and the Bishop had no option but to represent the whole fantastic situation to the Government. He did so on 5 November 1599 in a long report to Sir Robert Cecil, enclosing all the evidence⁵³. He mentions that he gave orders that the priest, as a traitor, should be kept as strictly as possible (this meant, presumably, being placed in irons). Unfortunately, the

priest "was rather daily feasted as a guest than safely kept as a traitor, and suffered most wilfully to escape upon the very day that he doubted to be produced (for trial)." He referred to the "gaolor's dissolute carelessness in keeping such prisoners, and his wilful favouring and dismissing of recusants out of prison at his pleasure, which boldness and presumption of his doth, and will do, more harm if it be not repressed, than all the Justices and Commissioners here will be able to do good." The Bishop therefore asks for the severe punishment of "this open and wilful neglect": the laws are strict enough, he says, "if they be executed".

Bilson then refers to the tenure-in-serjeantry possessed by Anthony Uvedale, Keeper of the Gaol, recently dead. He mentions that Uvedale had, in his lifetime, "fearing the danger of the law" and "loth that the prisoners for recusancy should come into any man's keeping but at his own appointing, conveyed the inheritance of the Gaol with the aforesaid Manor of Woodcote unto Anthony Bruning, his daughter's son, a child of seven years of age, the father and mother both recusants." This is the reason "why no man hath or shall have the keeping of the Gaol but such as will be at their beck for the favouring of recusants". He therefore suggests to Cecil, as the Master of Wards, that since the "child is a ward for his tenure ... and so at your Honour's disposition together with the manor of Woodcote ... you may do your pleasure with it, till he come of age."

Unfortunately, we have no record of the action that was taken as the result of the Bishop's appeal. In February 1600 Bilson reminded Cecil⁵⁴ of the case, but his reply does not survive. No further disorders in the Gaol, however, came to light during the remaining years of the Queen's reign and the manor of Woodcote is not mentioned in any recusant rolls for those years. On the other hand, it would seem that Richard Bruning continued for some years longer to have charge of the Gaol, for in 1608 he forfeited the manor and custody of the Gaol because of recusancy⁵⁵. At that time Richard's son, Anthony, the heir, was still a minor. The manor of Woodcote descended to Anthony on Richard Bruning's death and his tenure of it is referred to in a fine of 1625⁵⁶.

So far as the escaped prisoners are concerned, Thomas Abraham and Geoffrey Miles do not seem to appear in any recusant records for the few remaining years of the reign. Edward Kenyon apparently evaded all vigilance and seems to have kept away from Hampshire, - which was wise. As late as 1626 he was at Cowdray in Sussex⁵⁷, the seat of the Catholic Montagues.

Chapter XI

FINANCE

I

Under the Act of Uniformity of 1559¹ every lay person in the kingdom was required, having no lawful or reasonable excuse, to attend "his parish church or chapel accustomed" on Sundays and Holy Days and to remain there during the time of "Common Prayer, Preachings or other service of God". If he did not do so, he was liable to "the censures of the church" and also to a fine of twelve pence for every offence. This forfeiture was to be levied by the churchwardens of the parish where the offence was committed and was to be used for the benefit of the poor.²

The provision for a fine in this comprehensive statute was an innovation. It was apparently designed to prevent such a situation arising as took place in the earlier years of Edward VI's reign. In 1552 the Act of Uniformity imposing the Second Book of Common Prayer³ stated that "... there has been a very godly order set forth by the authority of Parliament, for common prayer and administration of the sacraments" but "... this notwithstanding, a great number of people in divers parts of the realm ... do wilfully and damnably before Almighty God abstain and refuse to come to their parish churches where common prayer is used ... upon Sundays and other (holy) days ...".

The 46th of the Royal Injunctions, 1559,⁴ gave details of the manner in which this uniformity of worship was to be

secured in each parish. It said that "in every parish three or four discreet men, which tender God's glory and His true religion, shall be ^{appointed} ~~appointed~~ by the Ordinances diligently to see that all the parishioners duly resort to their Church upon all Sundays and Holy Days, and there to continue the whole time of the Godly Service; and all such as shall be found slack or negligent in resorting to the church having no great or urgent cause of absence, they shall straitly call upon them, and after one admonition if they amend not, they shall denounce them to the Ordinary". The "three or four" "discreet" men were invariably the churchwardens⁵, though the number probably did not run to as many as three or four.

There is a good deal of evidence that the Bishops in their Visitations dealt regularly with the question of levying the fine of 12d for refusal to attend church⁶. So far as Winchester and other dioceses in the Province of Canterbury were concerned, as early as 1560 a Visitation Article enquired whether the forfeiture was levied.⁷ This provision for enquiry was, however, before the advent of Horne to the See of Winchester and it is doubtful whether there was any serious implementation of it. In 1561 the "Episcopal Interpretations" prescribed⁸ that the churchwardens every month should state, "in bills subscribed by their hands", the people who will not pay the fine; whilst in 1566 a similar return was required to be rendered quarterly.⁹

In 1574 there was a Metropolitan Visitation of the Winchester Diocese by Parker and Article of Enquiry, No. 37¹⁰, for the Visitation asked "the churchwardens and sworn men, and

such as were before you (whether you) have, according to the Act of Parliament ... in the first year of the ... reign ... levied of everyone that wilfully and negligently is absent from church or unreverently behaveth himself at common prayer ... 12d for every such offence; whereunto the said forfeiture is applied; what account thereof yearly is made; and whether your poor man's box be accordingly kept and the alms thereof accounted yearly to the parish".

In 1576, in the time of Archbishop Grindal, there was an enquiry similar to that of Parker's for all the dioceses in the Southern Province.¹¹

Horne was too active and thorough an ecclesiastical administrator not to ensure, as far as it lay with him, that the churchwardens performed their duties properly; and the levying of the fine was probably a frequent subject of enquiry at his visitations¹². Soon after his arrival at Winchester he wrote¹³ to Cecil (on 29th August 1561) "... As touching religion I have found more disorders by this inquisition in my (civil division) than I could ~~by~~ in my visitation by the churchwardens, such is the fear of punishment by the purse more than of God's curse ...". The episcopal documents which survive are also illuminating.

In 1566 the churchwardens of Minstead were cited to the Consistory Court because they did not levy the fine.¹⁴ In 1569 the wardens of Bishopstoke were charged with not having presented absentees from the church nor levied the fine.¹⁵ In 1569 William Austen one of the churchwardens of St. Bartholomew's, Winchester, admitted that he had been absent from the church on

Ascension Day "and will pay 12d into the poor box and the other (churchwarden Anthony Colman) will pay".¹⁶ In 1570 James Alexander (of St. Helen's, Isle of Wight) was charged that when he was churchwarden he had not raised the fine of 12d from those absent from the church¹⁷; and John Wheatley and Walter Clerck of Romsey were cited because they refused to pay the fine for absence from church. They were both excommunicated and so was Roger Crop of Alresford for a similar offence.¹⁸ The Wardens of Wonston were also cited in the same year for not levying the fine.¹⁹ In 1574 Thomas Yealfe of Bremer was charged with absence from church on six Sundays and was required to pay two shillings for the poor.²⁰ In 1577²¹ the Wardens of Eversley were accused of not having taken proper charge of the register and with not receiving fines for absence from church.

Even after the passing of the recusancy statute of 1581 (see Section II following) the episcopal documents²² record the confession of Robert Pollard of Ovington in December 1582 of having been "absent sometimes from his parish church, but yet he hath been at other parish churches ...". He was ordered to pay the churchwardens "according to the form of the statute (of Uniformity)". Similarly, John Westby of Exton at the same time said²³ that "he believeth he was absent 10 Sundays from the church between Easter and Michaelmas last". He was ordered to pay the churchwardens the fine of 12d (presumably for each of ten absences) and to be certificated accordingly. These two recusants were apparently not regarded as "obstinate

recusants", otherwise they would have been held to come within the scope of the later Act. There is a similar case even as late as December 1599²⁴ when six people in a batch were cited from Niton I.o.W. for being "negligent coming to church". They were ordered to pay 12d "according to the Statute".

There is ~~then~~ a good deal of evidence to show that generally the Bishops diligently enquired about the levying of the fine. But it was one thing to make enquiry and another to ensure that the fine was actually collected: this is the ~~real~~ core of the problem. Whenever it was collected it was no doubt put into the poor box in the church and later distributed to the poor. The fine was a small one and did not justify Exchequer transactions, whilst the churchwardens probably did not always render an account of the fines collected. In any case the surviving churchwardens' accounts in Hampshire are lacking in information on the subject. For example, such accounts have survived for ten parishes dating from Elizabeth's reign or earlier. Of these, three date from very late in the reign, viz. from 1596, 1598 and 1600, but the others are earlier (they include only a fragment for the parish of St. Thomas, Portsmouth, for 1564-1566²⁵). Not one of these documents, however, provides for any year evidence of the collection of the fines.

There is ^{proof}~~evidence~~, as has been seen, that Hampshire churchwardens were slack, and there was probably a good deal of connivance at recusancy. Moreover, it was not generally the Government's policy before 1570 (the year of the Bull of Excommunication of Elizabeth) to interfere as a rule with the

concealed religious practices of the Catholic gentry, who no doubt continued, whenever possible, to have Mass said in their manor houses by the old Marian priests. Their tenants, bound by ties of religion, affection and interest probably heard Mass with their landlords and generally kept away from the parish church, "arrangements" being made locally between the gentry on the one hand and the parochial clergy and churchwardens on the other for preventing the matter from going farther afield. Where churchwardens did at any date levy the fine, it was no punishment for the gentry, though it would have been felt more seriously by people like labourers, artisans, etc. The words of ^{Burghley}~~Burleigh~~ himself, however, lend support to the view that the fine was not consistently levied and collected. In 1581, in connection with the recusancy Act of 1581, he wrote²⁶ "that the causes that moved the renewing of this law was for that it was seen that the pain being no greater than 12d. no officer did seek to charge an offender therewith, so that the numbers of evil-disposed persons increased therewith to offend with impunity". Mendoza had already written²⁷ to Philip II on 11th December 1580 that there seemed to be an intention to pass an Act confiscating the property of recusants if they did not conform. He says that their punishment hitherto had been imprisonment and does not mention the 12d fine.

Finally, there is ^{the}~~a~~ evidence which emerged during the course of the debate in the Commons in 1601 on the Bill about the wilful abstaining from church.²⁸ This bill referred to both the smaller fine under the Act of Uniformity and the fine of £20 a month under the Act of 1581. The main object of the

measure was to bring within the scope of the 12d fine the person who was merely negligent in attendance at church, but otherwise well-affected: two fines of £20 and 12d were not intended. The bill was narrowly defeated, but the important disclosure was made during the Commons debate that the Statute of Uniformity had long fallen into desuetude. Indeed, Dr. Bennet, Member for York City, said that it had never had "due execution" and that "a law without execution was like a bell with^{out} a clapper".

II

The advent of the "Jesuit" Mission to England in 1580 was a turning point in the history of Catholicism in Elizabeth's reign: the Government's reply to the Mission was a severe penal statute - the Act of 1581 "to retain the Queen's Majesty's subjects in their due obedience".²⁹ Treasonable acts were specified in the statute, whilst the financial provisions were particularly stringent: every person above the age of 16 who refused to attend church for common prayer was, upon conviction, to pay a fine of £20 a month so long as he refused to conform. One-third of this amount was to go to the Queen, one-third to be used for the relief of the poor of the parish where the offence was committed, and the remaining third was to go "to such person as will sue for the same", in other words, to delators and informers.³⁰ If an offender continued to be recalcitrant for twelve months he was to be bound with two sureties of at least £200 to be of good behaviour and he was to continue to be bound while he remained obstinate. Every person who heard Mass was to forfeit 100 marks (£66.13. 4) and

suffer imprisonment for a year.

A gauge of the severity of this statute is the enormous increase in the fine for non-attendance at Common Prayer - from 12d for each absence to £20 a month, - a crippling sum.³¹ It seems clear that the Government were determined to force recusants into conformity or else to effect their financial ruin, provided it was possible to extract the fine by action necessarily strong, persistent and systematic, needing also the sympathetic cooperation of the local officers; but even then only the wealthy recusant would be able to pay.³²

The Jesuit Mission accelerated Government action. A measure involving heavy fines against recusants rather than imprisonment had been under consideration some years previously in 1577. On 21 June of that year Aylmer, Bishop of London, wrote³³ to Walsingham asking for the approval of a plan for proceeding against the Papists. He said that the Archbishop of Canterbury and he had been informed by the bishops that "the Papists do marvellously increase both in number and in obstinate withdrawing of themselves from the church". He mentions that imprisonment which hitherto had been employed for their punishment had "not only little availed, but also hath been a means by sparing of their housekeeping greatly to enrich them". This cost of imprisonment - imprisonment which was probably, though not necessarily always, at the expense of the Government - was an important matter with an economically-minded Queen.

It was therefore proposed not to inflict imprisonment upon "the richer sort", but to punish them by round fines to be imposed "for contemptuous refusing of communion according to

our orders and commandments".³⁴ Aylmer went on to imply that there was episcopal handicap in imposing severer financial penalties: the Papists were alleging "that the penalty, being already set down by statute (a fine of 12d) is not by us (i.e. the bishops) to be altered or aggravated". He then used an argument which might strongly appeal to Elizabeth: he thought that an increased mulct "will procure the Queen a thousand pounds a year to her coffers: whatsoever it do more: it will weaken the enemy and touch him much nearer than any pain heretofore inflicted hath done". Aylmer warned Walsingham that a great deal of harm would be done if "Her Majesty by importunate suit of courtiers for their friends be easily drawn to forgive any forfeitures". It was therefore necessary that the Queen should be firm against any action of the kind.

Walsingham considered this plan for some three months and on the 15th October 1577³⁵ the Council wrote to the Bishops asking them to furnish within a week an estimate of the annual revenue of each recusant in their dioceses. Obviously, the time allowed for furnishing reliable information was much too short and this is mentioned by the bishops in making their returns.³⁶ It is possible that the reason lies in the desire to prevent interested courtiers from gaining access to the Queen in order to dissuade her from agreement to the plan.³⁷ (In any case the proposal seemed to require a critical political occasion before it could take more coherent shape and be put into execution).

The Bishop of Winchester sent in particulars concerning his diocese some time in October 1577 with a covering letter

stating³⁸ that they were made "without respect of person or degree". But there was a significant omission: he was unable to deal with the still-powerful Earl of Southampton. "It was thought good", said the Bishop, "only to name the Earl ... leaving further to deal therein, for that his Lordship and the value of his lands and goods is not unknown to your honourable Lordships".

The return was concerned almost entirely with recusants of substance: there were, besides Southampton, one titled gentlewoman, one esquire, 27 gentlemen, 27 gentlewomen, and four "inferior persons", a total of 58. In the light of the meticulous investigations which must have been made at a much later stage concerning recusants whose names appeared on the recusant rolls, the information is inaccurate: some recusants' lands are undervalued, whilst a few seem to be credited, perhaps because of their family connection, ~~with~~ with more substance than they really possessed. For example, George Cotton, Esquire, of Warblington and his wife were valued at £300 per annum with goods of £300, yet Cotton was to pay regularly for many years the sum of £260 a year in fines under the Act of 1581 and at the time of his death had paid the enormous sum of £6620.³⁹ Thomas Founde, another wealthy gentleman, is stated to be worth £100 in goods, but no annual value is shown; he later paid a total of £905 in rentals.⁴⁰ Gilbert Wells, Esquire, of Brambridge, a wealthy recusant, who had been High Sheriff of Hampshire in 1570, and his wife seem also to have been undervalued: Wells is stated to be worth £100 in lands with goods of £500, yet he paid the large sum of £1441 in fines and rentals.⁴¹

On the other hand, Lady Elizabeth Paulet of Crondall is stated to be worth £300 per annum in lands and goods of £300. Entries on the Recusant Rolls⁴² indicate that she owed a debt to the Crown of only £7.11. 2 per annum (later £9.15. 6) being two-thirds of the rents of lands and tenements in Ellsfield and Preston Candover. In this case, the overvaluation is most marked and is a measure of the pure guesswork which must have gone to the making of the hurried return.⁴³

The plan considered in 1577 was not pursued, but a similar proposal for imposing increased financial penalties on recusants came before ^{Burghley}~~Burleigh~~ in 1580. The essential question was whether this could be carried out under existing legislation (the retort of the recusants to any increase of the 12d fine under purely ecclesiastical powers was, as has been seen, that it was illegal). ^{Burghley}~~Burleigh~~ therefore wrote in the Queen's name to the Lord Keeper and Lord Treasurer, requiring the opinion of the judges.⁴⁴ They answered "that by the statute of the First of the Queen (i.e. the Act of Supremacy, 1559)⁴⁵ the Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes had authority to inflict any punishment by mulct ... because all ecclesiastical jurisdiction and authority is by statute annexed to the Crown". Certain articles were accordingly set down indicating what was permissible by ecclesiastical law. One of these stated that "a bishop may make a statute or ordinance that an excommunicate person shall pay £10 for every month he hath contemptuously remained excommunicate", for it seemed clear that by ecclesiastical law "a pecuniary pain might be put upon such recusants ... And for the levying such pecuniary pains, if it

were estreated into the Exchequer, the ordinary course was well-known" - that is to say, a levy could be made upon the recusant's lands or goods, and, if he had no land or goods, he could be imprisoned. This proposal foreshadows the Act of 1581 as regards the infliction of a severe monetary forfeiture (£20 a month) and the Act of 1586-7⁴⁶ as regards the demands upon the recusants' lands and goods.

A copy of the judges' opinion was sent ~~to~~^{by} ~~Burleigh~~^{Burghley}, Leicester and others on 3rd July, 1580, to the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Chester, asking them to impose on recusants a larger mulct than 12d, a fine which had proved ineffective.⁴⁷ The letter does not specify the amount of the fine to be imposed, but mentions a "greater penalty". It seems to have been an attempt to test the reactions of the recusants. But the whole matter was placed on a proper legal basis by the rigorous Act of 1581. III _____

ction III.

From 1582 until the institution of the Recusant Rolls in 1592-3 recusancy fines were entered on the Pipe Roll among all the other business concerning which the Roll constitutes a compotus or account. But before this took place, the recusant had to be indicted and convicted. Churchwardens were required to furnish lists of recusants fourteen days before each Sessions and Assizes in order that the parties might be indicted.⁴⁸ Recusants could be tried either at the Assizes or by the justices of the peace in their open quarter sessions.⁴⁹

Particulars of convictions were sent by the clerks of the judges to the Clerk of the Estreats in the Exchequer in order that entries might be made on the Estreat Rolls.⁵⁰ The clerk of

Estreats then issued a summons to the Sheriff called the Summons of the Green Wax, so called because the writs of summons were sealed with green wax. These writs were issued twice a year, the Sheriff being required, in consequence, to account at the Exchequer for various types of revenue.⁵¹

Recusancy fines were paid either to the Sheriff (or his officers) or direct into the Exchequer. It was probably more prudent for a recusant to pay the Sheriff, for if he went up to London and paid his fines into the Exchequer he would become well known to officials there - or even to members of the Council - and probably come into contact with distasteful people like delators or informers, who, "in popular and penal actions (have) part of the profit (from the fines) by the law assigned to them".⁵² Should the recusant pay into the Exchequer he was given "a tally of payment" which he could produce to the Sheriff as his discharge of the debt. If the recusant paid the Sheriff (or his officials) the Sheriff paid in the amount when his annual account was rendered. Engrossment on the Pipe or Recusant Rolls was then made from this account and any payments of debts incurred by recusants were recorded in the Pells Receipts Books by the Clerk of the Pells.⁵³

A considerable number of convicted Hampshire recusants were imprisoned in 1581 and the following years, many of them in Winchester itself.⁵⁴ Imprisonment of recusants at this time was, however, general, and their maintenance in gaols throughout the kingdom was doubtless costly, but parallel with this was the receipt of unsubstantial sums as fines. The truth seems to be

that the bulk of the recusants were not paying the fine, the reason being that they could not or would not pay, whilst the number brought to conformity was insignificant. In other words, the Government's policy ~~of~~ was not succeeding and the Government was eventually forced to admit it by passing the Act of 1586-7.⁵⁵

The Exchequer receipts⁵⁶ well illustrate the position so far as Hampshire was concerned. For the Easter term of 1582 nothing was paid into the Exchequer in respect of fines; in the Michaelmas term of the same year £40 was paid in (by George Cotton, esquire, of Warblington) as part of a total fine of £120 for not attending church; in the Easter term of 1583 nothing was paid by convicted recusants, but for the Michaelmas term a total of £400 was received from two recusants, - £360 from George Cotton and £40 from one of the smaller gentry, Nicholas Tichborne; in the Easter term of 1584, £97 was received in all from five recusants, and of this sum George Cotton again paid much the largest amount (£54); in the Michaelmas term of the same year only £15 was received from Hampshire and this was paid by Edward Banister of Idsworth, a major Catholic landowner, a total of only £840 being received in respect of the whole country: only eight counties made payments. For Easter 1585 the total from Hampshire increased and a total of £565 was paid, but only three of the larger landowners were involved: William ffawkenor of Westbury Manor, East Meon, who paid the considerable sum of £500, Edward Banister, who paid £25 and Gilbert Wells who paid £40. The total for the kingdom for this term was £1476 and Hampshire recusants therefore contributed over a third.

During the Michaelmas term of 1585 the sum of £260 was paid, - £220 from Gilbert Wells and £40 from Edward Banister. The total sum received from Hampshire recusants by the end of 1585 was £1377, contributed by six gentlemen in all. (An official return of some 300 recusants in Hampshire was made in 1583⁵⁷).

Walsingham himself about 1585 considered the reasons "why Her Majesty received no greater benefit from the penalties levied on recusants" and proposed remedies to meet the situation.⁵⁸ He mentioned (i) that although request was made for the valuation of the recusant's property, a "nil" return was commonly made; (2) that where a return was made at all, the lands were generally undervalued; (3) that where recusants possessed lands in several counties, the return was made in respect of the property in the county where the indictment was made; (4) that fraudulent conveyances of land were made; (5) that where recusants were under orders from the Council to remain "within a certain precinct (they) do except themselves touching their appearance for the answering of the indictment"; and (6) that others "by shifting of places (of residence), not remaining in any place by statute appointed, do thereby avoid the penalty".

To meet these evasions, Walsingham proposed (1) that good friends are to be put in the shrivalty⁵⁹ ... and certain commissioners to be appointed to examine the state of the parties certified 'nihil'. (This proposal seems to have been put into practice in February 1585-6⁶⁰, for on 20th February letters were sent to special commissioners in each county enclosing schedules of the names of the recusants. They were

to "deal with the said recusants to deliver the true state of their livings ... and that thereby a proportion might be made to allow them that which might be ... convenient for their maintenance and the rest answered for the penalties ..."); (2) that lands of recusants were to be let to such persons as shall discover their undervaluation (this seems an incitement to informers) and (3) that these persons shall also enquire about lands possessed in other counties; (4) all conveyances were to be sent up "... to be examined in the Exchequer"; and (6) that recusants who shift their residence were to remain in one certain place where they were to be proceeded against. Finally, bonds were to be taken "of the better sort" for their good behaviour, whilst, as regards those who were unable to pay the full amount of the fine prescribed by law, as well as those who could pay part or little or nothing, commissions were to be directed to special persons in each county to treat with the recusants "to yield some contribution towards the provision of ~~horse and armour~~", horse and armour". (See Section IV^v below).

It is clear that the Government did not intend to be defeated by the subterfuges of the recusants, and a policy of exploitation was now to be pursued. What the council had in mind in "treating with the recusants" was laid down at the time,⁶¹ but the terms were not incorporated in the letters sent in February 1585-6 to the special commissioners in the counties under Walsingham's proposals mentioned above. The terms said that the Queen considered that recusants whose lands were worth more than £240 a year would be "graciously and favourably

dealt with if she took half of the penalty" (that is, £10 a month) and "acquit them of the other" and of the trouble and vexation involved in the legal proceedings against them. Of such as have a yearly living between £150 and £250, she would take a third of the valuation (of their livelihood). There might be difficulty in arriving at the just values of the "several livings, as well by leases and stocks as by other yearly revenues, of those valued at less than £150", but if the recusants "dealt plainly with the commissioners, a fourth part of the valuation would be accepted. If, on the other hand, they failed to reveal the "true state of their living" they "must answer the whole penalty" because of the abuse of Her Majesty's favour so graciously offered. These terms were rigorous enough, but they were a good deal more favourable than those laid down in the Act of 1586-7 which were now foreshadowed.⁶²

IV

In September 1585 recusants throughout the country were asked to contribute, according to their means, towards the cost of supplying light horse for Leicester's campaign in the Netherlands. It may be that the cost of maintaining numerous Papists in prison at this time was not viewed with complacency by the Queen,⁶³ but probably the essential reason for this particular exaction was the comparatively small amounts which were being received from recusants in payment for fines. Moreover, continued recalcitrance and convictions were more in evidence than conformity to religious observance and in this respect also the Act of 1581 was not yielding results. Finally,

the Crown required money and were bent on obtaining it from the recusants.

The light horse demand was not a project which the recusants seemed to like and it will be seen that their response bore this out. They were being asked to support an attack upon their co-religionists abroad, but the Netherlands campaign was, in any case, far removed from the home scene and they could feel only remotely interested. They no doubt contended that it was not a crisis in which their patriotism as Englishmen could properly be put to the test. When the real test came at the time of the Armada the response of Catholics to the need of defending the country was to be unexceptionable.⁶⁴

The Sheriff of Hampshire, William Wright, wrote to the Council on 23rd October 1585⁶⁵ enclosing the replies of only seven recusants who had been approached about supplying light horses: many other recusants who were in a position to make some contribution were not apparently approached. George Cotton agrees to contribute "within the time specified"; three are out of the shire; Richard Rives is "known to very few and cannot yet be found"; Henry Shelley of Mapledurham is dead; whilst Nicholas Tichborne is utterly unable to pay. Altogether, it seems to have been a half-hearted business and even the Sheriff seems to have lacked initiative.

Nicholas Tichborne wrote to the Council giving his reasons for his inability to respond to the demand and his answer⁶⁶ was enclosed with the Sheriff's letter. There is a note of poignancy and sincerity about the reply: it emphasises his entire lack of means and illustrates the financial plight of

some of the lesser gentry who had been consistently recusant for many years.⁶⁷ He protests his entire loyalty to the Queen, notwithstanding his recusancy, but "he never had any living nor was of ability to find a light horse at any time of his life - being but a younger brother and son of a younger brother"⁶⁸, and "never having any other living than our little farm for the maintenance of myself, my poor wife, and eight young children. The lease whereof with all such goods I had upon the same was sold by Robert White, Esquire, late sheriff of the said county, and the money for the farm was paid into the receipt of Her Majesty's Exchequer in Michaelmas term, the 25th year of Her Majesty's reign (1583)⁶⁹, sithence which time I ... have altogether lived by the charitable alms of my good friends". Although he is now not able to meet the Queen's demand, he will, nevertheless, show his loyalty and true obedience according as he has always borne unto her Majesty, "for whose prosperous estate and reign ... I do daily pray and shall during my life ... Most willingly (if I may have liberty) (I will) try my friends by begging or borrowing amongst them to get as much as I possibly can by any means - with as much speed as conveniently I may towards the accomplishments of Her Majesty's request, hoping that upon my willing endeavour therein Her Majesty and your Honours will take compassion and pity upon me ... to let me have liberty upon sufficient bond, whereby I may travel to get something towards the maintenance of myself, my wife and poor children, who are likewise to starve ...". There is no evidence that he secured a temporary release from prison, where

he died in 1589, nor that he paid any further sums into the Exchequer.

The Sheriff of Hampshire wrote to Walsingham on 6th November 1585⁷⁰ saying that he had consulted the Bishop of Winchester regarding the recusants "thought able to be charged with light horses". It is probable that he had been ordered to do so by the Council, in view of the previous unsatisfactory return, and it is indeed surprising that he had not taken this course in the first place. He supplied the names of two esquires and three gentlemen. Certain other classes of persons were omitted and recusant wives were, as usual, a problem. "Of persons having notorious recusants to their wives", he said, "of able widows of that sort and of persons being indicted recusants, I make no mention, because I know not your Honours' pleasure therein". Nevertheless, the impoverished are still being approached and four days later, on 10th November 1585⁷¹, the Sheriff is writing to the Council enclosing the reply of Mistress Friswyth Edmonds "whom he finds by the information of Sir Richard Norton and others to be unable to find a light horse". Mistress Edmonds said that "her husband was but a poor copyholder in his lifetime. He had spent seven or eight years in prison (presumably for recusancy) "whereby he spent all, only the poor living without any stock reserved. He left her with four young children".

Eventually, some of the principal Hampshire recusants, including George Cotton, William ffawkenor and Edward Banister paid sums of £25, but this was considered to be unsatisfactory

and on the 4th May 1586⁷² the Council wrote to the Sheriff pointing this out. He was reminded "that there was charged upon these three and upon Elizabeth Tichborne⁷³, £50 apiece for two light horses". They could well afford this sum, though they had pleaded inability, "inasmuch as their estates are known to their Lordships"... They have been "of long time ... spared and forborne in all public charges and services", and the Council saw no reason why they should not meet the full demand. If they refused to pay, then bonds should be required of them for their personal appearance before the Council to give reasons for their refusal.

Three other recusants of "good behaviour in the county" were to be asked to contribute £25 each and if they refused, ~~bonds~~ bonds were to be required of them as in the case of the others. The Council went on to say "that her Majesty seeth so much the less cause to spare them in this and the like charges as that she daily findeth them to bestow no small contributions both within and without the realm towards the feeding and maintaining of such her ill-affected subjects as are sent and continued within within the realm to practise the overthrow of Her Majesty's quiet government". (These were the Jesuits and missionary priests in England and the priests and students in the seminaries abroad). There was a particular reference to Chideock Tichborne of Longwood who had already come under notice and who was a little later to be involved in the Baington Plot and executed for treason.⁷⁴ "Chideock Tichborne", the sheriff was informed,⁷⁵ "doth of purpose lurk and will not come forth, thinking thereby

to be excused of the taxation (£25)". More severe action is threatened in his case than in that of the others and the Sheriff is asked to demand the stipulated amount of him and if he does not answer within eight days "then shall he strain upon his lands and goods".

The wearisome business went on and the Council wrote again (on 10th March 1587⁷⁶) this time to the Lord Lieutenants of the County saying that there were recusants in Hampshire who were better able to furnish two or three light horses than those who had already made contributions. This was true. They were to be called before the Lord Lieutenants "to the end that upon the certain knowledge and appearance of their states and livelihoods" the Council might make a proper assessment upon them.

The matter seems to have been finally closed later in March 1587 when an account was made up for the Exchequer.⁷⁷

The amount received from all counties was £3129, £275 being received from Hampshire.⁷⁸ The new Sheriff, Thomas West, had had a hard task and "had made many journeys before he could get the money into his hands":⁷⁹ from some recusants he could get nothing. "If these escape payment" he said "they will prejudice by their obstinacy any similar sums which their Lordships may ask in the future". But he did not, apparently, write again.

V

The general response to the demand for light horses, although, as has been seen, it was not altogether satisfactory in

the case of Hampshire, does not seem to have disappointed the Government, - at least the Council wrote to the Sheriff and Justices of each county on 25th February 1586⁸⁰ mentioning the readiness with which the recusants had furnished horses and armour for Her Majesty's service. The pill/^{was}to come and further exactions were envisaged. The letter went on to say that, because of the ready response, the Queen was graciously pleased to grant the recusants "an immunity from the pains and penalties inflicted by law" on condition of their offering some reasonable compensation to be paid annually. In Hampshire, as in other counties, the action which took place following this communication was an investigation on the lines which Walsingham had previously considered.⁸¹

The results of the enquiry were sent to the Council on 13th April 1586⁸². Particulars of 64 recusants were furnished. Apart from those who made offers (eleven recusants), 10 were stated to be out of the shire; 5 were "not found or not to be found"; 6 were dead and 1 supposed to be dead; 9 were in prison; 4 were stated to have conformed; 10 were "nothing worth"; William Lisle, gentleman, was supposed to be in France; Thomas White, gentleman, was summoned to appear before the Commissioners, but did not appear; Chideock Tichborne was in Dorset.

The offers of the eleven recusants amount to £89.13. 4⁸³. George Cotton, esquire, of Warblington, was, as usual, much the most generous, offering nearly half of this total, - £40; another offered £13. 6. 8; 2, £6.13. 4 each; 2, £5 each; 1, £4; 1, £3; and 3, £2 each. The offers relate only to Hampshire estates; two recusants of the county, Edward Banister of Idsworth and

William ffawkenor of Westbury Manor, East Meon, made offers in respect of their possessions in other shires.

The result of the country-wide investigation must have been disappointing to the Government; and the recusants, not yet affected by the Act of 1586-7, which empowered the seizure of two-thirds of their estates, had not exactly responded with alacrity. For example, Edward Banister, a large landowner, had paid by the end of the reign a total of £1650⁸⁴ in fines and rentals; he was now valued at £200 a year and offered £30. Similarly, William ffawkenor, who was a wealthy gentleman and eventually paid a total sum of £1894⁸⁵ in recusancy debts, was valued at £500 a year and offered £30. There is however, some excuse for his attitude, for in 1585 he had paid the very large sum of £500 in recusancy fines.⁸⁶ But the case of Thomas Founte, an important Hampshire Catholic gentleman, who was first cousin to the late second Earl of Southampton is puzzling. He was later to pay considerable sums under the Act of 1586-7,⁸⁷ but on this occasion he offered £3, his income being valued at £12.⁸⁸

The valuation of the recusants whose circumstances were investigated was £11924. 3. 4 for the whole kingdom; their offers amounted to £3198. 5. 4 leaving a "difference" of £8725.18. 0⁸⁹.

In October 1586 observations were made on the "imperfections" of the returns from the shires and these appear to have particular relevance to what had happened in Hampshire.⁹⁰ They begin by saying that many recusants had not been dealt with because "perfect certificates" had not been sent in by

the counties. The commissioners had not pressed the recusants to deliver their livelihood. Some were taxed on their possessions in their own counties, though they were seised of far ^Ygeater possessions in other shires. Various commissioners are backward in rating livinge and some recusants are of "so great alliance and party in the county that they dare not well certify the just values". Some valuations were made on an antiquated basis and so "every little seemeth so much". Other commissioners dealt with only those recusants whose names were sent down by the Council, though there were others in the county who should have been approached. The position of those recusants who were certified to be "not found" because they were not at the time in the county was not followed up. Finally, it was stated, with a faint echo of regret, that there were many Papists who attended common prayer in the parish church, but who did not receive Communion and so escaped the penalty of the statute. This problem of the "schismatics" or Church-Papists was, however, by this time, an old story.

VI

In the sixth Parliament of Elizabeth (29th October 1586 - 23rd October 1587) was passed the Act⁹¹ "for the more speedy and due execution of certain branches" (that is to say, the financial articles) of the Act of 1581⁹². The total sum in fines paid by Hampshire recusants by the end of 1585 was £1377, contributed by six gentlemen in all. During the Easter term of 1586 £173 was paid, and during Michaelmas £40 (paid by one recusant). The total sum paid since the Act of 1581 till

near the end of 1586 was therefore £1590.⁹³ From the Government's point of view the payments of fines from the whole country must have been very disappointing, whilst the result of the light horse and the 1586 "composition" demands reinforced their disappointment. The Government therefore determined on more resolute action and the new Act empowered them to take it. It fortified the financial provisions of the earlier Act which had to a large extent proved ineffective.

The Act of 1586-7 enabled the Queen, in the case of a convicted recusant who refused to pay the fine of £20 a month or defaulted in the payment of any part of it, to seize his goods and two-thirds of his lands, tenements, leases and farms, having the third part of the maintenance for himself, his wife and family. All convictions which have not been estreated or certified into the Exchequer were to be estreated before the end of the next Easter term in order that proceedings could be taken under the Act. Convicted persons were required, without further indictment or conviction, to pay into the Exchequer twice a year, viz. in the Easter and Michaelmas terms, the fine of £20 a month after their conviction, unless they had submitted and conformed.

Even before the 1586-7 Act, however, property (though particular proportions of it were not specified) had been seized to meet in part a large debt owed on account of fines.. For example, William Burley, gentleman, of Middleton in Longparish was convicted of recusancy at a Session of the Peace at Winchester on 8th January, 1583⁹⁴. By 1583-4 he owed a total sum in fines of £600 which included a sum of £240 for non-

conformity for a period of twelve months from 12th September 1582⁹⁵. A lease of some of William Burley's property at Middleton, was granted to George Burley, presumably a relation, at a rent of £4.11. 8. It is stated that the property "was seized on account of his debt to the Crown". The Pipe Roll records that £2.10. 0 was paid in 1584, £5 in 1585 and £2.10. 0 in May 1586 (these entries are apparently in a later hand). Similarly, Robert Knight, gentleman, of Godsfield, whose names was to appear so frequently on Recusant Rolls⁹⁶ had to pay a rent of £17. 5. 0 per annum in respect of his manors of Godsfield and Swarreton, leases of which were granted to a Crown nominee, John Stockman, and he began paying this rent in 1585⁹⁷.

After the Act of 1586-7 entries are made on the Pipe Rolls indicating that two-thirds of the rents of the property of convicted recusants are owed to the Crown. Thus, in 1588-9 William ffawkenor of Westbury Manor, East Meon, who was then indebted to the crown in the sum of £1340 in fines, has to pay in future two-thirds of the rent of property at Westbury and of tenements in Droxford, Soberton and Middleton amounting to £72. 4. 4. per annum. A lease of these properties was granted by the Crown to Sir James Marvin on 29th September 1588.⁹⁸

Armed with the 1586-7 Act the Government now seem to be resolved on deriving a more substantial and regular revenue from the resources of the recusants. In any case, the necessary accounting by 1592 becomes much too extensive and burdensome to be continued on the Pipe Rolls and the era of the Recusant Rolls begins, systematising the whole business.

The Recusant Rolls, which are similar in appearance to

the Pipe Rolls, though necessarily somewhat smaller, give a good deal of information about individual recusants. ~~There~~ If action has been taken under the Act of 1586-7 they furnish at the commencement of each entry the name of the Crown grantee where a lease of property has been granted to him; the debt which is owing on account of rents; a description of the property, sometimes in considerable detail;⁹⁹ the name of the recusant and his social status; the parish; and a statement of discharge (quietus est) at the end of each entry where there has been a quittance for debt. (An amount which has been paid ~~is~~ ~~in~~ frequently ~~is~~ entered at a later date in another hand at the end of the entry relating to the recusant). After this class of entry, generally come particulars of those who have been recently convicted and fined; these entries indicate the name, rank and parish of the recusant, the amount of the forfeiture and the relative period. The numbers of this type of recusant vary from year to year, generally reflecting the drives which were made against recusants. In Hampshire for example, on the first Recusant Roll (1592-3)¹⁰⁰ there were 62²⁰ (men, 42 women) names; in 1593-4, 14 (4 men, 10 women); in 1594 only 3 names (2 men, 1 woman); and in 1595-6 there were 17 (5 men, 12 women). Generally speaking, against this class of entry appear the words fiat commissio, indicating that action is to be taken under the Act of 1586-7 for securing two-thirds of the recusants lands. There was a distinct lull from 1596 till 1602 for which period there are no entries of this kind for Hampshire; but during the last year of the reign there was the unprecedented number of 260 names (184 men, 176 women)¹⁰¹. The increase for

this year is common to practically all counties. It will be observed that women almost invariably outnumber the men.

No copies of the actual leases of recusants' lands made to Crown nominees survive, though the essential details of grants appear on the Recusant Rolls (and previously on the Pipe Rolls). A set of documents¹⁰² in the Public Record Office, however, gives particulars of the inquisitions which were made into recusants' property for the purpose of making leases. There are some 180 of these documents for the whole country, all relating to recusants, but only eight survive for Hampshire. They state the extent of the property, the annual value with the value for the grant of the rentals (two-thirds of the valuation) and the date of the inquisition. At the end of each statement is an order for a lease of the property to be made to a grantee, whose name is specified.

These statements sometimes provide illuminating details. One of them concerns the property of Alice Knight¹⁰³ of Ludshott and shows that an inquisition into it was made at Odiham, on 24th November 1594 to ascertain "whether John Stockman (the Crown grantee) .. hath executed or assigned all his rights and interest of the premises ... to the said Alice Knight or any other person abstaining (from) coming to church ...". It was discovered that John Stockman had illegally assigned to Robert Knight, gentleman, son of Robert Knight senior, and of Alice "all his rights and interests of the said manor of Ludshott ... the said Robert was a recusant". This was, it was stated, contrary to the letters patent of demise contained in the said commission (appointing John Stockman as commissioner or grantee).

A new lease was ordered to be made in favour of John Dunne.

There are cases of this kind mentioned in other records. In 1588 Anthony Uvedale¹⁰⁴ another prominent recusant, conveyed the manor of Pittleworth (Bossington) to his kinsman, Sir William Uvedale of the senior branch of the Uvedales, an important personage in the county. This conveyance does not seem ever to have come under official notice. In another case, according to the Recusant Roll for 1592-3¹⁰⁵, Stephen Temple, recusant, sold certain lands within the manor of Twyford for £800 to John Mewes¹⁰⁶ of the Isle of Wight. Mewes was bound over in the sum of £600 by the Mayor of Winchester to pay £300 to the Crown. Stephen Temple, however, conformed, at least outwardly, though his wife seems to have remained a recusant, and John Mewes was forgiven the debt by the Barons of the Exchequer. The same Recusant Roll also states that Anthony Norton (a well-known recusant of East Meon) illegally transferred lands in Lestock to Mark Curle, gentleman, a recusant in Arreton, Isle of Wight.¹⁰⁷ It is not known what action was taken in this case.

Transactions of this kind were not surprising in view of the heavy sums which recusants were required to pay, and they were one of the problems which Walsingham had considered.¹⁰⁸ They were illegal under the Acts of 1581 and 1586-7, but they continued to be made, and those which came to light were possibly only a small proportion of those that took place.

Sometimes inquisitions into a recusant's lands led to a favourable result for the recusant. In July 1587 an enquiry was

made by Sir Richard Norton and other J.P's concerning the property of Thomas Owyn and other recusants. The conclusion reached in Thomas Owyn's case was that "we cannot find any lands or goods that the said Thomas Owyn (of Ellsfield) hath ... more than he hath maintenace for himself and his wife out of the farm of Ellsfield".¹⁰⁹ John Compton, gentleman, was summoned to act as foreman of the Jury in the case, but he apparently disliked having anything to do with a judgment on the recusants, whom he probably knew well as neighbours and landowners. It is stated¹¹⁰ that "he utterly refused to appear, alleging that he had other causes of his own and willed us (the J.P's) to do what we would". The J.P's told the Council that "it was a dangerous example if it should go unpunished". (It was indeed). They recommended the infliction of a fine of £5 upon John Compton.¹¹¹

Another case which ended favourably for the recusant, and, like that of Thomas Owyn, is an instance of justice being done, is that of William Hoorde, gentleman. Hoorde was convicted at a Sessions of the Peace in 1581. He owed the Crown an accumulated debt of £1107, against which he appealed in 1598. He said he was not in possession of the lands involved in the debt, but had acted only as the executor of the will of his father, Roger Hoorde. His appeal was successful and his name does not henceforth appear on a Recusant Roll.¹¹²

Occasionally, the Recusant Rolls, in connection with the Memoranda Rolls (Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer), indicate that recusants have conformed. There are only one or two cases in Hampshire. The usual procedure appears to have been for the

Bishop to certify that the recusant had heard Common Prayer (apparently in the Bishop's presence¹¹³, if the recusant was of substance) and the Council then pardoned him on behalf of the Queen, discharging him from the pains and penalties of the statute.

VII

Hampshire in Elizabeth's reign was a prosperous and highly cultivated agricultural county. Norden in 1595¹¹⁴ says that there were sheep pastures all through the shire, pleasing valleys yielding "rich requital to the husbandmen", fruitful meadows and "deep feedings for all sorts of cattle". There were "apt harbours, havens and creeks".

Besides agriculture there was a certain amount of woollen manufacture, and Italy and Hungary bought Hampshire "kersies".¹¹⁵ There was also considerable salt manufacture, which had been important in the county since the Middle Ages,¹¹⁶ and there were saltings along the coast, ^{al}~~seasonable~~ manufacture taking place at Portsea, Lymington and on the coast.¹¹⁷ In 1565, iron pans from the Netherlands were sent over for the production of salt and established at Southampton.¹¹⁸ Those recusant gentry who lived near the coast took part in the salt industry. For example, according to the Recusant Roll for 1592-3¹¹⁹, Thomas Pounce has to pay, in addition to two-thirds rentals of his lands, two quarters of salt and "two parts of two quarters of salt" from his property at Farlington which was very close to Langstone Harbour and Portsea.

Hampshire was, as Norden says, "healthy, wealthy and pleasant" and Catholic landowners had their share of the county's

wealth. Some of the gentry who paid recusancy debts were of considerable means. George Cotton, esquire, of Warblington, paid the full fine of £260 a year¹²⁰ and was the only Hampshire recusant to do so. At the time of his death in 1609 he had paid altogether the sum of £6620 in forfeitures. This sum today would probably be worth something like £165,500.¹²¹ Payment of such an enormous amount is at once the measure of the financial penalty with which a recusant could be burdened and the considerable wealth which George Cotton possessed. It must, of course, have affected him adversely, but large as the sum was, it did not spell ruin.¹²² His estates were apparently inherited by his son, Richard Cotton, who was also a recusant.¹²³ Because of this payment no part of the property was seized by the Crown.

No other Hampshire recusant paid so large a sum; but Edward Banister of Idsworth paid £1650 in two-thirds rentals; William ffawkenor of Westbury Manor, East Meon, £1894; Thomas Pounce £905; and Gilbert Wells of Brambridge, Twyford £1441, a total of £4890.¹²⁴ Ignoring the unique payment of George Cotton, this total indicates that four of the more substantial Hampshire recusant landowners paid nearly three-quarters of the total payments made. Only 19 recusants convicted from 1581 to the end of the reign paid any sum at all in respect of fines or rentals of lands "seized into the hands of the Queen".¹²⁵ Among the rest of the 19 recusants some paid quite small sums: Richard Bruning, esquire, of Wymering paid £10.10. 0; Margery Wigmore of Bossington £10 and Anthony Uvedale of Hambledon also £10.¹²⁶

465 convicted recusants whose names appear on Pipe Rolls or

Recusant Rolls from 1582-3 to the end of the reign, owing a total of £57,900 to the Crown, made no payment of any kind.¹²⁷ But, on the whole it would seem that the inquisitions into recusants' property undertaken as a result of the Act of 1586-7 had succeeded in discovering recusants who were able to pay. Even so, there were surprising omissions. The Government were, however, probably content with the considerable payments in respect of property seized which a comparatively small number of recusants made.

To obtain any payment from the remainder of the 465 convicted recusants seemed impracticable. Their names appear on the Recusant Rolls with the ominous order "fiat commissio" in the margin of the roll, but no further action seems ever to have been taken. Five recusants were fined 100 marks £66.13. 4) each under the Act of 1581 for hearing Mass, but no payment was ever made.¹²⁸ During the last year of the reign 1602-3, a net total of some 260 recusants were fined a total of £27,100. None of them paid anything.¹²⁹

It seems clear that the execution of the financial part of the penal laws against the recusants was irregular and that, on the whole, it was not severe. The central government was largely dependent on the local gentry and officers in implementing the penal code or indeed legislation generally: "it tried to do all this (solve problems of local defence and good order, obedience to the Established Church, succour of the poor etc.)", says Professor E.P. Cheyney¹³⁰, "by means of the unpaid and untrained services of local officials closely connected by birth property and relationship with their own immediate neighbour-

hoods". In particular, if the sheriff with his officials and the Justices of the Peace were slack or conniving, the Government was more or less helpless; and Walsingham himself in considering how the evasions of the recusants could be remedied, had suggested as one means the "putting in of good friends in the shrivaltie".¹³¹

So far as the recusants themselves were concerned the process of indictment, conviction and fining was a terrifying one for simple people; and probably the main object of the Government here was to force recusants into conformity by holding over their heads the possibility of imprisonment, with all its dangers, and the seizure of their goods and chattels (or rather claiming the value of them) against recusancy debts.¹³² But even so a large number of Hampshire recusants of all classes continued to be recalcitrant and would not (or could not) pay the fines. In consequence, there is a record of a good deal of imprisonment, even of some of the larger landowners.¹³³ On the other hand, the financial plight of a minor recusant landowner like Nicholas Tichborne seems to have been exceptional, whilst the number of recusants, two-thirds of whose estates were seized by the Crown, was extremely small. (For full details of the recusancy debts and payments, - see *Appendices VII - XIII*).

CHAPTER ~~XII~~

(A) THE PENAL LAWS and (B) JUSTICES OF THE PEACE IN HAMPSHIRE

(A) THE PENAL LAWS

The penal laws against Catholics had for their object the prevention of the practice of the Catholic religion. They did not form a unified penal code, but came separately into existence to meet particular critical situations as they arose. The laws may be classified according to three periods¹: (1) from 1559-1570, commencing with the Act of Supremacy; (2) 1571-1579; and (3) from 1580, the year of the commencement of the "Jesuit" Mission, onwards.

(i) Act of Supremacy, 1559

The first Act of the reign, the Act of Supremacy², re-established the supremacy of the Crown in matters ecclesiastical and spiritual, and abolished the jurisdiction of the Pope which had been set up again by Mary. Elizabeth did not take the title of Supreme Head of the Church used by her father, Henry VIII, but that of Supreme Governor of the Realm, "as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal". The Act indicated clearly that the religious pattern of the reign was to be indubitably Protestant.

All ecclesiastical persons and officers, and every judge, justiciary, mayor and lay officers, were now required to take an oath acknowledging the Queen as Supreme Governor and renouncing all "foreign jurisdictions",

by which was meant particularly the jurisdiction of the Pope. The penalty for refusal was deprivation of office. Every person taking Orders or a degree at either of the Universities was also obliged to take the oath.

Persons who by writing, printing, teaching and preaching publicly maintained the authority of the Pope or of any foreign prince or state were, on conviction, to lose all their goods and chattels to the Crown. If they did not own goods and chattels to the value of £20 they were to suffer imprisonment for one year and to lose whatever goods and chattels they possessed. For a second offence the penalties of praemunire were incurred (loss of property and imprisonment during the Queen's pleasure); whilst for a third offence the punishment was that for treason, namely, death.

(ii) The Act of Uniformity, 1559

This Act³ abolished the Mass and revived the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI (the Book of 1552) with a few minor alterations. Fines, deprivations of offices and imprisonment were prescribed if other forms of service or rites for the administration of the sacraments were used.

Every person was obliged to resort to his "parish church or chapel accustomed ... upon every Sunday and ... Holy Days". He was "there to abide orderly and soberly, during the time of the Common Prayer, Preachings or other Service of God ..." In default, he was

\ to be punished by the censures of the Church and "to forfeit for every such offence twelvecence to be levied by the churchwardens of the parish ... to the use of the poor of the same parish, of the goods, lands and tenements of such offender, by way of distress".

Archbishops, bishops, commissaries, archdeacons and other ordinaries had full power to enquire "in their visitation, synods and elsewhere within their jurisdiction, at any time and place" into all offences against the Act and "to punish the same by admonition, excommunication, sequestration or deprivation ..."

(iii) The Act of Assurance, 1563

Under this Act⁴ any person who maintained the authority of the Pope "by writing, preaching, teaching, deed or act" incurred the penalties of praemunire. It extended the classes of persons who were obliged to take the Oath of Supremacy under the Act of 1559. Henceforth, members of the House of Commons, barristers and attorneys, officers of any court whatsoever, and all schoolmasters "and public and private teachers of children" were to take the Oath. Any person refusing, being lawfully convicted, was to suffer the penalties of praemunire. If he refused a second time the penalty was that for treason⁵. It was probably under this Act that the schoolmasters, John Body and John Slade, who were so active in Hampshire in the early 1580's, were condemned and executed⁶.

(iv) Three Acts of 1571

Three penal statutes were passed in Elizabeth's Third Parliament (2 April 1571 - 29 May 1571) in answer to the Bull of 1570, Regnans in Excelsis, excommunicating Elizabeth. They were:

(1) The Act, 13 Eliz.C.1: An Act whereby certain offences be made treason⁷. This Act made it a treasonable offence to affirm publicly that the Queen was a heretic or a schismatic.

(2) The Act, 13 Eliz.C.2: An Act against the bringing in and putting into execution of Bulls and other instruments from the See of Rome⁸. This Act made it High Treason to receive, use or publish any Papal Bulls or writings. The effect of "divers bulls and writings" which had lately been obtained from the Pope had been "to absolve and reconcile all those that will be contented to forsake their due obedience" to the Queen.

The penalties of praemunire were incurred if an Agnus Dei⁹ or any crosses, pictures, beads, etc, were received from the Bishop of Rome and used.

This Act had been preceded by the Proclamation of 1 July 1570¹⁰ (Proclamation against those who bring in traitorous books and bulls), issued some three or four months after the Papal Bull of 1570. By this Proclamation if any "traitorous book or bull" came into the hands of a subject, he was to take it to the Lord Lieutenant of the county, a J.P., or other responsible official, who was obliged to make a full examination of the circumstances in which the book or bull was received.

It was then to be sent up to the Council and the subject into whose hands it had come was to be rewarded.

All Lord Lieutenants and other officials were enjoined to be diligent in apprehending "wicked sowers of sedition".

(3) The Act, 13 Eliz.C.3: Papists going abroad¹¹. Under this Act any person who left England without the Queen's licence and did not return within six months after warning, forfeited to the Crown his lands, goods and chattels during his life. A similar penalty was incurred if he did not return within six months after his licence expired. "Fraudulent assurances" of lands and goods made by fugitives in order to deceive the Queen were to be void.

(v) The Act of 1581, 23 Eliz.C.1: An Act to retain the Queen's Majesty's subjects in their due obedience¹². This statute was the Government's reply to the "Jesuit" Mission of 1580. "It ushered in the period of severest persecution."¹³ The pattern of the anti-Catholic legislation to come was foreshadowed by Sir Walter Mildmay's speech for the Government on the question of Supply:¹⁴ the speech was the measure of the Government's alarm at the increasing success of the forces of the Counter-Reformation in England. Mildmay referred among many other matters to the past "favourable and gentle manner of dealing" with Catholics which, he said, had done no good. "The obstinate and stiff-necked Papist is so far from being reformed as he hath gotten stomach to go backwards and to show his disobedience not only in arrogant words, but also in contemptuous deeds. To con-

firm them herein, and to increase their numbers, you see how the Pope hath and doth comfort their hollow deeds with absolutions, dispensations, reconciliations... You see how lately he hath sent hither a sort of hypocrites, naming themselves Jesuits, a rabble of vagrant friars newly-sprung up and coming through the world to trouble the Church of God."¹⁵ As a result, "not only former recusants, but many, very many who previously conformed, now utterly refuse to be of our Church"¹⁶. More stringent laws, Mildmay said, were therefore necessary.¹⁷

Under the Act of 1581 it was treason to withdraw any person from the Established religion to Catholicism and treason for any person to be reconciled to Catholicism.¹⁸ Every person saying Mass was to be fined 200 marks and imprisoned for one year or till the sum was paid, whilst every person who willingly heard Mass was to be fined 100 Marks and imprisoned for one year. Anyone who kept a recusant schoolmaster was to pay £10 a month for "every month so keeping him". Schoolmasters not licensed by the Bishops who presumed to teach contrary to the Act were, upon conviction, to be disabled from teaching and to suffer imprisonment for one year.

All persons above the age of 16 who refused to attend the service of Common Prayer were to pay a fine of £20 a month. Persons unable to pay fines within three months after conviction were liable to be committed to prison and to remain there until the fines were paid, unless, of course, they conformed. Many recusants were imprisoned under this provision.

Any grant, conveyance, etc. made with the intention of defeating "any interest, right or title that may or ought to grow to the Queen" was to be utterly void.

Finally, "ecclesiastical censures for any causes or matter" were not interfered with by the Act.

(vi) The Act of 1585, 27 Eliz.C.2: An Act against Jesuits, Seminary priests and such like disobedient persons. The provision in the Act of 1581 with regard to reconciliations to Catholicism had not been wholly effective, in as much as it was not always possible to prove that a priest had been guilty of "reconciling" or had sought to do so¹⁹. By the Act of 1585 it was made treason for a Jesuit or seminary priest even to be in England. All such priests were ordered to leave the country within forty days, on pain of treason, whilst priests who came to England and remained were held guilty of the same offence. Every person who willingly received, relieved, comforted, aided or maintained a Jesuit or seminary priest was adjudged a felon and was to suffer death (by hanging).

Persons (other than priests) in the seminaries abroad were ordered to return home to take the Oath of Supremacy. If they returned and did not take the Oath they were to be regarded as traitors. Anyone sending relief to a priest or other person in a seminary incurred the penalties of praemunire (loss of lands and goods, and imprisonment during the Queen's pleasure). Persons who sent their children beyond the seas without obtaining a licence were to pay a penalty of £100. If anyone knew that a priest remained in England and did not report the matter to a J.P., he was to be fined and imprisoned during the Queen's pleasure.

It is to be observed that the Act was not concerned with Marian priests.

There is some evidence from Hampshire of the fear which this stringent statute evoked. A seminary priest, John (or James) Brushford, was sent to England in 1585 and he was in Hampshire when the severity of the new legislation was fresh in people's minds. He said²⁰: "I found everybody so fearful as none would receive me into their houses ... I was once ... at one Mr. Coram's²¹ house by Winchester and spoke with the gentlewoman; but when she perceived what I was, she requested me to hold her excused. Her husband was not at home, her house was full of strangers, and she had sheep to shear; and wherefore she prayed me to depart."

The general effect of the new law was to drive Catholicism more and more underground. Neither priest nor layman was obliged to convict himself if a capital charge were involved: the priests themselves, in defence, made increasing use of a new weapon, equivocation, whilst the laity, if questioned, denied knowledge of them. What is certain is that the Act did not prevent the priests from coming to England in ever greater numbers.

(vii) The Act of 1587, 28 & 29 Eliz.C.6: An Act for the more speedy and due execution of certain branches of the statute made in the 23rd year of the Queen's Majesty's reign, intituled An Act to

retain the Queen's Majesty's subjects in their due obedience. This Act was mainly a financial measure designed to ensure that the Crown received financial profit from recusancy²².

(viii) The Act of 1593, 35 Eliz.C.2: An Act for restraining Popish Recusants to some certain places of abode. This Act²³, in which the term "Popish recusant" occurs for the first time, was the last recusancy statute of the Queen's reign. Its origin lay in the international situation which had arisen. In his speech at the beginning of the Eighth Parliament of Elizabeth (10 February 1593 - 10 April 1593) Sir Robert Cecil referred²⁴ to the country's enemies, the King of Spain and the Pope, and mentioned that remedies were now necessary against the present "exceeding great and imminent dangers". Philip II had won successes on the Continent and even now was in possession of "most part of the port towns of Brittany", enabling him to harass English trade. The Spanish King desired especially to possess Brittany "whither he may send forces continually and there have his navy in readiness". Moreover, the Papists increased daily. Against them the Government proceeded to pass further repressive legislation.

The new Act provided that every convicted recusant above the age of 16 should not move more than five miles from his home, on pain of losing all his goods and chattels and the life-interest in his lands. A convicted recusant copyholder departing beyond the five-mile limit

was to forfeit his land to his lord. Convicted recusants not possessing land, tenements, rents or annuities of the clear annual value of 20 marks, or goods and chattels in their own right above the value of 40 pounds, who offend against the Act are to abjure the realm. (This provision did not apply to women recusants.)

If a convicted recusant confined, as mentioned, "had necessary occasion or business" necessitating travel beyond the five-mile distance, he was obliged to obtain a licence from two J.P.'s of the county and also the written assent of the Bishop of the diocese or of the Lieutenant or Deputy Lieutenant of the county.

Priests who refused, on examination, to admit the fact of their priesthood were to be committed to prison.

The Act applied to all convicted recusants, not merely to the heads of recusant households. It provided "the cheapest and most comprehensive method of detention" yet devised²⁵. "All the Catholics in England were kept in a sort of open confinement."²⁶

(B) JUSTICES OF THE PEACE IN HAMPSHIRE

The Justices of the Peace were the local officers upon whom the Government were obliged to rely to a large extent for the proper execution of the laws. They were chosen from among members of the landed gentry and were appointed by the Lord Chancellor under the Great Seal²⁷. Appointment was for life, but they could be removed by the issue of a special writ or on the composition of a new Commission of the Peace²⁸. The Justices performed their higher administrative and judicial duties at their Quarter or General Sessions²⁹, but they had many lesser duties and were aptly called "Tudor maids-of-all-work".

They had important functions under the penal laws against Catholics. For example, a Justice of the Peace was required to report to the Council if any Agnus Dei, cross, picture, etc, had been delivered to him³⁰. If a person above 16 years of age had been a recusant for as long as twelve months, a Justice of the Peace could make a certificate accordingly to the Court of King's Bench, with the object of binding the recusant in a sum of at least £200 to be of good behaviour: this was apart from the other penalties which the recusant incurred under the Act of 1581³¹. Much of the work of the Justices under the penal laws consisted in heading a search for priests at private houses and in searching for "seditious" books and other articles. If a Justice of the Peace was informed of the

presence of a Jesuit or seminary priest in any place in the county, he was obliged to report the matter to the Council³². The Justices were not able to try cases of treason, but they could enquire into such cases³³. They examined spies on oath³⁴.

Justices of the Peace had considerable scope for conniving at Catholic activities. If they were themselves actual Papists - as sometimes happened in the earlier years of the reign - or Church-Papists, or if they were sympathetic towards Catholics because of Catholic kinsfolk, or even through feelings of good neighbourliness, the execution of the penal laws naturally suffered. It is not surprising that the Government periodically reviewed the composition of the Commissions of the Peace, whilst the Bishops kept watch on the zeal and loyalty of the Justices.

During the earlier years of the reign, Horne at Winchester was the Government's vigilant agent. In October, 1564, for example, the Archbishop and Bishops were required³⁵ to classify Justices according to their attitude towards the Government's religious policy, and, in particular, to say whether they were favourable to it or "mislikers". The hierarchy were also apparently required to pronounce upon the fitness of the Justices for office. Horne, in his reply³⁶, mentions those upon whom the Government could rely, but there were a good many who were "not favourers": the Lord St. John, The Lord Chideock Paulet, William Paulet, William Bulkeley, Robert Penruddock and Thomas Shelley³⁷. As for the city of Winchester, "all that bear

authority there, except one or two", were "addict to the old superstition and earnest fautors thereof". He mentions, in particular, Hodson the Mayor, Bethel the elder and Bethel the younger, William Lawrence, White, Pottenger and Coreham^{39 38 12}. Horne wants "the two young lords, the Earl of Southampton and the Lord Sands ... so trained in religion that hereafter, when they come to their authority and rule, they should not hinder the same"^{39 40 13}.

As general considerations, the Bishop wants none appointed as justices or to such positions as constables and bailiffs but those "whose religion is approved". None should "be placed or displaced by one or two but by the common consent (of) the bench at some general session, which will easily draw the common people to one good conformity, when they in authority go all one way or doth not cross or hinder the well-doing of another ..."^{40 41}.

In January 1569 Horne was again anxious that only those who were "sound in religion" should be appointed as Justices. On 21 January 1569 he wrote^{41 42 15} to Cecil saying that he has heard that George Puttenham has been appointed to the Commission of the Peace. He hopes that it is not true "for his evil life is well-known and he is a notorious enemy to God's truth". He also wants Sir Robert Oxenbridge and others to be omitted. Both Puttenham and Oxenbridge were to be returned as Papists in 1572^{42 43 16}. It is not recorded that George Puttenham was ever appointed to the Commission of the Peace, but Sir Robert Oxenbridge made a declaration as a J.P. in November 1569, signifying his subscription to the

provisions of the Act of Uniformity⁴³~~44~~¹⁷.

In November 1569 Justices of the Peace generally were required⁴⁴~~45~~¹⁸ to promise to attend the service of Common Prayer and also to receive the Communion from time to time. There were a few exceptions in Hampshire and Horne, in sending⁴⁵~~46~~¹⁹ up to the Council the subscription of the Justices, said that the Lord Chideock Paulet⁴⁶~~47~~²⁰ objected to the form of the subscription in so far as it concerned the reception of Communion. Richard Dowse, gentleman, "excuseth his coming by reason of sickness". Perhaps it was as well, for he was a strong Papist and was returned as such in 1572⁴⁷~~48~~²¹. Thomas Shelley, another Catholic, could not be found, but he had been abroad since December 1558⁴⁸~~49~~²². Anthony Cope⁴⁹~~50~~²³, "an excommunicate person, refuseth to subscribe most obstinately", and was accordingly sent up to the Council.

On 28 May 1571, the last day of Elizabeth's Third Parliament (2 April - 29 May 1571), Sir Nicholas Bacon made a noteworthy speech about the general administration of the laws⁵⁰~~51~~²⁴. The speech, it is to be noted, was made soon after the enactment of the three penal statutes of 1571⁵¹~~52~~²⁵. He mentioned that the ill-execution of the laws breeds contempt for them and for the magistrates, and it is therefore necessary to take great care in the selection of persons for appointment as Justices of the Peace and to other offices. A commission, Bacon considered, should be granted every second or third year to approved persons who should "try and examine by all good means and ways the offences of all such as have not seen to the due execution

of the laws". Any offences so found should be "sharply punished".

He went on to say that, as great good resulted from ecclesiastical visitations, so similar good would result from a like visitation among "temporal officers". If "offences do abound in any county ... which the Justices should so reform, and there be nothing done by them for the reformation of those offences", they should be removed from all governance. Other pains should be inflicted "as by law may be justified". If one or two examples of that kind were made the laws would be better administered. The names of Justices found guilty of derelictions should, Bacon considered, "be entered on some Rolls ... so that the slothful, drowsy drones might be severed from the diligent and careful bees". Such a course should also, it was suggested, be taken in connection with "offices of mean degree".

It is evident from this speech that the performance of their duties by the Justices of the Peace left much to be desired. Moreover, the question had become increasingly important in view of the tightening-up of Government action against the Papists after the promulgation of the Bull of Excommunication of 1570.

Nevertheless, in 1574 the Earl of Southampton, a prominent Catholic, was placed on the Commission of the Peace for Hampshire^{52 5226}. He had previously - on 13 February 1573^{53 5427} - written to ^{Burleigh} ~~Burleigh~~ from the Tower (where the Earl was imprisoned because of his involvement in the scheme for the marriage of Mary, Queen of Scots, to the Duke of Norfolk), enclosing his submission^{54 5428} to the Queen. He was not, as a

peer, legally obliged to take the Oath of Supremacy⁵⁵²⁹, and his submission on this occasion was in very general terms. He did not refer to religion specifically, but protested his "faithful submission and attestation of loyal obedience". He begged Her Majesty to grant him his liberty. The submission, indeed, was of such a nature as any strict Catholic might properly have made. The Government were evidently content with it and the Earl was released from the Tower.

For 1574 a volume entitled England: Matters of State and Force of the Kingdom⁵⁶³⁰, containing lists of the hundreds in each county and the names of resident Justices of the Peace was compiled. Included in the list for Hampshire is the name of the Earl of Southampton as a Justice for the Hundred of Titchfield, whilst Ralph Henslow⁵⁷³¹, gentleman, a strong Papist, is shown as Clerk of the Peace. With at least two prominent Catholics holding substantial official positions in the county it can be seen how relevant were the strictures of Sir Nicholas Bacon in 1571, but at the same time how ineffective were the measures taken - if any measures were taken - to remove all possibility of inactiveness against the Papists.

In 1575 the Earl was included in a list of Justices of the Peace, whilst Henslow was still shown as Clerk of the Peace⁵⁸³². Included as Justices for this year were Richard White of South Warnborough, the Church-Papist, son of Sir Thomas White and nephew of the deprived Catholic Bishop of Winchester and Benjamin Tichborne, the strong

⁵⁹
Papist of 1572³. In 1581 the Earl of Southampton died⁶⁰. By
that date Tichborne, who was High Sheriff in 1580, had apparently
conformed, although he was still a "favourer" of Catholics^{61 62 63 64 65}.
There is no other alteration, in connection with the "representation"
of Catholicism among the J.P.'s, until 1587, when Richard White was
deprived of his Justiceship because of the recusancy of his wife
and daughters^{62 63 64}. By the time of the Armada, therefore, the Justices
for Hampshire were all Protestants, at least to all outward appear-
ances.

Nevertheless, there is evidence in 1587 that all Justices of
the Peace had not taken the Oath of Supremacy, for in that year
Burghley drew up^{63 64} new regulations providing that no one should
exercise the office of Justice until he had sworn the Oath. Her
Majesty had been informed that various Justices had not taken the
Oath of Supremacy and all J.P.s were therefore required to "certify
the Lord Keeper at what time they took the Oath and before whom,
so as the Lord Keeper may make search in the Chancery". If the
particulars cannot be found the Justices were to take the Oath
before they were allowed to continue as Justices^{64 65}.

There is still trouble about the Oath five years later, for in
1592 the Government complained^{65 66} that in many of the counties the
Justices of the Peace had not taken it. They were now, therefore,
required to do so. Moreover, persons who were recusants or the
husbands or fathers of recusants must not hold the office of Justice.

CHAPTER XIII

(A) WOMEN RECUSANTS; (B) SUMMARY OF THE SURVEY
OF HAMPSHIRE RECUSANTS AND CONCLUSIONS

A. - Women Recusants

The Government found the treatment of women recusants a difficult problem and the problem became greater with the mounting intensity of the Government's campaign against the English Catholic Renaissance. Generally speaking, women were more dauntless and religiously constant than men, who were more and more willing, as time went on, to conform, at least outwardly, to the religion of the Establishment in order to escape financial and other penalties. Women recusants thus became more numerous. This is clearly seen from figures of citations which are available for the last few years of the reign.¹

The Council became aware of the trouble which women recusants were causing in Hampshire in the very year (1580) of the "Jesuit" Mission, for in October of that year they wrote² to the Bishop of Winchester saying that they had been "credibly informed that among divers persons of his diocese especially in the town of Winchester³ that were fallen away in religion, where already by his travail have been reduced in conformity many of their wives, notwithstanding, do not only continue obstinate by refusing to come to church but also do use at their ordinary meetings among themselves very unreverend speeches of the religion now established, defacing the same as much as in them lieth". Bishop Watson⁴ is therefore ordered to

take bonds of the husbands of the offenders who are "to keep themselves in their houses, and that no corrupt persons of religion shall have access unto them" until they followed the example of their husbands by conforming. It was also considered meet that a "convenient mulct" should be levied on these wives from time to time, the proceeds from it being used towards the cost of a new House of Correction - where no doubt recusants among others could be imprisoned - or "some such charitable use". The levying of such a "mulct" doubtless meant in most cases that the husband had to pay for his wife's recusancy.

The Council followed this up a little later by asking for "a more perfect certificate of the names and qualities of such as absent themselves from the church than hath yet been made". Bishop Watson mentions this request in his letter of 22 Nov. 1580 to Walsingham⁵, and refers to the treatment of such women recusants "whose husbands come to church". He says that "we have called before us many of the husbands and mean to deal with the rest ... and hope we shall do some good therein. But at the beginning they thought it something strange that they shall be punished for their wives' faults. But in the end we have taken bonds of divers of these to keep their wives from conference all manner of ways with such as are backward in religion, and also have imposed a mulct upon them weekly, till their wives shall come to church". There was no statutory basis for the imposition of a fine on the husband of a recusant wife and as will be seen the question was to

remain a difficult one. By the Act of 1581 all convicted recusants above the age of 16 were, of course, liable to a fine of £20 a month.

There were, Watson finally adds, widows in the diocese who were "very backward" in religion, but he does not propose to deal with these until he knows Walsingham's intentions.

The ecclesiastical authorities liked troublesome women recusants kept away from strong centres of recusancy. In Dec. 1585, for instance, Walsingham wrote⁶ to Bishop Cooper asking him to receive back in Winchester from the Clink, Mistress Elizabeth Pitts (her sister the nun, Elizabeth Sanders was imprisoned at this time in Winchester).⁷ Cooper, in reply,⁸ spoke of her as "a very obstinate person, natural sister to N. Sanders the traitor, who hath sent a son or two ... before time to Rome" and said that he "could be content that she had any favour; but in regard of the country here I fear there would follow great inconvenience. I see the hearts of people here so variable and inclinable to revolting that the countenance of such a one and the opinion of favour showed unto her would do more harm than ten sermons would do". The Bishop thought that "it were the best way that her husband being of wealth were forced to yield some allowance unto her in prison, which, being much addicted to his penny, he utterly refuseth to do".

Similarly, in October 1592 the Council expressed⁹ the

view "that such women as are found to be obstinate and thought to be perverters of their families or that by their example others may be seduced from their due obedience in matter of religion" should be imprisoned. Later, in January 1592-3 the Council wrote¹⁰ to the Archbishop of Canterbury saying that they had "given order in divers parts of the realm for the restraint of such gentlewomen, wives, widows and others as have been found to be obstinate recusants, in respect that, besides other disorders grown by their liberty, their children and families by their example have been corrupted in religion". The Council added that in some other parts of the country than those where action had been taken recusant gentlewomen who continued in their obstinacy were likewise to be "restrained" so that "they may be kept from further infecting others".

The Government did not like wives to visit their recusant husbands in prison for fear, presumably, lest any possibility of conformity might be delayed or defeated. For instance, in November 1592,¹¹ the Council were of opinion that such wives should not have access to their husbands unless they were content to remain with them and undergo the same treatment as their husbands received. Any letters for husbands were to be read, apparently, by the gaolers, before being delivered.

Sometimes the constancy and heroic courage of women recusants are in particular evidence. In 1591, for example, "eight or nine maidens" were condemned to death

at Winchester at the same time as the martyrs, Roger Dickenson and Ralph Miller.¹² They had confessed to priests and heard Masses.¹³ The judges thought - it seems - that they would condemn one and that they would (thus) terrify and upset the rest. But when they saw them constant and very courageous, they postponed the public pronouncement of sentence that is usual".¹² The women heard the sentence pronounced against the priest and the layman, but not against themselves, and desired to be executed with the men because their offence according to the law was as serious. "Hereat all the people were astonished and the judges gave order that they should be returned to prison."¹³

The question of the equity of husbands' paying for their wives' recusancy was given much consideration during the latter years of the reign, but no decision was reached. Probably in 1590,¹⁴ Maynard, one of Burghley's Secretaries, mentioned that many men's wives were recusant, although their husbands resorted to the church and thereby avoided the legal penalties. He considered that the wives ought to be indicted and when convicted either committed to prison or the penalty levied upon their husbands' lands and goods. Maynard goes on to say that "though the husband will allege that he cannot convert his wife to obedience, yet he may yield her to imprisonment and redeem her liberty with penalty".

In March 1593 a Bill introduced in Parliament proposed¹⁵

that "if a man ~~match~~ with an inheritrix, being a Recusant, he shall lose two parts of those lands to the Queen".

This apparently referred to any lands which the wife inherited, for an amendment to the Bill made it clear that no charge was to be made upon the husbands' own lands.

But the bill was not apparently liked and was not passed.

A year later Burghley himself was considering the problem of women recusants. He thought that¹⁶ all wives who were recusants should be indicted and if convicted the statutory penalties levied upon their husbands. Furthermore, they should be committed to prison "until satisfaction is made or a certificate received by the bishop of their conformity". In June 1593 the Attorney and Solicitor-General was asked¹⁷ whether the husbands of such gentlewomen as were imprisoned should not pay the monthly fine of £20 a month if their wives were liberated. The reply does not survive, and the problem remained unresolved.

In 1601¹⁸ in an apparently unofficial memorandum some reasons are given why a husband should not pay for his wife's recusancy. It was contended that a man was not punishable for the sole act of his wife to which he was not accessory and that an interpretation of the recusancy statutes involving such punishment would lead to absurdity and injustice. He could also not be punished for omitting government over her mind, which would be unlawful.

The matter was not finally decided till the reign

of James I. By the Act of 1609¹⁹ a convicted married woman recusant was to be committed to prison until she conformed; and a husband was required to pay £10 a month or the third part of all his lands and tenements, according to his choice of these penalties, as long as his wife, being a convicted recusant, remained in prison.

B. Summary and Conclusions

I

In the preceding chapters a comprehensive survey of recusancy in Hampshire during the reign of Elizabeth has been attempted. It now remains to summarise some of the evidence which has been adduced; to draw conclusions from it; and, in particular, to estimate the magnitude of the recusancy problem, indicating the reasons for the existence of recusants in any considerable number as well as the extent to which the penal laws were executed in the country. (For conclusions regarding the working of the financial parts of the penal laws - see Chapter XI, Part VII).

During the earlier years of the reign recusancy was not the problem that it was later to become.. Papists were left largely to themselves and Catholicism seemed, in short, to be a declining force. In Hampshire Robert Horne's unremitting visitation work²⁰ was largely devoted to the eradication of all traces of Catholicism. It has been seen²¹ how citations were made to the Bishop's Court at Winchester because of the existence of crosses or crucifixes and "idolatrous monuments" in parish churches; of Catholic

rites being performed; of vicars or rectors who had been Marian priests suspected of Papistry; and of surviving Catholic customs. Before the advent of the Seminary priests there was little to counteract such vigorous Puritanical zeal as Horne's, though the valuable literary and educational work of the Wykehamist and other exiles on the Continent needs to be emphasised.²² It was not indeed till 1577 that the Government first became seriously alarmed because of the "marvellous increase" in the number of Papists, due apparently to the activities of the priests who were coming from Douai-Rheims in greater numbers. The Government asked²³ the Bishops at short notice for returns of the recusants in their dioceses. Recusancy, indeed, now seems a force to be reckoned with.

To estimate the strength of recusancy in Hampshire at various periods the following data are particularly relevant:

(1) the figures of citations to the Ecclesiastical Court at Winchester compiled from the Act-Books of the Bishops which have been mentioned in preceding chapters and, in particular, the number of recusants and non-Communicants cited at critical stages such as that contained in the records²⁴ of 1570 following the promulgation of the Papal Bull of 1570; (2) the important return of the leading persons in the county in 1572, probably compiled for Burghley, from which the reasonable deduction can be drawn

that three-fifths of Hampshire was still Catholic;²⁵ the special return of some 300 recusants in 1583;²⁶ and (4) the citations during 1598 - 1603.²⁷ To all these records must be added the Recusant Rolls of 1592-3, 1593-4, 1594-5, 1595-6, 1599-1600, 1600-01 and 1602-3.²⁸

There are unfortunately no surviving Quarter Sessions Records or records of presentments to the Archdeacon's Court. The reports of the Bishops of Winchester to the Government, or to individual members of the Council, from time to time, however, often give important details about the recusancy situation and help to fill the vacuum. These, together with the statistics mentioned above, enable a fairly realistic and comprehensive assessment to be made.

It is by 1583 that the effect of the Catholic Renaissance begins to be clearly seen in Hampshire, for reconciliations to Catholicism are then being made on a considerable scale,²⁹ due not only to the labours of the Seminary priests, but also to the work of the two schoolmasters, John Body and John Slade. These had evidently been working in close association with the priests, but they themselves, as schoolmasters, were specially qualified to teach the people. According to William Allen, more than 400 seem to have been reconciled after Easter 1583,³⁰ and there is "great backwardness" in religion, according to Dr. Bennet, Master of St. Cross.³¹ The conversions involve a large number of the poorer classes of people as well as members of the gentry. In addition to the work of the "two traitors",

as Bennet terms Body and Slade, he considers that the retrogression is due to the leniency of Bishop Watson towards the recusants and to non-resident clergy of the Establishment.³²

In May 1584, Thomas Cooper, who has recently been made Bishop of Winchester, is writing to Burghley about the serious position and mentions that 400 recusants had already been presented by the churchwardens, seeming to suggest that more presentments were to follow; there were as many as 40 or 50 in some parishes.³³ In the same year, Thomas Dodwell, the spy, adds his own testimony to the successes of certain priests, saying that they (the priests) should be captured as speedily as possible, "for they withdraw more subjects from their obedience to Her Majesty than any in England of equal number".³⁴ The Clerk of the Peace in the next year cannot keep pace with the number of indictments for recusancy and has to omit "all other causes and grievances of the shire".³⁵

The position has not improved in 1586, for Cooper writes to Walsingham about "the boldness and waywardness of the recusants" who "had so multiplied by revolting from religion".³⁶ He suggests severe measures for dealing with the problem.³⁷ Mendoza in the same year, using information which has been supplied by Ballard, the Babington Plot conspirator, confirms the information which Cooper has sent to Walsingham: "Hampshire is full of Catholics".³⁸

In 1588, the year of the Armada, Captain Nicholas Dawtrey informs Walsingham that there were "many recusants" in the county.³⁹ At this time there were some 296 citations of recusants and non-Communicants from 76 parishes, relating to one visitation.⁴⁰ The problem does not appear to have become less grave by May 1590, fewer than two years after the Armada, for the Council were aware of upwards of 300 recusants at liberty in Hampshire.⁴¹

In 1596, Bishop William Day, who had recently come to Winchester, is alarmed at the number of Papists in the county, saying that it is "full of recusants and men backward in religion".⁴² He ascribes the serious situation to the fact that no bishop has been in charge of the See for two years. During the interval the recusants seem to have been able to strengthen their position.

For the period 1598-1603 there survives the most comprehensive record of recusants during the whole of the Queen's reign.⁴³ It is concerned with 587 citations for recusancy relating to a net figure of 437 recusants.⁴⁴ In addition, there is a record for four months beginning in December 1599, relating to six recusants, 20 persons who attended church "negligently" and 110 non-Communicants, a total of 136.⁴⁵ The grand total of recusants and non-Communicants is thus 573.

II

The Catholic gentry closely co-operated with the missionary priests whom they harboured in their manor-houses. Compelled to dissemble their priesthood the priests were obliged to avoid public places, such as inns, and to resort to the manor-houses which inevitably formed Mass-centres. Captain Nicholas Dawtrey in his detailed report of February 1588 about the defences of Hampshire said; "I do not perceive that many of these (recusants) do inhabit the sea-coast";⁴⁶ and it has been seen that many of the homes of the recusant gentry were situated along the coast. Moreover, the estates of the Catholic landowners were generally so near each other that the priests could easily be passed over the Downs and through the well-wooded country from one manor-house to another without having much need to use main roads.

The apparent ease with which the missionaries seemed to be able to enter the county at lonely creeks and harbourages was also an important factor in the extension of recusancy. A considerable number must have entered England in this way and these landing-places were the subject of constant vigilance by the Government and the ecclesiastical authorities.⁴⁷ Many priests, of course, intended to minister in Hampshire and neighbouring counties, but it is possible that many others went farther afield. It was wise for them to land in a considerably recusant county like Hampshire than near London, or on the coast of more Protestant Essex or Kent,

for example, where there would have been much greater risk of capture.

Priests' companions and "conductors", such as Ralph Miller and Swithun Wells, had a particular talent for effecting reconciliations to Catholicism,⁴⁸ whilst after the execution of Body and Slade in 1583 Swithun Wells was able, as a schoolmaster, to continue the religious and educational work of the two martyrs. Thomas Stanney, doubtless with the help of Ralph Miller and Wells, was stated to have effected hundreds of conversions in the course of three or four years.⁴⁹ It has also been seen how recusant Wykehamists and Hampshire recusants who had been to the seminaries and colleges abroad helped in the Catholic renaissance either as priests or laymen.⁵⁰

A high moral and intellectual standard was set and maintained by William Allen at Douai-Rheims⁵¹ and it is difficult to conceive how the successes in Hampshire in the 1580's and later years could otherwise have been achieved by the priests. Many of Allen's recruits came from Oxford or Cambridge.⁵² By comparison, the standard of the clergy of the Establishment was notoriously low and the Government were constantly bewailing it. In 1586 Walsingham was attributing the increase in recusancy partly to the lack of "learned and godly ministers" and there is support for his view in the reasons for the citations to the Ecclesiastical Court at Winchester.⁵³

One aspect of the exacting moral standard of the

^{priests}
Seminary, ministering in Hampshire is seen in the experiences of Elizabeth Sanders, the nun imprisoned in Winchester from 1580 to 1587.⁵⁴ The priests in the Gaol whom she consulted refused to admit that the escape which she was planning could be sanctioned on moral grounds. Nevertheless, she did escape and stayed with the recusant Shelleys at Mapledurham (Buriton) where a number of priests were hiding. She also sounded them about the propriety of her flight, but they were of the same opinion as the priests in Winchester. They counselled her to return to prison. She went back.

The Hampshire Catholic gentry were consistently loyal to the Queen, with the one exception of Chideock Tichborne, and this must have advanced the missionaries' work in securing converts. The Catholic people of substance held quite aloof from the Babington Plot, for example, and even at the time of the Armada when passions were running high there is no instance of disloyalty. Recusants, generally, seem to have had no particular love of Spain or desire for Spanish domination. Burghley himself admitted⁵⁵ that Catholics in England were opposed to Spain at the time of the Armada. All the work of the Government then and during later years in segregating leading recusants (at their own expense) and seizing their arms was perhaps inevitable propaganda in the setting of the crises. The Papists, as so often, were a pawn in the conflict between England and Spain.

The Hampshire gentry, including those who were Catholics, lived in good neighbourliness. Queen Elizabeth visited the county in September 1601⁵⁶ and knighted the High Sheriff, Francis Palmer, and nine others, including Benjamin Tichbourne. Professor E. P. Cheyney says "that the chronicler, Stow, tells how the Queen 'entered into Hampshire and upon Chilchester Heath was received by the Sheriff of the county, Francis Palmer, accompanied by many gentlemen of account in the same shire, for Hampshire is well inhabited by ancient gentlemen civilly educated, and who live in great amity together'".⁵⁷ There is no justification for the exclusion of the many recusant gentlemen from this agreeable company, for "great amity" would not have existed if there had been friction due to their disloyalty to the Queen.

This good relationship among the Hampshire gentry was of considerable use when it came to the execution of the penal laws. A J.P. could no doubt often be induced to stay his hand at the instigation of a Catholic neighbour of substance: such sympathy with Papists handicapped a Protestant persecutor. As an illustration of the possibilities here it need only be mentioned that county personages like Sir Walter Sandys, whose wife was the sister of the Catholic Earl of Southampton and a well-known recusant, and Benjamin Tichbourne, a "favourer of Papists" and once an "earnest Catholic", were J.P's of the quorum.

Nevertheless, even the local non-Catholic gentry were powerless when the heavy hand of the central Government

pressed hard. Under the penal code six laymen and three priests were executed in Hampshire in Elizabeth's reign. There were, however, no martyrs during the excitement of the year of the Armada when the number for the rest of the country reached the total of 30, and the county was fortunate in having no Government representatives like the Earl of Huntingdon, Lord President of the North, who was responsible for some violent persecution in the north of England. In Yorkshire alone 39 people were executed, including one woman.⁵⁸ No woman was executed in Hampshire.

The number of Hampshire recusants imprisoned was considerable.⁵⁹ Those concerning whom there is information were probably only a small proportion of the number in prison. Three of the prisons in Hampshire were stated to be full of recusants in the 1580's,⁶⁰ whilst many Hampshire Catholics were imprisoned in London and elsewhere.⁶¹ On the other hand, according to the records only five persons were fined (and presumably imprisoned as well) for hearing Mass.⁶²

III

The available figures cannot be said to reflect the real strength of recusancy in Hampshire during Elizabeth's reign. For the middle period the main source is the official list of 1583 indicating the existence of some 300 recusants and for the end of the reign the records for

1598-1603 (see Section I), showing a total of 573 recusants and non-Communicants. Records of presentments to the Archdeacon's Court would have made the position clearer, but none survive. For example, a year after the return of 1583 was compiled, 400 recusants had been presented by the churchwardens apparently to the Archdeacon's Court, but even this figure seemed to be incomplete.⁶³ In the following years the county seemed full of Papists and Bishop Cooper is finding it very difficult to deal with them.⁶⁴

In February 1588 Captain Nicholas Dawtrey, a responsible agent of the Government, in a report⁶⁵ about the defences of Hampshire tells Walsingham that Cooper has informed him that there were 200 recusants "in a little corner" of the county. No records give a figure remotely approaching this number for any particular part. Yet only a little over two years after this, in May 1590, the Council, probably on Cooper's information, speak of 300 recusants at liberty in Hampshire.⁶⁶ This is no more than the official figure of 1583,⁶⁷ and, as has been seen, the recusants were increasing each year.⁶⁸ The figure seems to be inadequate and unacceptable.

The main reason for the lack of statistics to represent the real strength of recusancy in Hampshire was the existence of a considerable amount of connivance at Papist activities and abstentions from the Church services. It has been seen, for example, that even in the compilation of the return of recusants in 1583 there had been serious omissions by the "sworn inquisitors".⁶⁹ And in the following year Bishop

Cooper, speaking of the 400 recusants who had already been presented, said that a great number had been omitted by the "slackness" of the churchwardens and, going on to speak apparently of the non-Catholic gentry, said "that there be divers of great countenance will speak very well and deal very hollowly".⁷⁰

It is impossible to estimate the extent of the connivance that was practised, but it was undoubtedly on a very considerable scale throughout the reign of Elizabeth. The greater the stringency of the penal laws, the greater was the need for subterfuge, concealed support and inactivity. A good many examples of connivance have already been given in preceding chapters.

Generally speaking, churchwardens were necessarily the chief offenders and the scape-goats. They would naturally wish to refuse to present recusants if they were instructed by Papist or conniving non-Papist landlords. There was considerable scope for inaction. For instance, in 1566 the churchwardens of Bishopstoke had not exhibited the bill of reception of Holy Communion and three years later they had not presented absentees from church nor levied the fine of 12d. for recusancy.⁷¹ The churchwardens of Chilton Candover had also not exhibited in 1566 the bill of participants of Holy Communion.⁷² In 1570, the churchwardens from no fewer than 24 parishes were cited to the Bishop's Court as non-Communicants.⁷³ They were probably Catholics who outwardly conformed and if they failed to present recusants or fellow

non-Communicants their inactivity can be understood. In 1586, the churchwardens of Herriard is cited for refusing "to detect the recusants",⁷⁴ whilst on 23 January, 1589, the churchwarden of Bishop's Waltham who was also parish clerk said that he had not been at his church since the previous November, and will not be there till Easter next. He refused to "reform himself" saying that "he had other business to do".⁷⁵ It is hardly likely that a churchwarden of this kind would concern himself with the presentment of recusants. In 1603, when Richard Davys of Compton was cited for recusancy, it was stated that the churchwarden "would not have him excommunicated", apparently this being the reason for his not having previously presented this recusant.⁷⁶

In the last years of the reign people are cited for recusancy who have not been to church for many years, sometimes not since the time of Queen Mary, but their names do not appear in previous recusancy returns.⁷⁷ A further notable case of this kind of omission is that of Henry Carewe, esquire, of Hordle Bremor, two-thirds of the rentals of whose lands were paid to the Crown for many years on account of recusancy.⁷⁸ Nevertheless, his name is not in recusant returns.⁷⁹ The recusancy of Alice Kewen of Hursley - she had been a recusant for twelve years - was connived at by the Vicar.⁸⁰

The considerable favour to Papists in the Gaol and House of Correction in Winchester over many years has already been noted.⁸¹ In 1583 David Ringstead, an Under-Keeper at the Gaol, when cited for recusancy said that it was well-known that he had been a Papist for three year.⁸² In the same year the Gaol

was searched and "Massing" and other "Papistical" articles were found. Apparently, Mass had been said there.⁸³ The conditions in the Gaol had a counterpart in the recusancy of the city, where as has been seen, Catholicism was strong from the beginning of the reign.

Two years later, in 1585, there was a further notable and advantageous capture for the Papists, for in that year it was discovered that Stephen Cheston, a pursuivant at Winchester, was a Catholic.⁸⁴

All these considerations offer strong grounds for the view that the recusancy problem in Hampshire was far more serious than the available figures would suggest.

The number of recusants in the country increase generally during the last years of the reign.⁸⁵ In Hampshire, as has been seen, they were able to consolidate their position during the long period before there was a renewal of direct episcopal government. For the first time where considerable numbers are concerned the figure for recusancy is now greater than that for non-Communicating.⁸⁶ A relaxed atmosphere seems to have set in and there is apparently less fear of the law, despite the fact that women still considerably outnumber men and there is an unprecedented number of names on the Recusant Roll for the last year of the reign.⁸⁷ During the period 1598-1603, for example, 329 recusants are openly defiant by absolutely refusing to obey citations to the Ecclesiastical Court.⁸⁸ Payment into the Exchequer in respect of recusancy debts diminish. For the Easter term

of 1603,⁸⁹ seven recusants make payments, as compared with eleven recusants for Michaelmas 1602,⁹⁰ whilst for Michaelmas 1603⁹¹ only one recusant pays (an amount of £2.13.4.). Sir Benjamin Tichborne is High Sheriff for the county for 1602-3.

There also seems to be indirect evidence, as reflected in the records, of the plea on the part of the Catholics during the last years for some measure of toleration. For example, during the period 1598-1603, sixteen recusants tell the Ecclesiastical Court that it is "against their conscience" to conform and, in particular, seven in a batch when asked whether they will conform answer in that sense "all with one voice".⁹² All hopes of toleration vanished with the Queen's Proclamation of 5 November 1602.⁹³ The Papists, however, hoped for better things from James I, and, perhaps rather significantly, Benjamin Tichborne, although no longer a Papist, went off to proclaim the King without waiting for any warrant or commission.⁹⁴

The figures obtainable from the last Recusant Roll, 1602-3,⁹⁵ of the reign, show a net total of 317 for Hampshire, of whom 260 had recently been fined for recusancy. These figures represent those who had been presented, cited, indicted and fined. Not all persons presented for recusancy at ecclesiastical visitations were cited to the Ecclesiastical Consistory Court, nor all those cited eventually indicted, convicted and fined. Conviction and fining did not, of course, necessarily follow indictment. For example, in 1585, the Clerk of the Peace for Hampshire was faced as has

been seen,⁹⁶ with a very great number of indictments, but the number of convicted recusants appearing on the Pipe Roll for 1585-6 is nil, whilst for 1586-7 and 1587-8, this number is only 9 each.⁹⁷

A good deal of consideration has been given by some historians to the question of the strength of Catholicism at the end of the reign, but the estimates of the numbers of Catholics have differed widely.⁹⁸ Any figures of the kind must rest on assumptions not of a statistical nature, though the other grounds for them may be strong. Similarly, the statement that Hampshire throughout Elizabeth's reign was "Catholic to the core"⁹⁹ is too facile a generalisation and cannot be supported by figures, even though it may be granted that, owing to connivance, the actual numbers of recusants were larger than the figures reveal, whilst the number of persons who were Catholic at heart was also large.

But perhaps all such estimates and generalisations miss the vital point. Human nature is often weak; and the proportion of those who, in an essentially underground movement like that of Catholicism in Elizabeth's reign, were prepared to incur the penalties of stringent laws was comparatively small. What was most important was the existence of strong nuclei of known "obstinate recusants" round whom, if the circumstances eventually became favourable, Catholicism would increase and thrive. That was the real danger for the Protestant Government of Elizabeth which never for a moment lost sight of it. A strong nucleus of

the kind was always present in Hampshire, where Cooper, despite all his vigilant zeal, never eradicated Catholicism as he had succeeded in eradicating it in his previous diocese of Lincoln.

It is incontestable that Hampshire remained a "key" recusant county at the end of the reign, for the number of Hampshire recusants on the Recusant Roll for 1602-3 was 317 as compared with 1080 for the rest of the country except Lancashire and Yorkshire and the four counties omitted from the Roll.¹⁰⁰ Of this total of 317, 260 had been recently convicted and fined, as compared with 590 for the rest of the country, excluding the counties mentioned. Lancashire has a total of 245 including 59 recently fined, whilst Yorkshire has a total of 258 including 82 recently fined.¹⁰¹ But as regards these two considerably recusant counties, the great strength of recusancy there has not been revealed, for in 1606-7 there is a net total of 1202 convicted recusants for Lancashire and 1075 for Yorkshire.¹⁰² For Hampshire there is a net total of 451 on the Recusant Roll for 1604-5.¹⁰³

In examining the figures Hampshire must apparently be intimately associated with the neighbouring counties, Dorset, Wiltshire and Sussex. Indeed, Hampshire seems to be the centre of recusancy in the extreme south, influencing its three neighbours, where leading Hampshire members of the recusant gentry, like the Shelleys, the Wells, Edward Banister, William ffawkenor, the Tichbornes and the Guffolds had

property or kinsmen. In close co-operation with them the missionary priests moved from one county to another, keeping Catholicism alive. We find that for these four counties there is a total of 770 convicted recusants for 1602-3 with 620 recently fined, as compared with 1080 recusants with 590 recently fined for the rest of the country, except Lancashire and Yorkshire (and the four counties for which records for this year do not exist).¹⁰⁴ In other words, on the basis of the available figures, the total number of recusants in the four ^{Southern} Counties who were recently convicted and fined, exceeds the total for the rest of the country (excluding Lancashire and Yorkshire). Hampshire itself has actually the greatest number of convicted recusants on the last Recusant Roll of the reign.

APPENDIX I

RECUSANT WYKEHAMISTS IN THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH I

Abbreviations

A Literary and Biographical History of the English Catholics: Joseph Gillow (London 1885):- Gillow

Dictionary of National Biography:- (D.N.B.).

Catholic Record Society Volumes:- (C.R.S.).

Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus Henry Foley (7 vols, 1877-1882):- Foley.

Douai Diaries, I and II: Ed. T.F. Knox, Ldn. 1878 :- Knox.

State Papers, Eliz. Dom:- S.P.

Memoirs of Missionary Priests:- Richard Challoner, D.D.
(Revised edition, 1924):- Memoirs.

Church History of England: Dodd-Tierney, Ldn. 1840.

The troubles of our Catholic Forefathers: John Morris S.J.
(1872-77):- Troubles.

Elizabethan Recusant Prose, 1559-1582, A.C. Southern, Ph.D,
London, 1950:- Southern.

NOTE: The following names are taken from Winchester Scholars by T.F. Kirby. The date before each name is that of admission to Winchester. "Sch. N.C." means Scholar of New College, Oxford. The figure in brackets is the age on entry.

1507 Trobylfylde James (12) of Beer, Dorset. Sch. N.C. Fellow 1514. D.D. Bishop of Exeter 1555. Deprived at accession of Elizabeth and was committed for short time to the Tower. Afterwards placed in custody of Grindal, but was freed by order of Privy Council on 30 Jan. 1564-5. Died 1570. (D.N.B. 57, p 325).

1519 Cole Henry (14) of Godshill, I.o.W. Sch. and Fellow of N.C. LLD and D.D. Warden of N.C. Dean of St. Paul's. Studied at Padua. Held preferments under Henry VIII and Edward VI. Returned to Catholicism and obtained preferment under Mary. Catholic disputant at Westminster Conference March 1559. Was deprived of his offices. Died in Fleet prison, 1580. (Hastings Rashdall & Robert S. Rait, History of New College, Ldn. 1901; Gillow p 529).

- 1521 White John (11) of Farnham: Sch. N.C. D.D. Fellow, 1527-34. Headmaster, Winchester 1534. Warden 1541. Bishop of Lincoln 1554 and Winchester 1556. Voted against Supremacy Bill and was deprived. Imprisoned in Tower, but was afterwards allowed to retire to the house of his sister, wife of Sir Thomas White, South Warnborough, Hants, where he died in 1560. (D.N.B., Vol. 61, p 52).
- 1528 Harpsfield John (12) of London. Sch. N.C. Fellow 1535/51. Archdeacon of London; Dean of Norwich; Warden-Elect of New College. Refused to conform under Elizabeth and was deprived and imprisoned in the Fleet, where he remained for about a year. On release, spent remainder of his life in retirement. Died 19 August 1578. Writings: chiefly sermons. (D.N.B. Vol. 24, p 429 and Gillow III, p 133).
- 1528 Harding Thomas (12) of Beckington: Sch. N.C. LLD, Fellow 1536/54. Prebendary, Winchester; chaplain to Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester. (J.H. Pollen, English Catholics under Elizabeth, p 104; Gillow III, p 124).
- 1529 Harpsfield Nicholas, (10) of London. Sch. N.C. Fellow 1536/53. D.D. LLD. Archdeacon of Canterbury. Regius Professor of Greek, Oxford. Younger brother of John Harpsfield (q.v.). In March 1559 took part in Westminster Conference. Following this was sent to Tower, where he died in 1575 (Gillow III, p 134). Only one of his works, Dialogi sex was published in his life time (in 1566). (Southern, Recusant Prose, p 350).
- 1531 Owen Thomas of Ellisfield. Sch. N.C. Fellow 1537. Described by Bishop Horne in his return of Catholics in 1577 as: "Ellisfield, Thomas Owen, gent, and his wife". (C.R.S. Vol. xxii, p 40. Fines for recusancy entered on Pipe Rolls for 1582-3 et seq: E. 372 et seq).
- 1537 Hyde Thomas (13) of Newbury. Sch. N.C. M.A. Fellow 1543/50. Prebendary of Winchester and Headmaster. (Gillow III, p 527; D.N.B. Vol. xxvi, p 401).
- 1538 Boxall John of Bramshott: Sch. N.C. D.D. Fellow 1542/54. Archdeacon of Ely. Warden, Winchester College 1554. Dean of Windsor. Refused to conform under Elizabeth and was deprived. A prisoner in Lambeth Palace where he died 1571.
- Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, in whose custody Boxall was, described him in his book De Ecclesia Britanniae as a man of "extraordinary qualifications and charming manners". (Gillow I, p 284).

- 1539 Davis Thomas (12) of Tisbury: Sch. N.C. M.A. Fellow 1547/58 or 60. Rector of Hardwicke. Deprived under Elizabeth. Nicholas Sanders (q.v.) mentioned in 1561 that he was one of the six Fellows of N.C. expelled in 1560. (C.R.S. Vol. I, p 43).
- 1540 Knott William (12) of Chichester. Sch. N.C. M.A. Fellow 1547/64. In Brussels in 1575 and at Rheims College, 1580. (Knox, pp 164 and 298; History of New College, p 114).
- 1540 Sanders Nicholas (10) of Charlwood. Sch. N.C. B.C.L. D.D. Fellow 1548/61. (Gillow 5, p 476 and D.N.B. Vol. 50, p 259).
- 1541 Wells Henry (12) of Brambridge (Twyford). Sch. N.C. Fellow 1549/50. Ad servitium. Brother of Gilbert and Swithun Wells (martyr) of Brambridge (Twyford). (Recusant Rolls (Dorset) 1592-3 et seq in respect of lands at Codlington, Dorset: E 377/1 et seq).
- 1543 Rastell John (11) of Gloucester. Sch. N.C. M.A. Fellow 1549/60. Expelled for recusancy. (D.N.B. Vol. 47, p 304).
- 1544 Adyn Robert (13) of Dorchester. Sch. N.C. Fellow 1549/50. Imprisoned in Marshalsea and the Clink for Catholicism. (C.R.S. Vol. II, p 231, and Foley Vol. 6, p 715).
- 1544 Tichborne (Tychborne) Roger (11) of Owslebury. (H.M.C. Salisbury Papers, Vol. 2, p 37; S.P. Dom Eliz. 90, No. 18).
- 1545 Marshall John (11) of Defford, Worcs. Sch. N.C. M.A. Fellow 1551/2. (Gillow IV, p 476; D.N.B. xxxvi, p 269).
- 1545 Collins John (13) of Ottery St. Mary.
Probably the Wykehamist referred to by Benjamin Norton (of the recusant Norton family of Punsholt ...) in his letter to the Bishop of Chalcedon, 6 May, 1626: "... about that time (1601) there suffered about London one John Collins which was a Winchester man". (C.R.S. V. p 395. See also Gillow I, p 544 and Challoner, Part I, p 405).

- (1545 Gyblett, William (10) of London: Sch. N.C. Fellow 1551/60 - and
do Bromborough Edward (12) of Arrow, Warwickshire, Sch. N.C. M.A. Fellow 1551/60.
Both expelled from Oxford for recusancy (Kirby p 125) and went into exile together. Both at Douai.
// On first Jesuit English Mission, 1580.
(Knox. pp 10, 27, 166, 360; C.R.S. Vols. I, 43 and II, p 26).
- 1546 Derham John (11) of Crimplesham, Norfolk: Sch. N.C. LLB. Fellow 1551/60.
Removed for recusancy at Visitation in 1560.
(C.R.S. Vol. I, p 43).
- 1546 Fox Nicholas (13) of Widdington, Essex. Sch. N.C. LLB. Fellow 1551/60. Removed for recusancy (Kirby p 126).
(C.R.S. Vol. I, p 43).
- 1546 Butler Thomas (13) of Radley. Sch. N.C. D.D. Fellow 1551/60.
Removed for recusancy (Kirby p 126). Possibly the person mentioned in Douai Diaries, I and II p 301: "Item, Mr. Butler is gone towards Rome".
(See also Horne Register f 14 v. Refused to conform and either fled or was expelled. See History of New College p. 114).
- 1546 Kete Ralph, (10) of Hagbourne: Sch. N.C. LLB. Fellow 1555/62. Removed by Queen's Commissioners.
(Kirby, p 126).
- 1546 Beconsawe (Bekensale) Thomas (11). Ad servitium.
The Beconsawes were well-known Hampshire Recusants and this Wykehamist is probably identical with the Recusant residing in St. Peter's parish, Colebrook, Winchester, given in Bishop Horne's return of Recusants in 1577. (C.R.S. Vol. xxii, pp 39-41).
- 1547 Atslowe Edward (11) of Evershott: Sch. N.C. M.D. Fellow 1553/62.
Removed by Queen's Commission (Kirby p 127). M.D. in 1562. Had strong Catholic principles and was attached to the Earl of Arundel whom he was accused of assisting to leave the Kingdom.
(C.R.S. Vol. XXI passim and Gillow I, p 86).
- 1547 Fenn John (12) of Montacute. Sch. N.C. B.C.L. Fellow 1552/5. Brother of James Fenn, martyr.
(D.N.B. 18, p 313; Knox, p 375) ~~Chapter II, Section II~~.

- 1547 Dorman Thomas of Berkhamstead: Sch. N.C. 1549. Fellow of All Souls 1554. (D.N.B. 15, p 244; Gillow II, p 94. A.C. Southern, Recusant Prose, p 46).
- 1547 Lewis Owen of Carnarvon. Sch. N.C. B.C.L. Fellow 1554. Refused to conform in 1559 and was exiled. Became Professor of Canon Law at Douai. An early and intimate friend of William Allen. Assisted in the foundation of Douai College and of the English College, Rome. In 1580 Charles Borromeo created him Vicar-General of Milan. (D.N.B. 33, p 194; Gillow 4, p 211; Knox, p xxx).
- 1547 Harris Edward (12) of Colerne. Sch. N.C. Fellow 1555/6. Master of Thame School. Removed by Chancellor of Winchester. Was at Douai. (Knox, p 101).
- 1548 Davis Robert (14) of Myrton, diocese of Exeter. Sch. N.C. M.A. Fellow 1553. Ejected 1560 (presumably for recusancy).
- 1548 Kyrton (Kirton) Henry (13) of Islip. Sch. N.C. LLB. Fellow 1555/62.
Removed by the Chancellor of Winchester, 1562. Summoned to appear with other Papists, but did not. (Horne Reg. f 13).
- 1549 Hardy John (12). Farnham. Sch. N.C. Fellow 1556/62.
Removed by Chancellor of Winchester. (C.R.S. V, pp 48-50; Horne Reg. f 13).
- 1549 Pointz (Poynes) Robert (13) of Adderley. Perpetual Fellow of N.C. 26 August 1554. Early in Elizabeth's reign went to Louvain to study Divinity. Wrote Testimonies for the Real Presence (1566). (Gillow V, p 361; Southern p 46-7).
- 1549 Atslowe Luke (9) of Evershott. Sch. N.C. Fellow 1555/68. He was a companion of Robert Persons the Jesuit, in travelling to Padua in 1574. Persons says that Atslowe died at Padua in 1575. (C.R.S. II, p 25).
- 1550 Fenne Robert (14) Montacute. Sch. N.C. B.A. Fellow. Removed by Queen's Commissioners, 1562. Died at Paris, 1567. Brother of James Fenn and, like him, ordained priest. (D.N.B. xviii, p 313; Dodd-Tierney, cccxvi).

- 1550 Stapleton Thomas (12) of Oving, Sussex. Sch. N.C. D.D. Fellow 1554/9. Exiled early in Elizabeth's reign. Taught theology at Douai and in 1590 appointed to Chair of Scripture at Louvain. Anthony à Wood calls him "the most learned Roman Catholic of all his time". (Gillow 5, p 526; Rashall and Rait, History of New College, p 112, state that he was a Jesuit, but apparently he merely made a trial of the Jesuit novitiate and then returned to Douai (Gillow, ibidem).
- 1550 Farnham Robert (12). Drempton. Sch. N.C. LLB. Fellow 1552/62. Removed by the Bishop's Chancellor for recusancy (Horne Register, f 14).
- 1551 Darell (or Daryll) Thomas (12) of Turweston. Sch. N.C. B.A. Fellow 1557/62. Removed by Bishop's Chancellor 1562. Went to Louvain, succeeded John Marshall (q.v.) at Douai in 1568. (Knox pp 4 and 229; History of New College p 114).
- 1551 Fowler John (14) of Bristol. Sch. N.C. B.A. Fellow 1555/9.
Left Oxford refusing to conform. Went to Louvain where he set up a printing press for printing Catholic books. Anthony à Wood says that he was an excellent Greek and Latin scholar and "a theologian not to be despised". (Gillow, Vol. 2, p 327).
- 1552 Henslowe Stephen (10) of Boarhunt. Sch. N.C. Fellow 1558/68. Removed at Bishop's visitation. In official Recusant Return for 1577. (C.R.S., Vol. xxii, p 100).
- 1552 Noble (Nobyll) John (14) of St. John's Walbrook. Sch. N.C. B.A. Fellow 1556/62. Removed at Bishop's Visitation.
- 1552 Tichborne (Tychborne) Benjamin (11) of Tichborne. Ad servitium. Catholic in earlier part of reign but later conformed. (C.R.S. Vol. 13, p 96: List of Catholics in England. See also Chapter IV, N. 31).
- 1552 Tichborne (Tychborne) Edward of Winchester. Sch. N.C. B.C.L. Fellow 1558/61. There are no details about his religion, but he was probably a recusant. He was not a Fellow of New College after 1561 and may have been deprived with others at the visitations of 1561-2. Nearly all the Tichbornes were Catholics.

- 1553 Stephens Richard (13) Bushton, Bishopston, Wilts. Sch. N.C. 1559. Expelled at Bishop's Visitation, 1561, for recusancy. (C.R.S. Vol. 21, p 34, Note; Horne Register f 13; Knox pp 6, 101, 103).
- 1553 Whyte Richard (14) Basingstoke. Sch. N.C. LLD. Fellow 1557-64. "Deprived in 1564 for absence". (New College History p 112). Went to Louvain and afterwards to Padua where he obtained a doctorate in Civil and Canon Law. Afterwards was Professor of Civil and Canon Law at Douai. (D.N.B. 61, p 70. See also Knox, p 272).
- 1553 Gage Thomas (11) of Firle, Sussex. Kirby describes him as "D.D. of Padua: Regius Professor at Douai". There seems no evidence for this: it was Richard Whyte (supra) who was at Padua and Professor at Douai.
Thomas Gage's name appears in the official Recusant Return for 1577.
(C.R.S. Vol. 22, p 80).
- 1555 Mundyn John (13) of Mapperton. Sch. N.C. 1562/6. Removed at Bishop's visitation. Kirby says "A Jesuit executed at Tyburn, 12 Feb. 1582". Mundyn was not a Jesuit. He was at Rheims and afterwards went to Rome where he was ordained. Came to England in 1582, was arrested in 1583 and executed at Tyburn, 12 Feb. 1584, for being a priest ordained by the Pope's authority). (Gillow V, p 142).
- 1555 Shelley Thomas (12) of Michelgrove, Sussex. Sch. N.C. B.A. Fellow 1563/7. Removed for recusancy. (Kirby, p 132).
- 1555 Raynolds (Reynolds) William (12) of Pinhoe, Devon. Sch. N.C. M.A. Fellow 1562/72. Became Catholic in 1575. Entered Rheims 1578. Ordained at Douai 1580. Taught Divinity and Hebrew, and assisted in preparation of Rheims New Testament. Wrote religious controversial works. (Gillow V, p 409; D.N.B. Vol. xlvii, pp 182 and 183).
- 1555 Williams Thomas (11) of Oxford. Went overseas. According to Knox, pp 166 and 168 a "Mr. Williams M.A. Oxford" stayed at English College, Rheims from 27th May 1580 to 4 August 1580).
- 1555 Hoorde William of the Soke, Winchester. Well-known Hampshire recusant. (Recusant Rolls E 377/4 and E 377/6). In prison Wood Street Counter 1586 (C.R.S. II, p 266).

- 1555 Marvyn Thomas (14) Sch. N.C. On account of his recusancy was expelled at Bishop's Visitation, 1561. (Horne Register, f 13).
- 1556 Whyght (White) Thomas (12) Southwick. Sch. N.C. Fellow 1563. (Recusant Roll, 1602-3, E 377/11).
- 1556 Norwood William (12) Ashwood, Bucks. Sch. N.C. Fellow 1563-70. Removed for recusancy. (Kirby p 134).
- 1556 Lewkner George (12) Tangmere. Sch. N.C. B.A. and M.D. Fellow 1562-70. Mr. George Lewkner, Doctor of Law is returned as a recusant in 1583 (S.P. Dom Eliz 160/26) and is probably identical with the above. See also note for P. Deale, J. Martin and S. Hardy, p .
- 1557 Rastell Edward (12) of Gloucester. Sch. N.C. Fellow 1563/4. Removed for non-residence. Became a Jesuit in 1568 at the same time as his brother, John (~~see p 3~~). (Gillow V, p 390).
- 1558 Poole Jeffery (or Pole Geoffrey) (12) of Lordington. Ad studium juris (Kirby).
| Geoffrey Pole was the son of Sir Geoffrey Pole, brother of Reginald Cardinal Pole, both sons of Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, executed by Henry VIII. Geoffrey Pole was also brother of Mary Cuffaud. (Ralph Henslowe's will (County Record Office, Winchester); Harleian Socy, Vol. 64, pp 35, 36, 200). At Rheims August 1582 and 1592 (Knox, pp 190, 237).
- 1558 Blandye (Blandy) William (11) of Newbury. Sch. N.C. B.A. Fellow 1565/6. Removed by Bishop 1566. Barrister, Middle Temple. (Gillow I, p 231; Knox pp 145-6).
- 1558 Fowler Francis (12) Bristol. Brother of James Fowler (supra). At Rome in 1583. (Gillow II, p 327).
- 1558 Willis Richard (12) of Pucham, Dorset. Sch. N.C. 1562/4. Kirby p 135, says that he was a Jesuit and an author of poems. There seems to be no further information about him.
- 1558 Cullam John of Farway, Devon. B.A. Fellow N.C. 1564/71. Became a Jesuit at Louvain in 1572 and died at Douai in 1582. (Knox, p 155).

- 1560 Warnford Richard (14) Sevinghampton. Sch. N.C. Fellow 1565. Well-known Hampshire recusant. (Recusant Rolls 1595-6, E 377/4 et seq; C.R.S. II, pp 250, 251, and 261).
- 1562 Bustard John (13) of Adderbury. Sch. N.C. Fellow 1567. A recusant (Kirby p 138). Dodd-Tierney (Vol. II, p 73), quoting from Anthony à Wood and the Douai Diaries says that "he went to Douai ... entering among the Jesuits. He was Professor of Philosophy in the College of their order in Douai where he died on 24 June 1575". Knox, p 105 says that he died on the Feast of St. John the Baptist, "clarissimus et sanctissimus adolescens ... unus de Societate Jesu, et apud illos ... per longum philosophiae professor ...". This confirms Wood and Dodd-Tierney.
- 1562 Gallop Giles (13) of Burport. Sch. N.C. Fellow 1566/9. Became a Jesuit. (Persons' Memoirs: C.R.S. II, p 192).
- 1562 Body John (13) of Wells, Somerset. Sch. N.C. M.A. Fellow 1568/76. Became a Catholic and a schoolmaster in Hampshire. At Douai. Prosecuted under Act of Supremacy and imprisoned in Winchester for three years. Executed Andover 2 Nov. 1583. (Gillow I, p 255. See also Chapter, VIII Page 203).
- 1562 Tychenor (Tuchinor) Anthony (13) Weeke, in Wootton Bassett. Sch. N.C. B.C.L. Fellow 1569/78. Suspected of complicity in Babington Plot and was imprisoned. No charge could be proved against him and he was released in 1589. (C.R.S. xxi, passim). Ordained priest at Douai in Feb. 1600 and came on English Mission soon afterwards. (C.R.S. II, pp 257, 262, 259, and 265; Knox. pp 17, 32).
- 1562 Bolney Bartholomew (16) Stoke Ash. Fellow N.C. 1565/7. At Visitation of 1566/7 with others he utterly and expressly refused to subscribe the 39 Articles of Religion ("penitus et expresse subscribers recusaverunt" - Horne Register f 30).
- 1562 Brunell Gratian (12) of Sponden.
His name was included among the names of prisoners in London on 30 Sept. 1588 who "will not take the oath ministered in the leets, nor the Queen's part against the Pope's army". (C.R.S. Vol. II, p 283).

- 1563 Shelley Anthony (13) of Mapledurham. Believed to have become a Carthusian monk. Included in a List of Catholics in England, 1574. (C.R.S. xiii, p 119).
- 1563 White (Whyte) John (13) of Southwick. Included in Bishop Horne's list of Recusants in 1577. (C.R.S. xxii, p 40).
- 1564 Stafforde William (10) of Waltham. Sch. N.C. Fellow 1573/5. Removed for non-residence. He probably lived at Rheims in 1577. The Douai Diaries (Knox, p 125) record under date 20 July 1577 the arrival at Rheims of Richard Bride servant to Mr. Stafford.
- 1564 Stevens Thomas (13) Bourton, Dorset. Friend of Thomas Pounds (q.v.). Became a Jesuit and went to Goa. Died 1619. (Foley, Vol. 7, p 738).
- 1565 Piggott (Pygott) John (12) of Bucks. Sch. N.C. Fellow 1574/6. Removed at Bishop's Visitation. (Kirby p 140).
- 1566 Pitts (Pittes) Thomas (11) of Stanton St. John. Sch. N.C. 1573/5. Fugitive beyond seas. (Knox, pp 120, 276).
- 1566 Edwards Thomas (12) of Reading.
The father of this Wykehamist may have been named Thomas Edwards, who was imprisoned in the Poultry Counter in 1578 (C.R.S. Vol. I, p 62). In 1582 he was in the Gatehouse Prison and is described as "some time having used the trade of a chandler in Reading". (C.R.S. II, p 234). In 1581 "Thomas Edwards, priest" was in Newgate. He is possibly the son of the sometime Reading chandler. (Prison Lists C.R.S. Vols. I and II. See also Knox p 103, 115).
- 1566 Shelley John (11) Mapledurham. Son of Thomas Shelley of Mapledurham and brother of Anthony Shelley (supra). He may be the person of this name who was a Knight of St. John of Malta in 1582 (Knox, p 302).
John Shelley arrived at the English College, Rheims, on 4 Dec. 1583 and left on 13 May 1586, returning on 11 Oct. 1588 and leaving again on 23 August 1589. (Knox, pp 199, 210, 221, and 225).
According to a letter from Anthony Copley attributed by Strype to the year 1596, which cannot by internal evidence be later than 1588, John Shelley served in the Spanish Armada. He was living in Hampshire in 1596. (C.R.S. Vol. 13, p 119, Note (393)).

- 1566 Pitts Thomas (11) of Stanton St. John. Sch. N.C. 1573/5. Fugitive beyond seas. He was the second son of Arthur Pitts, B.C.L. Fellow of All Souls and Registrar of Diocese of Oxford, who conformed outwardly. Arthur Pitts had four sons, Robert, Thomas, Arthur, and Philip. Thomas is mentioned in the Douai Diaries (Knox pp 120, 276) but there is no record of his ordination.
(Stonyhurst MS 191, quoted Troubles II, p 115, Note 1. Of Bryan Stapleton, Oxford Post-Reformation Missions).
- 1567 Harward Edmund (12) of Christchurch, London. A Jesuit. Died at Rome (Kirby p 141).
According to the Douai Diaries (Knox p 148) news had been received from Rome that five of their old students had entered the Society (of Jesus) of whom Edmund Harward was one.
- 1567 Owen Thomas (11) of Winchfield.
Possibly the son of Thomas Owen (supra). Thomas Owen S.J., Rector of English College, Rome 1610-18, was born in Hampshire in 1556 which coincides with the date mentioned above.
(Gillow Vol. 5, p 224).
- 1567 Garnet (or Garnett) Henry (11) of Heanor. A Jesuit.
Became a Catholic while still a boy and did not in consequence proceed to New College. Entered Society of Jesus in Sept. 1575 and sent on English Mission in 1586. Captured in 1605 after Gunpowder Plot in which Government considered him involved. Executed 3 May 1606.
(Gillow II, p 390; D.N.B. Vol. 21, p 2).
- 1568 Shelborne (Shylborne) (12) of Basingstoke.
Ordained at Rheims College in 1582. Came to England and ministered in Hampshire.
(Knox pp 11, 28, 197).
- 1566 Pitts (Pittes) Anthony of Stanton St. John.
His real name was apparently Arthur. He seems to have been the brother of Thomas Pitts (supra) whose father was Arthur Pitts. Arthur Pitts had a son named Arthur, but not one named Anthony.
Arthur Pitts, junior, became a Catholic and went to Douai. He was ordained at Rheims and sent to England in 1581. He was imprisoned and later banished.
(Knox pp 277, 293, 297, 358. See also Inner Temple MSS 538, 54. folio 228; H.M.C. 11th Report p 298).

- 1569 Horne Adam (11) of Saffron Walden. Sch. N.C. Fellow 1575/7.

Nephew of Bishop Horne of Winchester ("Adolescens et nepos pseudo-episcopi Wintoniensis" in Douai Diaries). He went to Rheims in August 1577 and died in the College in 1578.
(Knox pp 128, 133).

- 1569 Warnford (Warneford) Oliver of Skerington. Younger brother of Richard Warnford (supra).
(C.R.S. 22, p 41).

- 1570 Norton Henry (11) of Tisted. Henry Norton arrived at Rheims in April 1587 and left for England in March 1591 "being his father's heir". (Knox p 238).

- 1571 Pitts (Pits) (Pitsaeus) John of Alton. Sch. N.C. 1578. Son of Henry Pitts of Alton and nephew of Dr. Nicholas Sanders (q.v.).

At Winchester he was one of the boys who offered congratulations to the Queen at her visit to the College in 1573 (V.C.H. II, p 318). He went to Rheims in 1581 and was transferred to Rome where he was ordained. He never came to England after ordination. For two years he taught at Rheims, went to Lorraine and became a tutor. He also became confessor and almoner to the Duchess of Cleves and finally Dean of Liverdun, where he died in 1616. He is chiefly known by his work, De Illustris Angliae Scriptoribus. (D.N.B. 45, p 340; Gillow V, p 318).

- 1577 Sacheverell John (9) "Founder's kin", of Kilworth. A soldier and then Papal Protonotary.
(Knox pp 222, 230).

All the following were removed for non-residence, but the real reason was probably unwillingness to conform. As regards the later deprivations, the History of New College p 169, states that following the thorough visitation of 1566-7 "a considerable sprinkling of Fellows were removed for non-residence, most of whom were probably men who could no longer reconcile themselves to an enforced conformity".

- 1552 Deale Philip (14) of Newbury. Sch. N.C. M.A. Fellow 1558/63.

- 1553 Sotwell Richard (13) of Chute. Sch. N.C. LLD. Fellow 1558/70. (See Chapter II, p 26. Charged at Visitation of 1566-7 with being a defender of Papistry).

- 1553 Marten James (14) of Athelhampton. Sch. N.C. Fellow 1558/9.

- 1553 Hardy Stephen (13) of Farnham. Sch. N.C. Fellow 1561/3 (Hardye).
- 1560 Wallop Michael (12) Dogmersfield. Sch. N.C. Fellow 1567/9.
- 1561 Charnocke William (12) Chorley, Lancs. Sch. N.C. Fellow 1568. A William Charnock appears on the Recusant Roll for 1592-3 (Lancashire) (E 377/1). He is fined £260 for absence from church. "William Charnock of Fullwood (Lancs)" is mentioned in a list of Recusants for October 1592. (Salisbury Papers IV, p 242).
- 1563 Henslowe Henry (12) Boarhunt.
Member of a well-known Hampshire recusant family, son of Ralph Henslowe.
(Recusant Roll 1595-6, E 377/4, and Chapter VII, p 155).
- 1570 Wygge William (11) Ashley. Sch. N.C. M.A. Fellow 1577-85. A Papist, executed at Kingston, 1 Oct. 1588 (Kirby p 143).
William Wygge or Wigge was one of the boys who offered congratulations to Queen Elizabeth when she visited the College in 1573. V.C.H. Vol. 2, p 315, states that Wigge "was executed at Kingston in 1588 for denying the royal supremacy", but there is no confirmation of this from other sources. The Douai Diaries I and II, pp 11, 29 et alia have a record of a William Wigges who was sent on the English Mission in 1583, and who died in prison.
(Knox p 295: the place is not stated).
He was ordained in 1582 and was then described as "of London". (Knox p 11).

NOTE The following who are not in Kirby's Winchester
 Scholars were possibly Commoners

Martyn Thomas, of Cerne, Dorset, Winton and N.C. (Fellow 1539). Travelled abroad as tutor. M.P. for Hendon, Wilts, 1554. Chancellor to Bishop Gardiner. A barrister and performed legal work in connection with Protestant bishops under Mary. M.P. for Ludgershall 1557/8. Deprived of all offices under Elizabeth and then lived in retirement. Wrote a book against marriage of priests.
(Gillow Vol. 4, p 502 and D.N.B. 36, p 320).

Pound Thomas. Well-known Hampshire Recusant. Son of William ~~Pound~~ by Anne Wriothesley, sister of Thomas, Earl of Southampton. Studied law in London. For some time was in great favour with Elizabeth. Reconciled to Catholicism 1570. Entered Society of Jesus as a lay-associate. Spent 30 years in prison.
(Gillow, Vol. 5, p 354 and Foley, Vol. III).

Danister John. Only authority is Nicholas Sanders, himself a Wykehamist (~~see below~~) who in a report to Cardinal Moroni in 1561 says: "This man (John Danister), a Winchester boy, who afterwards studied at Oxford, surpassed all his contemporaries in writing verse and poetry ...".
He was a priest and studied at Louvain.
(C.R.S. Vol. I, p 46).

NOTE: For particulars of the Groups mentioned below, see Chapter VII, page 137.

EDWARD BANISTER
(Group 9: Buriton (Mapledurham)
- Idsworth)

Some six or seven miles to the south of Mapledurham close to the road leading from George Cotton's estates at Warblington to the Shelleys' house, was Idsworth, the manor-house of EDWARD BANISTER, esquire. He was the eldest son of Edward Banister by Joan, daughter of John Gunter of Racton, Sussex.¹ He married Mary, daughter of Richard Southwell of Horsham St. Faith, Norfolk.² Mary was the sister of Robert Southwell, the Jesuit martyr and poet, and she visited him in prison.³

The Banisters were a pre-Reformation family of standing. In 1431 Nicholas Banister, the ancestor of Edward, obtained possession of the manor of Idsworth and it remained in the family for two centuries.⁴

Edward Banister first came under notice for recusancy in 1570, when he was cited from the parish of Idsworth.⁵ In 1573, while staying with Henry Goring of Burton, Sussex, an order was made for his giving bond of £200 to appear at

the White Lion or "else show himself conformable in matters of religion" before the Bishop of Winchester. If he conformed the obligation mentioned was to be void.⁶ He did not conform, but it is not clear what action was taken after this.⁷ In 1583 he was cited as a recusant with Mary, his wife, for Idsworth.⁸ He was then in the Gaol at Winchester.

Edward Banister's name appears on the Recusant Roll for 1592-3 in respect of his property at Idsworth and Banister's Court with Banister's Park (now in the parish of Shirley, Southampton).⁹ He also had lands in Sussex.¹⁰ He paid large sums in fines and two-thirds rentals of his property on account of recusancy.¹¹

1. ~~P.R.O. List of Sheriffs Vol. 9 (Ldn 1898)~~ and Harl. Socy. 64, p 20. 2. D.N.B. Vol. 53, p 294, (ROBERT SOUTHWELL). 3. Ibid p 296. 4. V.C.H. Hants 3, p 106. 5. L.A. 1570, f 99 v. 6. Vol. 5, Losely MSS No. 1593, quoted in A Century of Persecution (St. George Kieran Hyland D.D. Ph. D., Ldn 1920). 7. In a prison list for 1572 (C.R.S., I p 59) it is stated that "Mr. Banyster" is "indighted". A further list (C.R.S. I p 62) relating to the Poultry Counter, London, says that "Thomas Banister" (probably Edward) was committed there (perhaps from another prison) on 11 Feb 1577. 8. S.P. Dom Eliz 160 (26. 9. Rec. Roll 1592-3 (C.R.S. Vol. 18, p 286) et seq., E 377/2 et seq. For Banister's Court, see V.C.H. Hants, 3 p 430. 10. Rec. Roll 1597-8, E 377/6. 11. See Appendix 8.

BRUNING (or BRENNING)
of WYMERING (Group 3: Coastal (1))

Richard~~ing~~ Bruning (or Brenning) was a younger son of Richard Bruning and of Eleanor, daughter and co-heir of William Wayte of Wymering.¹ He married Ellen, daughter of Anthony Uvedale, who was a recusant and Keeper of Winchester Gaol.² Richard Bruning's name appears on the Recusant Roll of 1592-3 and the following years in respect of two-thirds of the rentals of the manor of ~~Bramdean~~^{Rothercombe}.³ In 1598 two-thirds of his manor of Wymering were "seized" in addition.⁴

William Bruning, probably a younger brother of Richard Bruning, was included in Lord Burleigh's list of prominent Catholics in 1588 as a recusant of Wymering.⁵

Francisca Bruning, spinster, of Wymering, probably William's sister, was fined £180 for recusancy in 1592-3.⁶

The Bruning family date at least from the reign of Edward I.⁷ There were still ^{Catholic} members of this family in Hampshire in the 18th century.⁸

1. V.C.H. 3, pp 48, 70, 167. 2. See Chapters IX and X.
3. C.R.S. 18, p 283 and Rec. Rolls 1593-4 et seq (E 377/3 et seq.)
4. Rec. Roll 1599-00 (E 377/8). 5. Lansdowne MSS 55, No. 58.
6. C.R.S. 18, p 290. 7. See pedigree in the possession of the Catholic family of Eyston, East Hendred, Berkshire: H.M.C. 3rd Report, Appendix. 8. Anthony and George Bruning, sons of George Bruning of East Meon and Froxfield, became Jesuits. Anthony died at Liège in 1776. George served as a Jesuit in Hampshire for some years. He died at Isleworth in 1802 (Biog. Dictionary of English Catholics (Ldn 1885) by Joseph Gillow Vol. V, p 354).

MISTRESS EDBOROW BULLAKER
of Warblington (Group 3 - Coastal (1))

Mistress Edborow Bullaker was a daughter of John White, the grantee of Southwick Priory, by Katherine Pounce, daughter of William Pounce of Drayton, Hampshire, and married Peter Bullaker

(or Bollater), possibly one of the Bullakers of Southampton, an important 16th century family.¹ She was thus a cousin of Thomas Pounce and kinswoman of the Henslowes of West Boardhunt. In 1583 she was cited as a recusant for Warblington.²

Mistress Elizabeth Bullaker, probably the mother-in-law of Mistress Edborow, was also returned in 1583 as a recusant, being then stated to be in the House of Correction at Winchester.³ In 1595-6 she was fined £160 for eight months' absence from church.⁴ She was then said to be of West Boarhunt and was no doubt staying with the Henslowes.

The Bullakers harboured priests. For example, John Chapman, a Seminary priest, who was captured in August 1582 and examined by the Bishop of Winchester on the 8th of that month, confessed that after his ordination as a priest at Rheims, he journeyed in the West Country and "came directly to Mistress Bullacre of Warblington and made it his chief abode".⁵

W. Berry, County Genealogies, pp 194, 195
1. ~~P.R.O. List of Sheriffs Vol. 9, pp 194, 195, and Harl. Socy. Vol. 64 (under Bullaker).~~ 2. S.P. Dom Eliz 160/26. 3. *Ibid*
4. Rec. Roll 1595-6, E377/4. 5. S.P. Dom Eliz 155, No. 8, 8 August, 1582.

WILLIAM BURLEY OF MIDDLETON (10: Outlying Places)

WILLIAM BURLEY, gentleman, was the son of Richard Burley of Middleton Hall, Longparish.¹ In 1582 he was stated to be one of the "principallest recusants in Winchester" and was thus described: "In Queen Mary's time a J.P.". ² In 1583 he was cited as a recusant for Longparish together with a relative, Millicent Burley.³ He was then in Winchester Gaol.

William Burley's name appears on the Recusant Roll for

1592-3 and subsequent Rolls. He owed two-thirds rentals in respect of property on the manors of Middleton and Longbridge Deverill (in Wiltshire).⁴

1. Harl. Socy. 64, p 94. 2. C.R.S. 2, p 221. 3. S.P. Dom Eliz 160/26. 4. Rec. Roll 1592-3, E 377/1 (C.R.S. 18, pp 277 278) et seq.

HENRY CAREW (OR CAREWE) (Group (4) Coastal Group (2))

HENRY CAREW, esquire, of Hordle Bremor and Keyhaven, near Milford, Hampshire, was the son of Thomas Carew (or Carewe) who died in 1578.¹ He paid two-thirds of the rentals of his manors of Hordle Bremor, Keyhaven and Hamworthy (Dorset) for many years on account of recusancy.²

1. V.C.H. Hants 5, p 112. 2. Rec. Roll 1592-3 (C.R.S. 18, p 283) et seq.: E 377/1 et seq.

ANTHONY COPE of Bedhampton (Group 3: Coastal (1))

Anthony Cope, gentleman, of Bedhampton, a neighbour of Thomas Pounce (his estate was only a mile or so away), was the son of Stephen Cope of Bedhampton and grandson of Sir William Cope, Knight-Cofferer to Henry VII, who lived at Banbury.¹

In 1569 Anthony Cope was required, as a J.P. to signify his obedience to the Act of Uniformity. He was then described as an excommunicate person who "refuseth to subscribe most obstinately".² This was at the time of the Revolt of the North when Horne and the Government were in a state of some anxiety. It is not known when Cope was relieved of his position as a Justice, but it was probably as a result of his refusal. He is not at any rate, in a list of J.P's compiled in 1575.³

Anthony Cope was included in a return of recusants for 1577.⁴ In 1583 he is cited as a recusant for the parish of Bedhampton.⁵ In 1586 he is stated to be dead.⁶

Anthony Cope was a neighbour and friend of George Cotton. In his will made in 1585 and proved in 1586⁷ he said: "I gave unto Master George Cotton of Warblington, my very friend, for a simple remembrance, a Latin bible of St. Jerome's translation, Elyot's Dictionary⁸ and a book of T (Thomas) de Aqujno (Aquinas) in Latin, desiring him to be the overseer of this my testament and last will, and to help with his good counsel if any doubt do arise touching the same."

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1. Hants Visitations, Harleian Socy, Vol. 64, pp 21, 22 and *Berry*
of p. 30 ~~P.R.O. List of Sheriffs, Vol. 9.~~ 2. Cal S.P. Dom Eliz.
59, No. 46, 28 Nov. 1569. 3. S.P. Dom Eliz Vol. 104
(List of J.P's). 4. S.P. Dom Eliz 117 No. 10 and 10 (1)
24 Oct 1577. 5. S.P. Dom Eliz 160/26. 6. S.P. Dom Eliz
188 No. 16 (1-13) of 13 April 1586. 7. Archdeacon's
Court: County Record Office, Winchester. 8. The Dictionary
of Sir T. Eliot, Knight (Latin-English. With a M.S. letter
of the author to Thomas, Lord Cromwell. In aedibus T.
Bertheletii, Londini, 1538: B.M. Catalogue of Early English
Books to 1640, Vol. I, A-E f 527 (London 1884).
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ALEXANDER CUFFAUD (OR CUFFOLD) OF CUFFOLD
(10 Outlying Places)

The CUFFAUDS were an ancient family settled at the Manor of Cuffaud in Basing. Alexander was the eldest son of William Cuffaud of Cuffaud, by Mary, the daughter of Geoffrey Pole (or Poole) of Sussex, a son of Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury¹, executed by Henry the Eighth. Alexander and his wife, Jane, and Simon Cuffaud (probably an uncle or brother) together with Thomas Baker, "a resorter to Mr. Cuffaud's house", were returned as recusants for the parish of Basing in

1583². Simon Cuffaud is then stated to be in the Gaol at Winchester. In 1592-3 Alexander was fined £160 for non-attendance at Common Prayer.³

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1. Harl. Socy, 64, pp 35, 36. 2. S.P. Dom Eliz 160 (26)
3. C.R.S. 18, p 289.
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WILLIAM fFAWKENOR (Group 5: Meon Valley-Ropley)

WILLIAM fFAWKENOR, esquire, was the son of William ffawkenor of Ashenden, Bucks, the son of William ffawkenor of Westbury Manor, East Meon, by Elinor, the daughter of Thomas Wells of Brambridge.¹

William ffawkenor was a landowner of considerable wealth and possessed extensive property in Hampshire and Wiltshire.² He paid large sums in fines and two-third rentals of his lands on account of recusancy.³ In 1583 he was returned as a recusant for Itchen Abbas, near Winchester,⁴ and was probably then staying with Nicholas Scrope, recusant, who lived there.⁵

William Norden in his survey of Hampshire in 1595 notes that Westbury House was then occupied by "ffawkenor".⁶

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1. Wiltshire Visitations 1623: Harl. Socy, 105, pp 62, 63.
2. Rec. Rolls, 1592-3 (C.R.S. 18, pp 275, 352) et seq.
3. See Appendix IX. 4. S.P. Dom Eliz 160/26. 5. See under SCROPE below. 6. William Norden, Map and Notes, 1595.
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JOHN GOLDSMITH (Group 5: Meon Valley-Ropley Group)

JOHN GOLDSMITH, gentleman, of Exton, was the son of Henry Goldsmith of Exton.¹ He married, firstly, Susan, daughter of Henry Tichborne, probably the sister of Nicholas

Tichborne,² who died in 1589; and, secondly, Dorothy, daughter of William Middleton.³

In 1581 John Goldsmith was committed to the common gaol in Winchester because of his wife's Papistry,⁴ but was released in the following year.⁵ In 1583 his wife, Dorothy, and daughter Jane, were returned as recusants for Exton.⁶

The Goldsmiths were harbourers of priests. In 1584 Thomas Dodwell, the spy, reported⁷ that "Mr. Goldsmith of Exton, seven miles from Winchester, keepeth Young alias Adams in his house continually and receiveth Barnes alias Bonde and Askew with any other seminary priests that cometh (sic)". It is evident from this that John Goldsmith's manorhouse served as a Mass-centre, but it was not till 1592-3 that the law was invoked against him: in that year he was fined 100 marks for hearing Mass (no doubt in his own house).⁸

Peter Goldsmith of Corhampton, son of John Goldsmith, was also a recusant and was fined £180 in 1592-3 for recusancy.⁹

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1. Harl. Socy. 64, p 112. 2. See under Nicholas Tichborne.
3. Harl. Socy. 64, p 112. 4. S.P. Dom Eliz 117, No. 232.
5. A.P.C. (N.S.) 16 Feb. 1581. 6. S.P. Dom Eliz 160/26.
7. S.P. Dom Eliz 168 No. 34. 8. C.R.S. 18, p 281. 9. Ibid p 289.
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MISTRESS KATHERINE HALL of Easton
(Group 7: Itchen Abbas-Preston Candover)

The ancestry of this recusant is unknown, but she was apparently of some standing. She was included in Bishop Horne's list of recusants in 1577 with her son, Henry¹; and in 1583, with Henry (he is described as a gentleman) and Mary his wife, she is cited as a recusant for Easton, near Winchester.

She is then stated to be in the Gaol at Winchester.² In 1592-3 she was fined £180 for recusancy.³

In 1602-3 Margaret Hall, widow, of Easton, probably a relative of Katherine and Henry, was fined £100 for recusancy.⁴

1. C.R.S. 22, pp 39-41. 2. S.P. Dom Eliz 160 (26). 3. C.R.S. 18, p 288. 4. Rec. Roll 1602/3, E 377/11.

WILLIAM HOORDE

WILLIAM HOORDE, gentleman, of Preston Candover, and a Wykehamist¹, was cited as a recusant in 1583 with his wife and family for the parish of Kallender. He was then in the Gaol at Winchester.² In 1592-3, two-thirds of the rentals of his lands in Preston Candover, Nutley, Axford and Ellsfield were payable to the Crown on account of his continued recusancy.³ In 1598 he appealed against the payment of the debt owed in respect of the rentals and the appeal was allowed.⁴

Hoorde was one of the preominent recusants involved in the "dispersal" of Campion's Challenge in Hampshire.⁵

1. William Hoorde was evidently of some standing, but his ancestry cannot be traced. 2. S.P. Dom Eliz 160/26. 3. C.R.S. 18, pp 273, 277, 290. 4. Appendix IX. 5. Chapter IV, p.69.

ROBERT JOY (Group 5: Meon Valley-Ropley)

ROBERT JOY, gentleman, was returned as a recusant in 1583 with his wife, Elizabeth, for East Meon,¹ and was then in the House of Correction in Winchester. He was fined a total sum of £200 for recusancy.²

In 1599 Robert Joy helped in the escape of Edward Kenyon, a priest from Winchester Gaol.³

1. S.P. Dom Eliz 160 (26). Robert Joy's ancestry is not known.
2. Appendix VIII. 3. See Chapter X, pp 239, 241.
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ALICE KNIGHT AND ROBERT KNIGHT of Ludshott
Godfield and Swarreton (10 Outlying Places)

ALICE KNIGHT was the widow of Richard Knight. In 1577 Richard Knight, gentleman, died seised of the manor of Ludshott, leaving as his son and heir, Robert.¹ Alice Knight was returned as a recusant for the parish of St. Michael, Winchester, in 1577², and in 1583 she was stated to be in the Gaol at Winchester.³ In the same year Robert Knight and his wife, Constance, are returned as recusants for the parish of Swarreton. Robert is also in the Gaol.⁴

On the Recusant Roll for 1592-3 and subsequent Rolls it is stated that Alice Knight and Robert Knight owe to the Crown two-thirds of the rentals of property on the manor of Ludshott, whilst Robert Knight owes two-thirds rentals of the manors of Godfield and Swarreton.⁵ Robert and Alice Knight together owe, in addition, according to the Roll of 1592-3 the sum of £20, being the value of goods and chattels "seized" for the Crown on account of their recusancy.⁶

1. V.C.H. Hants 2, p 492. 2. S.P. Dom Eliz 117, No. 10, 24 Oct. 1577. 3. S.P. Dom Eliz 160/26. 4. Ibid. 5. Recusant Rolls 1592-3, E 377/1 (C.R.S. 18, pp 274, 280), et seq.
6. C.R.S. 18, p 280.

ANTHONY NORTON (Group 5: Meon Valley-Ropley)

ANTHONY NORTON, gentleman, the son of Richard Norton of Punsholt Manor, West Meon¹, was returned in 1583 as a recusant for the parish of St. Maurice, Winchester.² He was convicted for recusancy in June 1589 and in that year is stated to owe £200 in fines.³ His name subsequently appears on recusant rolls.⁴ According to these, Anthony Norton's lands were in Hambledon, Blendworth, Catherington and Bishop's Sutton.⁵

Benjamin Norton, a younger brother of Anthony, is cited as a recusant in 1583 and is then grouped with Mistress Elizabeth Norton, probably his mother, and Anthony Norton as recusants.⁶

The Nortons lived at their manor of Punsholt in West Meon and there harboured Sigebert Buckley, the last Benedictine monk of Westminster.⁷ Punsholt is not far from West Tisted where Mistress Elizabeth Tichborne lived and this proximity suggests a close association between the two recusant families.

1. V.C.H. 3, p 344. 2. S.P. Dom Eliz 160 (26). 3. Pipe Roll E 372/434. 4. 1592/3, E 377/1 (C.R.S. 18, pp 282, 283) et seq.
5. Ibid. 6. S.P. Dom Eliz 160/26. 7. Essay on Hampshire Recusants in The Old English Bible and other Essays, by F.A. Gasquet, p 276 et seq (Ldn 1908).

LADY ELIZABETH PAULET (10: Recusants in Outlying Places)

LADY ELIZABETH PAULET of Crondall was a well-known Hampshire recusant. A daughter of William, Lord Windsor, she married firstly, Henry Sandys of The Vine, and secondly, Sir George Paulet, younger brother of the first Marquis of Winchester.¹

She was included in Bishop Horne's list of recusants for

1577² and was returned in 1583 as a recusant with her daughters, Gertrude Paulet and Margaret Sandys, for the parish of Crondall.³ Her name is also in the list of recusants for 1588⁴. In 1586 she was in the Fleet prison on account of recusancy.⁵

Lady Paulet sheltered priests and in 1584 Thomas Dodwell reported that "Lady Paulet of Crondall entertains Askew alias Nutter with many seminary priests before named".⁶ In 1587 her name was among those of people known to the Government "to be common receivers, harbourers and maintainers of Jesuits and seminary priests".⁷

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1. V.C.H. 4, p 13 and Woodward History of Hampshire, p 263.
2. S.P. Dom Eliz 117, No. 10 and 10 (1), 24 Oct. 1577.
3. S.P. Dom Eliz 160(26). 4. C.R.S. 22, p 120 et seq.
5. Appendix VII. 6. S.P. Dom Eliz 168 Nos. 33 and 34, Feb (?) 1584. The "many Seminary priests before named" are those already mentioned under Ludlow, Goldsmith, Henslowe, etc. (q.v).
7. S.P. Dom Eliz 201, No. 53, 31 May 1587.
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POWLWHEEL FAMILY of Compton (Group 6: Twyford-Otterbourne)

OTHO POWLWHEEL's wife Elizabeth, was returned as a recusant in 1583 for the parish of Compton,¹ and in 1592-3 Alice, wife of Otho Powlwheel (presumably Alice was Otho's second wife) was fined £180 for recusancy.²

In 1583 William Powlwheel was cited as a recusant, being a "resorter to Mr. Otho Powlwheel's house" at Compton.³ In 1592-3 William, described as a gentleman, living in the Soke, Winchester, was fined £180 for recusancy.⁴

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1. S.P. Dom Eliz 160 (26). 2. C.R.S. 18, p 287. 3. S.P. Dom Eliz 160 (26). 4. C.R.S. 18, p 288.

SCROPE FAMILY of Itchenstoke (Group 7:
Itchen Abbas- Preston Candover

NICHOLAS SCROPE, gentleman, was the son of Anthony Scrope of Herefordshire and a direct descendant of Richard, Lord Scrope, Lord Treasurer to Edward Third and afterwards Lord Chamberlain, who married Blanche, daughter of Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk¹. Nicholas Scrope was returned in 1577 as a recusant for Itchenstoke with his wife, Winifred.² In 1583 he was in Winchester Gaol on account of recusancy: his wife and daughter, Anne, were then returned as recusants for the parish of Itchenstoke.³ Nicholas Scrope was imprisoned at Wisbech Castle in 1586 and the following years, and was a leading figure in some of the earlier troubles there.⁴ In 1592-3 he was fined £180 for recusancy.⁵

1. Harl. Socy, 64, pp 72, 73. 2. S.P. Dom Eliz 117, Nos. 10 and 10 (1), 24 Oct 1577. 3. S.P. Dom Eliz 160/26. 4. See, p. 218 and Appendix VII. 5. C.R.S. 18, p 290.

BENJAMIN STOCKWITH of Lymington (Group 4:
Coastal Group (2))

BENJAMIN STOCKWITH was the eldest son of Thomas Stockwith gentleman, of East Meon, by Agnes, daughter of William Martin of Berkshire.¹ He is stated in 1586 to have been "sometime a student in the Inns of Court".² On the recusant roll for 1592-3 he is described as a gentleman of Lymington and is stated to owe a fine of £160 for recusancy.³ Both Benjamin and his father possessed lands in Hinton Daubney,⁴ whilst Benjamin himself inherited lands and pastures at Catherington (Horndean) and land on the manor of Froddington.⁵

1. Harl. Socy. 64 (entry Stockwith). 2. C.R.S. p 241. 3. C.R.S. 18, p 289. 4. Ibid. 5. Rec. Rolls, 1600/01 E 377/9.

GEORGE TATTERSHALL of Beaulieu (Group 4: Coastal (2))

GEORGE TATTERSHALL, gentleman, was returned in 1583 as a recusant for Beaulieu,¹ and in 1586, in connection with information furnished to the Government about Hampshire recusants, he is stated to be ^{"out"} of the shire".² Although his rank was that of gentleman, his ancestry cannot be traced.

1. S.P. Dom Eliz 160(26). 2. S.P. Dom Eliz 188, Nos. 16 and 16 (1), 12 April 1586.

GILBERT TICHBORNE

GILBERT TICHBORNE of Totford, the son of Nicholas Tichborne, of West Tisted and Tichborne, was the younger brother of Benjamin Tichborne.¹ A smaller recusant landowner, he was a very capable soldier.²

His name~~s~~ appears on the Recusant Roll for 1592-3 for the parish of Totford when two-thirds of his lands there were "seized into the hands of the Queen". He was also in that year fined 100 marks for hearing Mass, for which offence he was *apparently* committed to prison.⁴ He had previously (in 1581) been imprisoned in the Gatehouse Prison, London, on account of recusancy.⁵

Gilbert Tichborne died in 1636 at the ripe age of 96 and was buried in the Catholic Cemetery of St. James, Winchester.⁶

1. Harl. Socy. 64, p 126. 2. Chapter V, p III. 3. C.R.S. 18, p 281. 4. ~~Harl. Socy.~~ 5. C.R.S. 2, p 219. 6. C.R.S. 42, p 151. 5. S.P. Dom Eliz 160(26). 6. ~~Ibid.~~ 7. S.P. Dom Eliz 168, No. 34. Although Dodwell speaks of "Mr. Tichborne", it seems fairly evident by the reference to Ballard, one of the priests and one of the chief Babington Plot conspirators, that Chideock Tichborne is meant.

4 Cal. Salisbury
Papers, Pt IV
p 270 et seq.

TICHBORNES OF PORCHESTER AND LONGWOOD
(Group 6: Twyford - Otterbourne)

PETER TICHBORNE was the son of Henry Tichborne of Owslebury and Porchester, and CHIDEOCK, involved in the Babington Plot, was Peter's son.¹ In 1577 Peter Tichborne and his wife were returned as recusants for Porchester.² In 1579 or thereabouts Peter was in the White Lion prison, London.³ Released on bonds in 1581, he was again in the White Lion in December 1581⁴. He was stated to be in prison in London in 1583⁵, and in the same year his wife, Elizabeth, and his son, Chideock, were returned as recusants for Porchester.⁶

Chideock Tichborne gave shelter to seminary priests. In 1584 the ubiquitous spy, Thomas Dodwell, informed the Government that "Mr. Tichborne", sometime of Porchester, "now remaining at Longwood, receiveth Askew, Fisher, Young, Gardiner and any other Seminary priest that comes; he being in London, Mr. Fortescue (other^{wife} John Ballard, the Babington Plot conspirator) brought thither Somerfield, his three sisters being the receivers".⁷ Longwood, lying near the Wells' property at Brambridge, must have been, in its extent of wood, an excellent place in which to hide priests. Probably, however, after Dodwell's information, it was carefully watched and was too unsafe a spot for priests to visit; but in a closely-knit county like Hampshire there were plenty of other "harbourages" among which to move.

1. Harl. Socy. 64, pp 125, 126. 2. C.R.S. pp 39-41. 3. C.R.S. 1, p 69. 4. A.P.C. (N.S.) 7 May 1581 & 11 July 1581; and S.P. Dom Eliz 150, No. 94. 5. S.P. Dom Eliz 160/26. 6. Ibid 7. S.P. Dom Eliz 168, No. 34. Although Dodwell speaks of "Mr. Tichborne" it seems fairly avident by the references to Ballard, one of the priests and one of the chief Babington plot conspirators that Chideock Tichborne is meant.

NICHOLAS TICHBORNE (Group 8: Hartley Maudit)

Hartley Maudit is important in the history of Hampshire recusancy mainly because NICHOLAS TICHBORNE, who had a small estate there, was one of the earliest and most unyielding of recusants in the reign of Elizabeth. He was first cited in 1562¹, and henceforth his recusant career was a series of citations and imprisonments till his death in 1589.

He was the younger son of Henry Tichborne of Oswlebury and Porchester,² and the father of the martyrs, Thomas Tichborne, priest, and Nicholas Tichborne, layman.³ In 1572 he was among those summoned before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners at Winchester for recusancy.⁴ In 1577 he was returned as a recusant for Hartley Maudit⁵, and in 1583 he was in the gaol at Winchester, where he died in 1589.⁶ Like his kinsman, Gilbert Tichborne, he was buried in the Cemetery of St. James.⁷

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1. L.A. 1562, f 4. 2. *W. Berry, County Genealogies, p 29*
~~P.R.O. List of Recusants, Vol. 9, p .~~
3. Appendix VI. 4. Cal. Sal. Papers, Vol. 2 (96) 1572.
5. S.P. Dom Eliz 117, Nos 10 and 10 (1), 24 Oct 1577.
6. S.P. Dom Eliz 160 (26) and C.R.S. 48, p 146. 7. C.R.S. 48, p 46
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ANTHONY UVEDALE (Group 5: Meon
Valley-Ropley)

ANTHONY UVEDALE, gentleman, of Hambledon, was the son of Thomas Uvedale of Hambledon, Hampshire, by Elizabeth, daughter of Nicholas Soper of Southmundham, Sussex. Thomas Uvedale, the younger son of Sir Thomas Uvedale of Wickham, Hampshire, was descended from Peter Lord Uvedale, tempo Edward the Third.¹ Sir William Uvedale, Sheriff of Hampshire in 1595,² was the head of the family in Elizabeth's reign. It was to ~~him~~

him that Anthony Uvedale, contrary to the recusancy statutes of 1581 and 1586-7, illegally transferred some of his lands in 1588.³

In 1577 Anthony Uvedale was returned by Bishop Horne as a recusant, with his wife Ursula, for Hambledon.⁴ He was, although a recusant, hereditary Keeper of the Gaol at Winchester,⁵ and possessed the manor of Woodcote near Alresford and a farm at Pittleworth.⁶

~~P.R.O. Berry op.cit. p74~~

1. ~~List of Sheriffs, Vol. 9.~~ 2. P.R.O. List of Sheriffs: ~~and Lists and Indexes, Vol. 9,~~ (London 1898). 3. Chapter XI, p277.
4. S.P. Dom Eliz 117, Nos 10 and 10 (1), 24 Oct 1577.
5. See Chapters IX and X. 6. C.R.S. 18, pp 276, 281.
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STEPHEN VACHELL (BURITON)
(Group 9: Buriton-Idsworth)

STEPHEN VACHELL, gentleman, of Heath House, Buriton, one of those who heard Mass daily at Mapledurham, was probably the elder son of Oliver Vachell of Buriton by Margaret, daughter of Richard Norton of East Tisted.¹ In 1577 he was returned as a recusant for Buriton² and again in 1583, when he was a prisoner in the gaol at Winchester.³ Mary his wife, and Margery his sister, are cited at the same time.

Stephen Vachell possessed extensive farmlands at Weston (Buriton), Hayling, Havant (Langstone) and Catherington, and paid two-thirds of the rentals on some of these.⁴

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1. Harl. Socy, 64, p 14. 2. S.P. Dom Eliz 117, Nos 10 and 10 (1) 24 Oct 1577. 3. S.P. Dom Eliz 160 (26). 4. Rec. Roll 1592-3 (C.R.S. 18, pp 276, 286) and subsequent Rec. Rolls (E 377/2 et seq).

1583 --- Recusants

1. Winchester City

Recusants 46

Neighbourhood (Winnall etc.) 5 - Total 51

2. Blackstead

Tinsbury, 4 or 5 miles E.W. of Blackstead
Farley Chamberlayne 2 or 3 miles N.W.
of Blackstead

4 Recusants

Little Somborne
Monsey

17

2

2

25

3. Coastal Group (1)

Fitchfield
Forchester
W. Boarhunt
Fareham
Warblington
Farlington

8

4

10

2

22

3

49

4. Coastal Group (11)

Fawley
Beaulieu

3

1

4

5. Meon-Boxley Group: Droxford, Exton, Meonstoke,
West Meon, Bramdean, West Tisted

West Tisted
Droxford
Hambledon
Exton
Meonstoke
East Meon
Boxley (3 miles N. of W. Tisted)

5

1

8

8

4

2

9

37

6. Twyford-Otterbourne Group

Twyford
Otterbourne
Owslebury
Compton

7
22
2
6
37

7. Itchen Abbas-Preston Candover

Itchen Abbas
Itchen Stoke
Easton
Ovington
Avington
Swarreton
East
Preston Candover
Bighton (Bighton)

6
4
2
2
1
2
5
2
1
25

8. Hartley Waudit Group

Medstead
Hartley Waudit

1
2
1

9. Buriton (Mapledurham)-Idsworth

Buriton
Idsworth
Catherington

8
2 (Ed. Bannister
and his wife)
1
11

10. Outlying

Basing: Seat of Cuffolds

4 (inc. Simon Cuffold
gent, Alexander
Cuffold gent and
his wife)

Longparish (3 miles E. of Whitchurch)
Crendall
Ellsfield

5
3
1
9

1. Winchester

No. of recusants

75 (inc. St.
Bartholomew's 15
St. Maurice 15
and St. Clement's
17)

plus Weeke

7
82

2. Blackstead and District

Tinsbury
King's Somborne

6
8 (Lady Mabel
Sandys)

Somborne
Farley Chamberlayne
Michelmarch
Romsey

2
2
3
3
24

3. Coastal Group (1)

Southwick
Warblington
Bedhampton
Farlington
Titchfield
Widley
W. Boarhunt
Wymering
Fareham
Portsea
Eling
Southampton
Havant

8
19
1
5
3
1
18
16
3
1
1
1
1

78 more than 1/6th
of the total for
the county.

4. Coastal Group (2) (S.W. corner of Hampshire)

Ringwood	1
Holdenhurst	11
(a little N.W. of Christchurch; John Tichborne gent. was returned as a recusant for <u>Christchurch: Processus contra Recusantes</u> p 61 (Winchester Diocesan Registry).	
Hithe	2
Christchurch	13
Milford	2
Fawley	2
Hordle	3
Lymington	1
	<u>35</u>

Note: The ancestry of John Tichborne is not clear: he may have been a member of the Wiltshire branch of the Tichborne family (see Wiltshire Visitations, 1623) in which a Christian name of John occurs. A John Tichborne was "convented before the Queen's Majesty's Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiastical" in 1572, with Mistress Elizabeth Tichborne, Roger Tichborne and Nicholas Tichborne "chiefly for their neglecting the Divine Service and receiving the blessed Communion". (Cal. Salisbury Papers, Pt 2, pp 36 and 37).

5. Meon Valley-Ropley Group

Droxford	7
Hambledon	17
East Meon	9
Warnford	1
Exton	3
Meonstoke	3
West Meon	1
Soberton	3
Wickham	1
Privet	1
West Tisted	1
Brandean	1
Bishop's Waltham	3
	<u>51</u>

6. Twyford-Otterbourne Group

Compton	4
Stoneham (North and South)	15
(about four miles south-west of Bram-	
bridge the seat of the Wells family)	
Owslebury	9
Hursley	7
Otterbourne	31
Twyford	4
	<u>70</u>

7. Itchen Abbas-Preston Candover

Itchen Abbas	9
Avington	1
Easton	7
Chariton	3
Ovington	6
	<u>26</u>

8. Buriton (Mapledurham) - Idsworth Group

Buriton	13
Idsworth	3
Steep	1
Catherington	1
Petersfield	1
	<u>19</u>

9. Outlying

Basing	10 (Guffold family)
Long Sutton	5
(3 miles south west of Crondall: Lady	
Elizabeth Paulet at Crondall:	
harbourer of priests)	
Bramshott	5 (Influence of the
	Knight family)
	<u>20</u>

Abbreviations

- D.D. - Douai Diaries I and II (edited T.F. Knox, London 1878).
Memoirs - Memoirs of Missionary Priests (Richard Challoner, London, 1924).
C.R.S. - Catholic Record Society Volumes
S.P. - State Papers Domestic Elizabeth

ADAMS, John - Sent to English Mission 1581. "With Mr. Goldsmith of Exton" (1584). Executed Tyburn for priesthood, 8 October 1586 (S.P. 168, No. 34) (?) Feb. 1584; D.D. p 27). Apprehended in Winchester (Memoirs p 588).

ALLWEY, Henry Marian priest, Chaplain to Earl of Southampton. (S.P. 160/26, 1583; C.R.S. Vol. I p 60, Vol. III pp 5 & 6)

ARA, Martin In Hampshire 1582 and 1586 (Strype, Annals, III
(alias Part 2, Appendix p 426).
Cotton)

ANDERTON, Robert Arrested on landing in Isle of Wight, 1586. Executed Isle of Wight 1586. (A.P.C. (N.S.) 11 March, 1586 and 6 & 7 May 1586; D.D. pp 12, 30 etc.).

APPLETON An old priest with Lady Elizabeth Paulet (C.R.S. 22, p 120 et seq).

BARNES, John
(alias BONDE) With "Mr. Goldsmith of Exton" (1584). Banished January 1585 (Act of 1587). (S.P. 168/34, 1584; D.D. pp 1, 2, 26; Memoirs, p 110).

BAWDWYN, William
(or BALDWIN) Government released him from the Bridewell, London, thinking that he was a Neapolitan merchant. He then took refuge with George Cotton at Warblington. S.J. (Forgotten Shrines, Dom Bede Camm, O.S.B: Ldn. 1910, p 89; D.D. pp 192, 197. Died in prison, 1585 (D.D. p 296)).

BRYNE John Prisoner, Winchester 1583. (S.P. 160/26).

BRUSHFORD Came on English Mission (Hampshire) in 1585.
John or James (Foley III, p 276 et seq).

- BUCKLEY, Sigebert
O.S.B. Last surviving monk of Westminster. Lived with Recusant Norton family, Funsholt Manor, East Meon. (Memoirs, p 299; Gasquet, Hampshire Recusants (in Old English Bible etc. (Ldn. 1908) p 276 et seq).
- CHAPMAN John With Mistress Bullacre of Warblington (S.P. Dom Eliz 155/8, 8 August 1582) and the Shelleys at Mapledurham (Buriton) (S.P. Dom Eliz 190/50, 23 June 1586).
- CHATTERTON
Henry, S.J. Friend of Thomas Pounce, of Farlington (Foley III, pp 543, 614 and 657). Banished from England 1606 (Memoirs p 282).
- DARBYSHIRE Robert
(sometimes called Hampshire or Escham) Harboured in home of John Ludlow, Cams Hall, Fareham, of Gilbert Wells, Brambridge (Twyford) and of the Shelleys at Mapledurham (Buriton). (S.P. Dom Eliz 168, Nos. 33 and 34, Feb. (?) 1584; Foley III, p 46).
- DICKENSON
(DICCONSEN) Roger
(alias Johnson) Harboured by Lady Mary West in Winchester (S.P. Eliz 148/34, (?) Feb. 1584). Captured Hampshire (A.P.C. (N.S.), 24 Jan. 1590-91). Executed Winchester 7 July 1591 (Memoirs (Ldn, 1924), p 168).
- FARMER
(alias Jonas Meredith) With the Shelleys at Mapledurham, (S.P. Dom Eliz 190/50, 23 June, 1586).
- FENNELL Simon Harboured by "old Mistress Tichborne", mother of Sir Benjamin Tichborne, (S.P. 248/94, 5 May 1594; Cal. Salisbury Papers, Pt. IV p 402).
- FIXER John
(or Fisher or Fixter) Harboured by "Mr. Tichborne of Porchester now residing at Longwood" (Peter Tichborne or his son, Chideock). (S.P. 168 No. 33 (?) Feb. 1584; Foley VI, p xx Note 15; and D.D. pp 13, 30).
- GARDINER John Harboured by John Ludlow of Cams Hall, Fareham, Peter Tichborne of Longwood and Thomas Henslow of Boarhunt (S.P. 168/33 (?) Feb. 1584).
- GRAFTON
a Jesuit "Supposed to be in the house of Wells" (Gilbert Wells of Brambridge, Twyford). (S.P. 248/116, 24 May, 1594).
- HEMERFORD Thomas Came to English Mission in 1583 (Foley III, p 47). Apprehended in Hampshire (Memoirs, p 588). Executed Tyburn, 12 Feb. 1584 with four others (Ibid p 87).

- HEYWOOD Jasper S.J. Great nephew of Sir Thomas More (A.C. Southern, Recusant Prose (Ldn. 1950) p 56 and Note). Fellow of Merton and of All Souls (ibid). Came to English Mission 1581; imprisoned 1583; banished 1585, but apparently returned (Foley III, p 4, 5, 30, et seq). With Shelleys at Mapledurham (Buriton) in 1586 (S.P. 190 No. 50, 23 June 1586). Returned to Continent and eventually died there (Foley I, p 405).
- HOLMES, Robert
(alias Fisher) Harboured by the Lady Mary West in Winchester (S.P. 148, No. 34, (?) Feb. 1584). Died in prison, 1584. (Foley III, p 45; Memoirs pp 104, 105).
- KENYON Edward Imprisoned in Winchester, 1599. (Cal. S.P. 272 No. 111, 12 Sept. 1599 etc.).
- LISTER Thomas, S.J. Harboured by George Cotton at Warblington (Forgotten Shrines, op cit, p 89). Came to English Mission in 1584 (Foley III, p 47).
- MARSDEN William Arrested with Robert Anderton on landing in Isle of Wight and executed there (see entry for Robert Anderton above).
- MITTEN
(alias Long) With Thomas Henslow of Boarhunt. (S.P. 168/33, (?) Feb. 1584).
- MUNDEN John Educated Winchester and Oxford (Fellow, New College, 1562-6) - see Wykehamist List, §Appendix T f. Worked in Hampshire (Memoirs p 98 et seq). Came to English Mission, 1582 (Foley III p 46). Imprisoned 1583-4. Executed 12 Feb. 1584.
- NIGHTINGALE Robert Came to English Mission, 1584 (Foley III, p 47). Stated to be in Hampshire in 1588 (C.R.S. 22, p 120, et seq).
- NORTON Benjamin Of the recusant family of the Nortons, Punsholt, East Meon. (S.P. 160/26; D.D. pp 196, 217; and C.R.S. 5, p 394).
- NUTTER Robert
(alias Askew) Harboured by the Lady Paulet of Crondall, Thomas Henslow of Boarhunt, the Lady Mary West in Winchester and "Mr. Tichborne" of Longwood (S.P. 168/33 and 34 (?) Feb. 1584). With the Shelleys at Mapledurham (Buriton) in 1586 (S.P. 190/50, 23 June 1586). Banished in 1585 (under the Act of 1585) but apparently returned. Executed at Lancaster, 26 July 1600 (Memoirs p 248).

- PALMER, Simon In Winchester Gaol, 1583 (S.P. 160/26). See also Chapter III, p 50.
- PALMER, Thomas In 1579 given as a Hampshire prisoner (Strype Annals, 2, Appendix p 132). See also Chapter III, p 50.
- FILCHARD Thomas M.A. and Fellow of Balliol. Ordained 1583 and came to English Mission in that year (D.D. pp 11 and 29). With the Lady Mary West in Winchester 1583 (S.P. 148/34 (?) Feb. 1584). Imprisoned and banished in 1585. Returned and was executed in 1587 (Memoirs, p 121).
- POUND, John Brother of Thomas Pound of Farlington. Came to English Mission, 1583. (Foley III pp 47, 547, et seq). Banished 1583-4 and lived and died in exile (ibid pp 47 and 807).
- RICHARDS Marian priest with Mistress Elizabeth Tichborne, West Tisted (S.P. 248/30).
- SHELBOURNE John Wykehamist (see Wykehamist List, Appendix I). With the Shelleys at Mapledurham (Buriton). (S.P. 190/50, 23 June 1586). Came to English Mission in 1582 (Foley III, p 46).
- SINGLETON Thomas S.J. "In the house of one Mr. Cotton of Hampshire (George Cotton of Warblington) there is harboured a Jesuit who names himself Thomas Singleton. He teacheth the grandchildren of the said Cotton". (May 1609: Winwood's State Papers, III, p 43). There is no trace of Singleton in Foley.
- SOMERFIELD (alias Holland) With Thomas Henslowe of Boarhunt and "Mr. Tichborne of Porchester". (S.P. 148/33 (?) Feb. 1584).
- STANNEY Thomas S.J. Probably the most active and distinguished of Missionary priests in Hampshire. Ordained priest 1585 and then sent to England. Banished in 1606 (Foley III, p 294 et seq).
- STOKES Walter In prison in Winchester with Sister Elizabeth Sanders (Mentioned in letter of Sister Elizabeth Sanders to Sir Francis Englefield - see Chapter 10 ~~II~~, Sections I and II and C.R.S. 5, p 142).
- STONE (alias Gunn) Stayed with the Lady Mary West in Winchester (S.P. 127/42 Dec. 1578) and the Shelleys at Mapledurham (Buriton) (S.P. 190/50, 23 June 1586).

WARBLINGTON

With the Shelleys at Mapledurham (Buriton)
(S.P. 190/50, 23 June 1586).

WRENCH

(? Anthony)

Came to English Mission, 1581 (D.D. p 28).
Harboured by the Shelleys at Mapledurham (Buriton)
(S.P. 168/33, (?) Feb. 1584, and 190/50, 23
June 1586).

YOUNG

With "Mr. Tichborne of Longwood" (S.P. 168/33
(?) Feb. 1584), and "Mr. Goldsmith of Exton"
(S.P. 168/34, (?) Feb. 1584).

MARTYRS

Appendix VI

NOTE: Details of the lives of the martyrs are given in the following works: Memoirs of Missionary Priests (Richard Challoner: Ldn. 1741. Revised edition Ldn. 1924); Lives of the English Martyrs, E.H. Burton and J.H. Pollen (Ldn. 1914); Acts of English Martyrs, J.H. Pollen (Ldn 1891); The Martyrs of Hampshire: Archbishop J.H. King (Catholic Truth Society, Booklet, Ldn. 1945).

In the lists below (B) denotes Beatus and (V) Venerabilis, according to Catholic ecclesiastical classification.

(1) LAYMEN. HAMPSHIRE-BORN, EXECUTED IN HAMPSHIRE

(B) Laurence Humphreys	executed Winchester	1591 (?)
(B) Ralph Miller	" "	7 July 1591
(B) James Bird	" "	25 March 1593
John Thomas	" "	August 1593

(2) LAYMEN. HAMPSHIRE-BORN, EXECUTED IN LONDON

(B) Swithun Wells, Gray's Inn Fields	10 Dec. 1591
(V) Nicholas Tichborne, Tyburn	24 August 1601
- (Possibly) John Collins, London	<u>circa</u> 1602

(There are few particulars about John Collins. In a letter dated 6 May 1626 to the Bishop of Chalcedon, Benjamin Norton, who was appointed Catholic Vicar for five counties, including Hampshire, says: "About that time (1602) there suffered about London one John Collins which was a Winchester man ...".

C.R.S. Vol. V, Documents relating to the English Martyrs (p 395). See also Appendix I.

(3) LAYMEN (& 1 LAYWOMAN) NOT HAMPSHIRE-BORN BUT CONNECTED WITH THE COUNTY

(B) John Slade	executed Winchester	30 October 1583
(B) John Body	" Andover	2 November 1583
(B) Anne Lyne	" Tyburn	27 February 1601

(Anne Lyne, gentlewoman, was the wife of Roger Lyne of Ringwood. She spent all or most of her time in Essex. Her husband was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, but was ultimately allowed to go abroad (Gillow, op cit 4, p 248). She was executed under the Act of 1585 for harbouring a priest (Gillow ibid).

(4) HAMPSHIRE-BORN, EXECUTED IN LONDON

(V) Thomas Tichborne, Tyburn	20 April, 1602
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(5) NOT HAMPSHIRE-BORN, EXECUTED IN HAMPSHIRE

- { (B) Robert Anderton executed Isle of Wight 25 April 1586
 { (B) William Marsden " " " "

(Both these priests were driven by a storm on to the coast of the Isle of Wight, captured on landing, tried and executed: Challoner op cit, pp 121, 575).

- (B) Roger Dicconson^o executed Winchester 7 July 1591

(6) NOT HAMPSHIRE-BORN, BUT CONNECTED WITH COUNTY:
 EXECUTED OUTSIDE HAMPSHIRE

1
ests

- { (B) Thomas Hemerford^o executed Tyburn 12 February 1584
 { (B) John Mundy^o " " "
 { (V) John Adams^o " " 8 October 1586
 { (V) Thomas Pilchard^o " Dorchester 21 March 1587
 { (V) Robert Nutter^o " Lancaster 26 July 1600

^o See Appendix V.

HAMPSHIRE RECUSANTS IMPRISONED DURING THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH I

Note. The following list does not pretend to be complete. It contains the names mostly of the more important Hampshire recusants. The names have been taken from various prison returns in State Papers etc. published in volumes of the Catholic Record Society and from the other sources mentioned.

With regard to Winchester prisoners only one full list of prisoners survives, - that included in the 1583 Return of Recusants (S.P. Dom Eliz 160/26). Apart from that, the names have been taken from various State Papers etc.

In the third column the year stated is that when the name of the recusant is found. This date is not necessarily the year of first imprisonment. The period of imprisonment is given where possible. Those recusants imprisoned for political offences have been indicated in square brackets.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Prison</u>	<u>Year (or years) in which prison return made or when name is first given; period of imprisonment</u>	<u>References</u> (The State Papers mentioned are Dom Elizabeth)
<u>Abraham Thomas</u>	Winchester (House of Correction) Winchester Gaol	1598 1599	<u>Processus contra Recusantes</u> Cal. S.P. 273 No 23 & 23(1) 5 Nov 1599
<u>Allwey Henry</u> (priest)	Tower	1572, 1575, 1581	C.R.S. I, p 60 II p 220 III p 6
<u>Banister Edward</u> esquire	Poultry Counter Winchester	Feb. 1577 1583 1583	C.R.S. I p 62 (stated as <u>Thomas</u> Banister, & Edward) S.P. 160/26
<u>Barnes Robert</u> (alias Strange) gentleman	Gatehouse	1594 et seq	C.R.S. p 287 et seq
<u>Beconsawe John</u> gentleman	White Lion	1579-1588	C.R.S. I p 69 II (pp 237 247 etc.)
<u>Beconsawe William</u> gentleman	Winchester (House of Correction). Winchester	Nov. 1598 1582, 1583	<u>Processus contra Recusantes</u> C.R.S. 2 p 221 (Described as Beconsfelde gent.; pre- sumably he is William Becon sawe, gent.) S.P. 160 (26)
	Winchester	1583	

<u>Beconsawe</u> Elizabeth Winchester gentlewoman	"	1586	S.P. 188/16
<u>Beconsawe</u> (widow) gentlewoman	"	1579	Lansd MSS 28(97)
<u>Body</u> John Schoolmaster	" (executed Andover 1583)	1581-1583	S.P. 158/(9) S.P. 160 (26)
<u>Bray</u> Henry	Winchester	1583	S.P. 160 (26)
<u>Bray</u> William	Gatehouse	1586 1588	C.R.S. II, pp 261, 263, 266, 282
<u>Brunige</u> (Bruning) gentleman ("the travler companion to Edward Marriner)	London (prison not specified)	1586 1586	"Escaped from prison by their bribing of the officers." (Harl MSS 360 f 45)
<u>Bryne</u> John	Winchester	1583	S.P. 160 (26)
<u>Bullacre</u> Elizabeth (widow) gentlewoman	House of Correction, Winchester	1583	S.P. 160 (26)
<u>Burd</u> Anne	Clink (London)	1593	C.R.S. II p 287
<u>Burd</u> James (Bird)	Winchester (executed Winchester 1593)	1592 1593	Acts of English Martyrs (J.H. Pollen, Ldn, 1891).
<u>Burley</u> William gentleman	Winchester	1582-3 1587 1590 1587 1590	{ C.R.S. II, p 221 S.P. 160 (26) C.R.S. 22, p 120 <i>et seq</i> et seq A.P.C. (N.S.) 24 April 1590
<u>Burte</u> Joan Agnes Elizabeth	"	1583	S.P. 160 (26)
<u>Canterton</u> Thomas	"	1599	Cal. S.P. 273 Nos. 23 & 23 (1) (22)
<u>Carey</u> Henry (Carewe) esquire	Marshalsea (committed for 20 days. Released on bond).	1589	A.P.C. (N.S.) 1589-90 pp 123, 199
<u>Carkas</u> , Edmund	Winchester (House of Correction)	1598	Processus contra Reuocantes p 344
<u>Cheston</u> Stephen	Clink (London)	1585-1588	C.R.S. II pp 251, 266, 281
<u>Collynes</u> , Nicholas, gentleman	Winchester	1583.	S.P. Doubtly 160/26

Collynes Thomas
Cook Thomas
(clerk)

Winchester
(House of Correction)
Marshalsea

Nov 15-98
1572
(In 1580 stated
to be dead; may
have died in
prison)

Procum spec. p 34.
C.R.S. I, p 60

Cotton George

Fleet

1577-1580

{ C.R.S. 1, 2, 22
{ (Prison Lists)
{ C.R.S. I, p 61, II
{ pp 223, 229
{ Strype Whitgift
{ pp 528, 529
{ A.P.C. (N.S.) 13
{ March 1589-90
{ A.P.C. (N.S.) 19
{ August 1593

"

1580-1583

Wisbech

1586

Ely

1590

Banbury

1593

Collynes Nicholas Winchester
gentleman

1583

S.P. 160 (26)

Cuffold Simon
gentleman
Dawson, William
Deane Mercy

Winchester

1582-3

" (House of Correction)

Nov. 1598

1582-3

S.P. 154 (38)
S.P. 160 (26)
Procum spec. p 34.
S.P. 158 (9)
S.P. 160 (26)

Dowse Richard

Clink

1584-1602

C.R.S. II pp 266,
282, 284 288

Dymock Thomas
gentleman

Clink

1586

C.R.S. II pp 260
268

- Green widow

Winchester

1579

Lansd. MSS 28(97)

Goldsmith John
gentleman

"

(committed because 1580
of his wife's
recusancy. Released
February 1581)

S.P. 117 (232)
quoted V.C.H.
Hants II p 77

Goter Thomas

Winchester

1583

S.P. 160 (26)

Hall Catherine
(widow) gentlewoman

"

"

"

Wemy

W

1579

Lansd. MSS 28(97)

Wemy

W

W

W

Horde William
(Hoorde)
gentleman

Winchester
Wood Street }
Counter
Wisbech

1583

1586

1586
(from April
1586)

S.P. 160 (26)
C.R.S. 2, pp 262, 266

S.P. 138 (16)

<u>Hoord</u> Allen " Thomas gentlemen	London (prison not specified)	1586	"Escaped from prison, by their bribing of the officers". (Harleian MSS 360 f 45).
<u>Humphreys</u> , Lawrence	Winchester	1593	<u>Acts of English Martyrs</u> (documents hitherto un- published) pp 233-238 (J.H. Pollen, London 1891).
<u>Joy</u> Robert gentleman	Winchester	1583 (In Sept. 1599 Robert Joy said that he had been a prisoner for recusancy "during most of these (i.e. 20) years"	S.P. 160(26) S.P. 273, 23 (3)
<u>Knight</u> Robert gentleman	"	1583	S.P. 160 (26)
<u>Knight</u> Alice gentlewoman	"	"	"
<u>Ludlow</u> John gentleman	White Lion, Ldn.	1579, 1580 1581	C.R.S. I, pp 61, 69 <u>L.A.</u> 1581 f 62
	Winchester	1583	S.P. 160(26)
<u>Lyne</u> Roger gentleman	Wood Street Counter (Ldn)	1586	C.R.S. II pp 249, 251
	Newgate	1588	C.R.S. 22, p 122
<u>Miles</u> Geoffrey	Winchester	1599	Cal. S.P. 273 No. 23 (5 Nov 1599)
<u>Miller</u> Ralph	Marshalsea & Winchester	Captured Jan. 1591 executed 7 July 1591	A.P.C. (N.S.) 24 Jan 1591 and 24 June 1591
<u>Myles</u> William	Winchester	1599	Cal. S.P. 273 Nos. 23 and 23 (5)
<u>Norton</u> Anthony gentleman	"	"	Cal. S.P. 273 Nos. 23 and 23 (4)
<u>Owen</u> John priest (<u>alias</u> Gardiner)	"	Feb. 1585 (banished Oct. 1585)	S.P. 277 No. 3

<u>Owen Thomas</u> gentleman	Wood Street (London)	1582, 1586	C.R.S. 2, pp 221, 250
	Winchester	1583	S.P. 160 (26)
	Wisbech	1586	S.P. 188 (16)
	Winchester	1587	C.R.S. 22, p 120 <u>et seq</u>
<u>Oxenbridge Dr.</u> gentleman	"By keeping of Mr. John Stubs" (place?)	1582	C.R.S. 2, p 221
	Wisbech	1583	S.P. 160 (44)
<u>Oxenbridge Marie Fleet</u> wife of Dr.		Feb. 1577- Apr. 1578	C.R.S. 22, pp 130, 131
<u>Oxenbridge, gentlewoman</u> <i>Palmer, Ribbar</i>	Winchester (town of London)	Nov. 1598	<i>Processus, p. 24</i>
<u>Palmer Simon</u> clerk	Winchester	1583	S.P. 160 (26)
<u>Palmer Thomas</u> (priest)	"	1579	Lanad. MSS 28 (97)
<u>Pitts Elizabeth</u>	Winchester & Clink (Ldn)	1585	S.P. 185 (17)
<u>Founde Thomas</u> gentleman	Many prisons (including Winchester 1588)	1576 onwards (spent a total of over 30 years in prison) <i>including 10 years at Wisbech</i>	Founde's own state ment (<u>Foley</u> p 614) see <u>Appendix</u> <i>quoting S.P. Don Jas I 2, No 48.</i>
<u>Founde John</u> gentleman	Clink (Ldn)	1582, 1583 and 1584	C.R.S. 2, p 232
<u>Powlett Lady</u> (Lady Elizabeth Paulet)	Fleet (Ldn)	1586	S.P. 188 (16)
<u>Ringstead David</u>	Clink (Ldn)	1586-1595	C.R.S. 22, pp 247, 268 283, 285
<u>Ringsteade</u> Christian (Ringstead)	"	1586, 1592	C.R.S. 22, pp 284, 286
<u>Sanders Elizabeth</u> nun	Winchester	1580-1586 1587	S.P. 144 (31) S.P. 160 (26) <i>also</i> <i>Chapter 20.</i>
<u>Serle Mistress,</u> wife of John Serle, gentleman	"	1592	A.P.C. (N.S.) 5 Oct 1592

<u>Scrope Nicholas</u> gentleman	Winchester	1582 1583 1587 1588	C.R.S. p 221 S.P. 160 (26) C.R.S. 22 p 120 <u>et seq</u> C.R.S. 2, p 279
	Wisbech		
<u>Shelley Henry</u> esquire	White Lion (Ldn)	1579-1585 φ (probably died in prison)	A.P.C. (N.S.) 1578-80 p 162, et seq 1581-82, p 129. At (M) C.R.S. 2, p 234 <u>et seq</u> Harl MSS 360 f 22 φ S.P. 183, 45(1) (then (23 Oct 1585) stated to be dead. In 1584 he was in the White Lion) (C.R.S. 234 <u>et seq</u>)
<u>Shelley Thomas</u> gentleman	Wood Street Counter	1586	C.R.S. 2, p 251
<u>Slade John</u> schoolmaster	Winchester (executed Winchester 1583)	1582-3	S.P. 160 (26) Pollen <u>op cit</u> p 49 <u>et seq</u>
<u>Stephens John</u>	Clink	1586	C.R.S. 2, p 266
<u>Stockwith, Benjamin</u> gentleman	Clink	1585-1586 (In 1585 for hear- ing Mass)	C.R.S. 2, pp 247, 255 270, 271
[<u>Tichborne Chideock</u> gentleman	Tower (executed for political offence)	1586	D.N.B. Vol. XIX p 854]
<u>Tichborne Peter</u> gentleman	White Lion (London)	1579-1581 (Released 1581) 1583 (stated to be "in prison" about London) }	p 660 Strype <u>Annals</u> 2, Pt. 2 C.R.S. I, p 69 and A.P.C. (N.S.) 11 July 1581 S.P. 160 (26),
<u>Tichborne Gilbert</u> gentleman	Gatehouse (London)	1581	C.R.S. 2, p 219
<u>Tichborne John</u> gentleman	Winchester (House of Corrections)	Nov. 1598	<u>Procureur contre Reusantes</u> , p 34.
<u>Tichborne Nicholas</u> gentleman	Winchester (died in prison)	1580-89	C.R.S. 22, p 41 (Note) S.P. 160 (26)
<u>Tichborne Thomas</u> (priest)	In prison in - London for some years previous to 1601. Rescued in 1601, but recaptured. Executed April 1601.		<u>Memoirs of Missionary Priests</u> (Richard Challoner; Ldn 1924 revised edition) p 264

<u>Tichborne</u> Nicholas gentleman	Imprisoned for rescuing Thomas Tichborne (see above) and executed August 1601	-	<u>Ibid</u> p 260
[<u>Tuchiner</u> Anthony gentleman	Tower (Suspected com- plicity in Bab- ington Plot. Released 1589)	1586-89	C.R.S. 2, pp 259, 263 and 281 C.R.S. 3, p 8 <u>et seq</u>]
<u>Travers</u> Thomas yeoman	Winchester Wisbech	1579- 1583 1587	Lansd. MSS 28 (97) }- S.P. 160 (26) S.P. 203 (39)
<u>Vachell</u> Stephen gentleman	Winchester	1583	S.P. 160 (26)
<u>Warnford</u> Richard gentleman	Winchester Wood Street Counter (Ldn) } Fleet	1583 1586 1595	S.P. 160 (26) S.P. 188 (16) C.R.S. 2, pp 251, 284
<u>Warnford</u> Mary gentlewoman	Wood Street (Ldn) Fleet	{ 1586 (Dis- charged 15 June 1586) 1591, 1594 }	C.R.S. 2, pp 250, 251, 266, 284, 286
<u>Warnford</u> Elizabeth gentlewoman	Fleet	1591	C.R.S. 2, p 286
<u>Way</u> Hermanna, widow (husband died in prison)	Winchester	1579	Strype <u>Annals</u> 2, Pt 2 p 660
<u>Wayte</u> Thomas	Winchester (House of Correction)	Nov. 1598	<u>Processus</u> etc. p 34
<u>Wells</u> Gilbert esquire, and one time High Sheriff of Hampshire	Newgate Winchester Marshalsea Wisbech Newgate Wisbech Ely Ely	1582 April } 1583 } Dec. 1583 1584 1586 1587 1588 1590 1594	C.R.S. 2, pp 221, 234 C.R.S. 22, p 120 S.P. 160 (26) C.R.S. 2, p 232 C.R.S. 2, p 232 C.R.S. 2, p 232 S.P. 188, No. 16 C.R.S. 22 p 120 <u>et seq</u> Strype <u>Life of Whitgift</u> p 529 (Oxf. Clarendon Press 1822). A.P.C. (N.S.) 13 March 1589-90 S.P. 248 (30)
<u>Wells</u> Alice	Newgate	1591- 1602 (died in prison)	C.R.S. 2 pp 284, 285 Dodd's <u>Church History</u> p 170

<u>Wells Swithun</u>	Newgate	1586	C.R.S. 2, pp 261, 267
	(executed 1591)	1591	C.R.S. 22, p 120
<u>White John</u> deprived Bishop of Winchester	Tower	1559	D.N.B. Vol. 21 p 54
<u>White John</u>	Clink	1585	C.R.S. 2, p 241, 266
<u>White</u> (described as "old White" ?	Clink	1586	C.R.S. 2, p 255
? <u>John White</u> hus- bandman - in the Clink).			
<u>White Thomas</u>	Winchester	1579	Lansd. MSS 28 (97)
<u>White Mistress</u> gentlewoman (possibly wife of Richard White of South Warnborough)	Prison not specified	1595 (released)	A.P.C. (N.S.) 26 Nov. 1595
<u>Williamson</u>	Winchester	1583	S.P. 160(26)
<u>Williamson</u> Margery	"	"	"
<u>Woodeson Elizabeth</u>	"	"	"
[<u>Wriothesley Henry</u> Earl of Southampton	Tower (for political offence); and afterwards custody of William Moore at Losely and of his brother-in-law Viscount Montague at Cowdray.	1570-74	C.R.S. I, p 59 D.N.B. Vol. 21 p 1068.]

DETAILED STATEMENT : PIPE ROLLSPARTICULARS OF FINES OF RECUSANTS ENTERED ON PIPE ROLLS 1582-1592(E372/428 et seq)

NOTE. The sum shown as having been paid is the total sum taken from the Rells Receipts from 1582 till the end of the reign. For the totals paid by the Recusants to the Crown, see Appendix II .

<u>Name</u>	<u>Total debt</u> <u>in</u> <u>(a) fines</u> <u>(b) rentals</u>	<u>Total sum</u> <u>paid (from</u> <u>Pells Receipts</u> <u>E401 et seq.</u> <u>1831}</u>	<u>Years con-</u> <u>cerned as</u> <u>regards</u> <u>finer</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
ALLEN, Thos. yeoman, Bedhampton	(a) £200	Nil	1587	
BANISTER, Edward, gentleman, Idsworth	(a) £1580 (b) £2070	£1650	1581 <u>et seq</u>	<u>Pipe Rolls (E372/428 et</u> <u>seq) and Recusant Rolls</u> <u>E377/1 et seq)</u>
BASSETT, Joan, widow, Chishill, Winton	(a) £360	Nil	1581	
BECONSAWE, William gentleman, Soke, Winton	(a) £600	Nil	1583-86	
BECONSAWE, John gentleman.	(a) £360	Nil	1583-86	
BRAY, Henry yeoman, St. Clements, Winton	(a) £260	Nil	1581-2 (1 year)	
BRYNE, John priest, St. Clements, Winton	(a) £260	Nil	1581-2 (1 year)	
BULLACRE, Edbora widow, Warblington	(a) £140	Nil		
BURLEY, William gentleman,	(a) £1080 (b) £30	(a) Nil (b) £106.10.0.		Indicted Winton 8 Jan. 1583. Commenced paying in 1587. Did not make any payment after 1589 till 1596 (Michael- mas).

	<u>Debt</u>	<u>Payment</u>		
BURT, Agnes spinster, Longparish	(a) £220	Nil	1581-2	
BURT, Elizabeth widow, Longparish	(a) £160	-	1581-2	
BURT, Johanna widow, Longparish	(a) £220	-	1581-2	
CANTERTON, Thomas yeoman, King's Somborne	(a) £160 plus £2.13.0 value of goods & chattels	Nil	1586-7	
CAREWE, Henry gentleman, Hordle Bremor, Keyhaven	(b) £18.0.0.	(b) £153 (paid)		Lands seized August 1591
CHYDDEN, Richard tailor, Romsey	Fined 100 marks for hearing Mass	Nil	1583-4	Also entered on <u>Exannual Roll</u> (E363/9) as a debt never likely to be paid.
COLLINS, Brislingham tailor, Meonstoke	(a) £260	Nil	1581-2	
COTTON, George armiger, Warblington	See last column	<u>Payment</u> £6620 (till 1609 year of death)		See Appendix 9
COTTON, John gentleman, Warblington	(a) £180	-	1586	
COXE, Richard bricklayer, Otterbourne	(a) £180	-	1586- 88	Convicted 8 July 1588
CUFFAUD, Simon gentleman	(a) £360 (for 18 months from 15 May 1581	-	1581-3	He conformed. Certificate of conformity furnished by Bishop of Winchester 1584. Cuffaud applied for discharge from the pains & penalties of the statutes. Pardoned & discharged on behalf of the Queen ^{by} Her Majesty's Commis- sioners who included Burghley, Hatton & Walsingham, on 20 Feb. 1584 (Memoranda Rolls LTR, 1585 Hillary term, E368/438).

	<u>Debt</u>	<u>Payment</u>		
DOWSE, Richard of Southwark	(a) £160	-		8 months before Feb. 1587
HAWKENOR, William gentleman, East Meon	(a) £1340 (owed by 1587-88) (b) £955 (Pipe Rolls only)	£1894		Indicted Andover 13 August 1583
HALL, Katherine, widow, Lavington, Easton	(a) £560	Nil	1581-3	
HENSLOWE, Stephen, gentleman, Southwick	(a) £60	Nil	1584-5	
HENSLOWE, Katherine widow West Boarhunt	(a) £180	Nil	1587-88	Convicted 8 July 1588
HOORDE, William gentleman, Winton	(a) £380 (b) £727	£7	1581 <u>et seq</u>	Convicted at Sessions of the Peace, 1581. In 1598 Hoorde appealed success- fully against payment of this. See Appendix 9
HUNT, Henry yeoman, Fareham	(a) £260	Nil	1581-2	
JOY, Anthony gentleman, East Meon	(a) £180	Nil	1587-88	Convicted 8 July 1588
JOY, Thomas gentleman, East Meon	(a) £180	Nil	1587-88	Convicted 8 July 1588
JOY, Benedict gentleman, East Meon	(a) £180	Nil	1587-88	Convicted 8 July 1588
JOY, Robert gentleman East Meon	(a) £200 (b) £24 (lands of Robert & Anthony Joy)	Nil	1581	Convicted at Sessions of the Peace, Winton 25 June 1583. Again 18 Feb. 1600 (377/8 Recusant Roll) 377/8
KNIGHT, Robert gentleman, Godsfield	(a) £820 (b) £372	£145.10.	1581-3	

KNIGHT, Robert and Alice (widow) (Robert Knight was the son of Alice Knight)	(b) £42plus £53 £20 value of goods & chattels seized			
KNIGHT, Alice widow	(a) £840	£10.10.	1581 <u>et seq</u>	
LINCOLN, Robert yeoman, Twyford	(a) £140	Nil	1584	
LUDLOW, John gentleman, Cams Hall, Fareham	(a) £480	Nil	1582-3	
NORTON, Anthony gentleman, East Meon, St. Clements, Winton	(a) £200	£13.6.8. (Paid only two sums of £6.13.4.)	1588-9	Convicted 23 June 1589
OWEN, Thomas gentleman, Ellsfield	(a) £1440	Nil	1581 <u>et seq</u>	Convicted at Sessions of the Peace, Winton, 8 Jan. 1583. Successfully appealed against this debt. (Memoranda Roll, LTR, Easter, E368/455)
PAIMER, Simon priest	(a) £140	Nil	1581	
PAULET, Lady Elizabeth widow, Ellsfield and Preston Candover	(a) £180 (b) £30	Nil	1588	
PHILLIPES, Thomas yeoman, Romsey	Fined 100 marks for hearing Mass	Nil	1583-4 (E372/429) (Pipe Roll)	
POUND, Thomas gentleman, Farlington	(a) £260 (b) £102	£905	1590	Does not appear on Pipe Rolls till 1590-91 (E372/436). Thence on Recusant Rolls.
SANDERS, Elizabeth spinster (actually nun) of St. Clements, Winton	(a) £260	Nil	1581-2	

SCROPE, Elizabeth, widow, living with Lady Elizabeth Paulet at Crondall	(a) £240	Nil	1586-7	
SCROPE, Nicholas gentleman, Itchen Stoke	(a) £780	Nil	1581-2 <u>et seq</u>	
SPARKES, Roger gentleman, Bedhampton	(a) £80	Nil	1587	
SPENCER, Andrew yeoman, Romsey	(a) £140	Nil	1586-7	
SPENCER, William yeoman, Romsey	(a) £380	Nil	1583 <u>et seq</u>	
SPENCER, Johanna (wife of William Spencer <u>supra</u>)	Fined 100 marks for hearing Mass	Nil	1583-4 (Pipe Roll E372/429)	
STOCKWITH, Benjamin gentleman, Southwark (on Sussex Roll)	(a) £160 for 8 mths before 18 Feb.1587	} £6. for Benjamin & Thomas Stockwith	1586-7	
STOCKWITH, Thomas, gentleman, Lymington			1586	Convicted 26 Feb.1582
TICHBORNE, Elizabeth widow, West Tisted (mother of Sir Benjamin Tichborne)	(a) £180	Nil	1587-8	Convicted 8 July 1588. Lands not "seized".
TICHBORNE, John gentleman, Somerford, Christchurch	(a) £160	Nil	1586-7	
TICHBORNE, Nicholas gentleman	(a) £1000	Nil	1582-88	
TRAVERS, Thomas yeoman, Stevington	(a) £260	Nil	1581-2	

UVEDALE, Anthony armiger, Hambleton	(a) £200 and £10 100 goods and chattels seized (1587-8 Pipe Roll, E372/434). (b) £53	1587-88 <u>et seq</u>	
VACHEL, Stephen gentleman, Buriton	(a) £740 (b) £167	£146	
WARNFORD, Richard gentleman, St. Maurice, Winchester	(a) £1540 (b) £65	2431 1581 <u>et seq</u>	∅ This is mentioned on the Pipe Roll for 1587-8 (E372/433) as an accumu- lated debt.
WARNFORD, Oliver gentleman, Farlington	(a) £320	1584, 1587 and 1588	
WELLS, Gilbert armiger, Twyford	(a) £1520 (b) £496 (includ- ing £53.5.0. value of goods & chattels seized)	Paid £1441	∅ Mentioned as an accumulated debt in 1587-8 (E372/433)
WELLS, Thomas gentleman, Twyford	(a) £180	Nil 1587-8	Convicted 8 July 1588. (He is only mentioned once, namely, on the Pipe Roll for 1587-8 (E372/433).)
WHYTE, John, (senr) gentleman, Chilworth	(a) £180	Nil ditto	ditto
WILLIAMSON, Margery spinster, Winton	(a) £260	Nil 1581-2	On one Pipe Roll, 1582-3, E372/428
WOODYSON, Elizabeth of Soke, Winton.	(a) £260	Nil ditto	ditto

UVEDALE, Anthony)
armiger,)
Hambleton)
VACHELL, Stephen)
gentleman,)
Buriton)
LILESLEY, Walter)
gentleman)
(Later transferred)
to Berkshire Rolls)

(b) composite Nil 1588-9
debt, £166

DETAILED STATEMENT : PAYMENTSPARTICULARS OF THOSE RECUSANTS (19) WHO MADE PAYMENTS(Pells Receipts: E401/1831 et seq)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Total Debt</u> (a) <u>Fines (£20</u> <u>a month)</u> (b) <u>2/3 Rentals</u> <u>of lands</u> <u>seized</u>	<u>Total amount</u> <u>paid</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
BANISTER, Edward gentleman, Idsworth	(a) £1580 (b) £2070	£1650 (includ- ing £200 for fines)	
BRUNING, Richard armiger, Wymering	(a) £220 (b) £458 (includ- ing £100 value of goods and chattels seized	£11.10.0.	
BURLEY, William gentleman, Longparish	(a) £1080 (b) £709	£106.10.0. (rentals)	Did not make any payment from 1589 till 1596 (Michaelmas). Indicted Winchester, 8 Jan.1583. Commenced paying in 1587
CAREWE, Henry gentleman, Hordle Bremor, Keyhaven	(a) - (b) £198	£153 (rentals)	Two-thirds of rent of lands seized Aug.1591. No statement of any fines.
COTTON, George armiger, Warblington	(a) £6750-£7000 (approx)	(a) £6620 ^ø (fines)	George Cotton was the only Hampshire recusant who paid regularly £260 a year,- at least from 1587 till his death in 1609. Previous to 1587 the sums paid in fines amounted to less than £260 a year. No part of his properties was "seized". ^ø The Easter Term 1604 Pells Book is missing so that the sum of £6620 should pro- bably be increased to £6750

HAWKENOR, William (a) £1340 £1894 (including £500
gentleman, (debt owed by fines paid
East Meon 1587-1588) in 1585)
(b) £2836 (including £120 value of
goods & chattels
seized)

GOLDSMITH, John (a) - £20
gentleman, (b) £113 plus 100 rentals
East Meon marks because he
heard Mass (Recusant
Roll, 1592-3
E377/1)

HOORDE, William (a) £380 Paid £7
gentleman, (b) £727
Winchester

Convicted Sessions of the
Peace 1581. In 1598 William
Hoorde successfully appealed
against payment of this debt.
He said he was not in possession
of the lands concerned,
but had acted only as executor
of the will of his father
Roger Hoorde (Memoranda Rolls,
LTR, Anno 1598 Michaelmas
E368/493). The amount has
been excluded from the total
in the summary (Appendix 12)

KNIGHT, Robert (a) £320 £145.10.0.
gentleman (b) £373 (rentals)
Godsfield

KNIGHT, Robert & (a) - £53.0.0.
Alice (b) £90 (including
(Robert was the son of Alice
the son of Alice £20 goods & chattels
Knight) seized)

KNIGHT, Alice (a) £840 £10.10.0.
widow, (b) £134 (rentals)
Itchen Abbas

NORTON, Anthony (a) £200 £13.6.8.
gentlemen, (He made only
East Meon, two payments
St. Clement's, of £6.13.4.
Winchester.

Convicted 23 June 1589

NORTON, Anthony	} (b) { Composite debt) £570	£10 (Margery Wigmore)	} Grouped together on Recusant Rolls
WIGMORE, Margery			
BREWNING, Richard			

POUND, Thomas gentleman, Farlington	(a) £260 (b) £145.8.0.	£905 (rentals)	Does not appear on Pipe Roll till 1590-1 (E372/436)
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STOCKWITH, Benjamin (a) £160
gentleman,
Lymington

STOCKWITH, Thomas gentleman, Hinton Daubney	(a) £140 ø (b) composite £59.10. plus £27 value of goods & chattels seized = £86.10.0. total	ø Combined entry for Benjamin and Thomas Stockwith. Thomas Stockwith convicted 26 Feb. 1588.
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TICHBORNE, Nicholas	(a) £1500	£40	Apparently for fines: Pipe Roll E401/1834.
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UVEDALE, Anthony armiger, Hambleton	(a) £260 and £100 value of goods and chattels seized = £360 total (b) £256
---	---

UVEDALE, Anthony armiger, Hambleton	} (b) Composite debt £232	} Grouped together on Recusant Rolls
VACHELL, Stephen gentleman, Buriton		
ø ILLESLEY, Walter gentleman (later transferred to Berkshire Roll)		

VACHELL, Stephen gentleman, Buriton.	(a) £740 (b) £679	Paid £146 (rentals)	ø Berkshire recusant
--	----------------------	------------------------	----------------------

WARNFORD, Richard gentleman, St.Maurice Winton	(a) £1540 (b) £646	£431 (including £140 for fines)	Mentioned as an accumu- lated debt in 1587-8 (E372/433)
WELLS, Gilbert armiger, Twyford	(a) £1520 (b) £1159 (inclu- ding £190 value of goods and chattels seized)	£1441 (inclu- ding £820 for fines at £20 a month)	Mentioned as an accumu- lated debt in 1587-8 (E372/433)

STATEMENT : NON-PAYMENTS

Recusants convicted under Act of 1581, whose names appear on Recusant Rolls, having been fined at the rate of £20 per lunar month; whose estates were not seized under the Act of 1586-7; and who made no payment at any time.

(NOTE. Against these Recusants' names appears the order "fiat commissio" in the margin of the Roll. No leases of their lands were, however, made to Crown grantees. There are no entries of this particular kind in the Rolls for 1596-7, 1597-8, 1598-9, and 1601-2)

<u>Recusant Roll</u>	<u>Amount each Recusant is fined</u>	<u>Total amount of fines</u>	<u>Number of Recusants</u>	<u>Details</u>
1592-3 (E377/1)	£80	£720	9	4 men, 5 women
	£120	£240	2	2 women
	£140	£1260	9	4 men, 5 women
	£160	£1760	11	4 men, 7 women
	£180	£4220	29	8 men, 21 women
	£340	£340	1	woman
	£380	£380	<u>1</u>	<u>woman</u>
Grand total		<u>£8920</u>	<u>62</u>	<u>42 women, 20 men</u>
(Included in the total of 62 are: 8 gentlemen, 2 wives of esquires, 12 wives of gentlemen, 10 yeomen, 7 wives of yeomen and 1 husbandman. The status of the remainder is not given.)				
1593-4 (E377/2)	£160	£1600	10	3 men, 7 women
	£260	<u>£1040</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1 man, 3 women</u>
Total		<u>£2640</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>4 men, 10 women</u>
(1 wife of gentleman, 3 yeomen and 1 husbandman. The status of the remainder is not given.)				
1594-5 (E377/3)	£260	£260	1	man
	£240	<u>£480</u>	<u>2</u>	1 man, 1 woman (A wool-winder and his wife at Winchester
Total		<u>£740</u>	<u>3</u>	

1595-6 (E377/4) £80 £480 6 2, men, 4 women
(2 gentlemen, 2 wives of gentlemen; others not given.)

£160 £1760 11 3 men, 8 women

Total £2240 17
(1 yeoman; the class of the remainder is not stated)

1599/1600 £80 £800 10 8 men, 2 women (Note:
(E377/8) 1 man (yeoman) who con-
(Including 3 gentlemen, 2 yeomen) formed not included

£140 £140 1 1 man (husbandman)

Total £940 11

160/01 £140 £840 6 4 men, 2 women
(Includes 1 gentleman, 1 yeoman)

Total £840 6

1602/3 There are 317 names on this Recusant Roll. Allowing for more than
(E377/11) one entry relating to a particular recusant and for those who are
entered regularly because of the "seizure" of their lands, the net
number concerned is 260. These were all recently convicted for
recusancy. The order "fiat commissio" appears against their names
in the margin of the Roll, but none of the recusants paid their
fines. The analysis is as follows:-

Men - 84 }
Women - 176 } 260

		Total
Of these 237 were fined each	£100 for recusancy	£23700
1 was fined	£220 " "	220
2 were fined	£180 " "	360
1 was fined	£160 " "	160
19 were fined	£140 " "	2660
Total of 260 were fined	a sum of	£27100

Among this total of 260 were: 1 esquire; 9 gentlemen, 14 wives of gentlemen and 3 gentlewomen (widows or spinsters); 16 yeomen and 22 wives of yeomen; 30 husbandmen and 37 wives of husbandmen; 5 tailors and 8 wives of tailors; 1 weaver and 2 wives of weavers; 1 carpenter; 2 netmakers; 9 labourers and 6 wives of labourers; 1 bricklayer and 2 wives of bricklayers; 4 smiths; 1 gardener and his wife; 1 male cook and 1 female cook; 1 clothier and his wife; 1 wife of tanner; with 26 widows, 32 spinsters and 4 wives (status not stated).

SUMMARY : PAYMENTS

RECUSANTS (19) WHO MADE PAYMENTS

(Pells Receipts E.01/1831 (Easter
1582) et seq)

- | | | | |
|-----|---|---|-------------------|
| (1) | <u>Total debt to Crown</u> | | <u>Total paid</u> |
| | (a) Fines - <u>£17,700</u> | } | (a + b) |
| | (including 1 fined 100 marks
for hearing Mass) | | |
| | (b) Rentals - <u>£13,148</u>
and value of goods and
chattels seized | | |
| | Total (a + b) <u>£30,848</u> | | <u>£13,663</u> |
- (2) George Cotton, armiger, Warblington, paid a fine of £260 a year regularly till 1609, the date of his death, making a total of at least £6,620. His lands were not, in consequence, seized.
- (3) Totals disregarding the debts and payments of George Cotton:-
- | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------|
| <u>Debts</u> (fines and rentals) | <u>Payments</u> |
| <u>£24,248</u> | <u>£7,043</u> |

-389-

APPENDIX 12

SUMMARY : NON-PAYMENTS

DEBTS OF RECUSANTS (465) WHO MADE NO PAYMENTS

(Particulars from Pipe Rolls, Recusant Rolls
and Pells Receipts)

<u>Total Number of</u> <u>Recusants concerned</u>	<u>Total Debt to Crown</u> <u>(a) Fine</u> <u>(b) Rental and goods</u> <u>and chattels seized</u>	<u>Payment</u>
(from 1582-3 to 1602-3)	(a) £57500 } Grand total (b) 400 } <u>£57900</u>	<u>Nil</u>
<u>465</u>		

NOTE: A total of five in the period(1582-3
to 1602-3) were fined 100 marks each
for hearing Mass.

INDIVIDUAL RECUSANTS

PARTICULARS OF INDIVIDUAL RECUSANTS
ON RECUSANT ROLLS, WHOSE LANDS (TWO-THIRDS
RENTALS WERE "SEIZED", BUT WHO MADE NO PAYMENT

<u>Name</u>	<u>Debt (a) Fine</u> <u>(b) Rentals</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
LINCOLN, Robert yeoman, Twyford	(b) £14	
MARRINER, Katherine	(b) £188 (including £97 value of goods and chattels "seized")	She conformed in 1598 (Memoranda Rolls, ITR E 368/492 L.T.R).
MYLLES, Humphrey (<u>alias</u> Clarke) yeoman, Idsworth	(a) £100 (b) £40 (including £27 value of goods and chattels "seized")	
PAULET, Lady Elizabeth widow, Ellsfield and Preston Candover	(a) £180 (b) £115	
TICHBORNE, Gilbert gentleman	(a) Nil (b) £46.0.0. and 100 marks for hearing Mass	

NUMBER OF RECUSANTS FOR EACH COUNTY
COMPILED FROM RECUSANT ROLL FOR
1602-3 (E 377/11)

NOTE: The figures in brackets indicate the number of those who had recently been convicted and fined. They are included in the total.
All the counties of England are included in the Roll, except Northumberland, Durham, Cheshire and Cambridge.

<u>County</u>	<u>Total No.</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Total No</u>
Cumberland	8 (2)	Suffolk	53 (37)
Westmorland	19 (10)	Bedford	25 (22)
<u>Yorkshire</u>	<u>258 (82)</u>	Gloucestershire	20 (16)
<u>Lancashire</u>	<u>245 (59)</u>	Oxfordshire	36 (15)
Derbyshire	15 (nil)	Buckinghamshire	23 (12)
Nottingham	7 (nil)	Hertfordshire	5 (nil)
Lincolnshire	28 (nil)	Essex	45 (nil)(9)
Shropshire	73 (47)	Somerset	88 (73)
Staffordshire	73 (31)	<u>Wiltshire</u>	<u>138 (90)</u>
Leicestershire	3 (nil)	Berkshire	36 (6)
Herefordshire	81 (72)	London and	
		Middlesex	152 (134)
Worcestershire	59 (nil)	Cornwall	48 (36)
Warwickshire	21 (nil)	Devonshire	26 (16)
Rutland	3 (2)	<u>Dorset</u>	<u>202 (189)</u>
Northamptonshire	14 (nil)	<u>Hampshire and</u>	
		<u>Isle of Wight</u>	<u>317 (260)</u>
Huntingdonshire	2 (1)	<u>Sussex</u>	<u>113 (81)</u>
Norfolk	70 (52)	Sussex and Surrey	
		(grouped together)	29 (nil)
		Kent	9 (nil)

Grand total = 2,353 (including 1,351 recently convicted).

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- Wood, Norman: The Reformation & English Education (Ldn,
1931).

N O T E S

The following abbreviations have been used in the Notes for
the Chapters which follow:-

- A.P.C. : Acts of the Privy Council
- Cal. S.P. Eliz: Calendar of State Papers Elizabeth (Domestic)
- C.R.S. : Catholic Record Society
- D.N.B. : Dictionary of National Biography
- Foley : Records of the English Province of the
Society of Jesus
- Harl MSS : Harleian Manuscripts (British Museum)
- H.M.C. : Historical Manuscripts Commission
- Knox : Douai Diaries I & II, edited T.F. Knox
- L.A. : Liber Actorum (Bishops' Act Book)
- Memoirs : Memoirs of Missionary Priests
(Richard Challoner)
- P.R.O. : Public Record Office
- Prothero : Select Statutes and other Constitutional
Documents, Elizabeth and James I
(edited G.W. Prothero)
- Southern : Elizabethan Recusant Prose
- S.P. Dom Eliz : State Papers (Domestic) Elizabeth
- Troubles : The Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers
- V.C.H. : Victoria County History of Hampshire.

CHAPTER I

NOTES

1. F.W. Maitland, Cambridge Modern History, Vol. II (Cambridge 1903), p 562.
2. Ibid p 563.
3. Ibid, p 563.
4. Ibid, p 562.
5. Ibid, p 565.
6. Ibid.
7. See Chapter 14, Section A.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. 1 Eliz. C. IV, G.W. Prothero, Select Statutes (4th edition, Ldn. 1913) p 22; P. Hughes, Reformation III, (Ldn. 1954), p 20.
11. Hughes, 3, op cit, p 20.
12. 5 Eliz. C.I.
13. Maitland op cit, p 587.

CHAPTER II

NOTES

1. V.C.H. Hants II p 72.
2. See Chapter I.
3. J. Strype, Annals of the Reformation Vol. I, Part I (Oxford 1824) p 213, and D.N.B. xxi, p 52 et seq. Sir Thomas White was Master of Requests to Queen Mary. He married Bishop White's sister, Agneta. Bishop White's brother, Sir John White, married Sir Thomas's sister, Sibell (B.M. Harl MSS 5865 f 23).
4. Span. Cal. No. 39 p 78. The Oath of Supremacy (or "declaration" in lieu of it) had apparently not yet been administered to the clergy in question and no deprivations had been made. The Letters Patent for applying the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity to the clergy did not begin to be issued till 24 June 1559, and in June and July commissions for the General Visitation of the clergy were made out. The work of the Commissioners ended in October and November. (Philip Hughes, The Reformation in England III, (Ldn 1954) pp 37 and 41.) The date of the Commission for Winchester is unknown. (Hughes op cit III p 37 N.1).
5. Span. Cal., 31 May 1559: Spanish Ambassador to Philip II.
6. S.P., Dom Eliz Vol. IV No. 72 cited Dom Norbert Birt O.S.B. The Elizabethan Religious Settlement (Ldn 1907) p 413.
7. Besides being a Wykehamist he was a leader of the Louvain exiles, see p 17 of this chapter.
8. Report (1561) by Dr. Nicholas to Cardinal Morone C.R.S. I, p 22.
9. Ibid. The deprived Headmaster who was in prison was Thomas Hyde - see p 21 of this Chapter.
10. Hughes op cit Vol. 3, p 38.
11. W.H. Frere (Ldn 1904) The English Church in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I p 40.
12. H. Gee The Elizabethan Clergy and the Settlement of Religion 1558-1564, pp 45 and 77. The full text of the declaration as made by the Chapter of York Minister who conformed was as follows: "We, the clergy of the Cathedral and Metropolitan Church of York, whose names are subscribed, do humbly confess and acknowledge the restoring again of the ancient jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical and spiritual to the crown of the realm, and the abolishing of

- all foreign power repugnant to the same, according to the oath thereof made in the late Parliament begun at West- minster the 23rd day of January, in the first year of the reign of our sovereign Lady Queen Elizabeth, and there continued and kept until the 8th day of May next after en- suing. We confess also and acknowledge the administration of the sacraments, the use and order of divine service and manner and form as it is set forth in the book commonly called the Book of Common Prayer, etc. established also by the same Act, and the orders and rule contained in the injunctions given by the Queen's Majesty, and exhibited unto us in the present visitation, to be according to the true word of God, and agreeable to the doctrine of the primitive Church...
- (quoted Hughes Reformation 3, p 38).
This was the form of subscription used at Horne's visitations of the Oxford colleges (including New College) which he began in 1561 (Horne MS Register ff 12 and 14.) See also p 12 of this Chapter with regard to the Declaration required by Bishop Horne.
13. See p 18 of this Chapter.
14. Transcript (by Canon A.W. Goodman B.D., F.S.A.) of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 122 with Notes (Papers of Hampshire Field Club Vol. 14, p 63; 1936).
15. Horne MS, Register f 1.
16. R. Simpson Life of Campton (Ldn 1896) p 523 N 157, referring to Dr. Nicholas Sanders, De Bohemate, Lib 111 p-631-1938, p 342, ed Colon, 1610.
17. The Sanders were a pre-Reformation Surrey family of standing (Vide Visitations of Surrey, Harl. Socy, Ldn 1899, Vol. 45, pp 51-53). Nicholas Sanders, sister, Elizabeth, with his other sister Sister Elizabeth Sanders, the Bridgettine nun, (see Chapter X sections I and II) who apparently took Elizabeth as her name in religion.
18. Nicholas Sanders himself was, says J.H. Pollen in "The English Catholics in the Reign of Elizabeth I (Ldn 1920) p 226, "a really great churchman, learned, convinced, fear- less, honourable. But he was also an extremist, or at least the 'forward' man of his party".
19. Horne MS Register f 1 which gives 27 Feb D.N.B. (1908) Vol. IX p 1253 et seq and H. Gee, Elizabethan Clergy (Oxf 1898) p 162 give 16 Feb.
20. Anthony a Wood, Athenae 1, 180, cited A.C.H. Hants, II p 74.
21. D.N.B. (Ldn 1908) Vol. IX p 1253 et seq.
22. S.P. Dom 113 Ed. VI., XV No. 62.

marked Henry 1st
then. This matter
is not to be confused

23. Lansd. MSS xii Art. 31, cited D.N.B. Vol. IX (1908) p 1255.
24. Gee H. op cit, and D.N.B. (Ldn 1891) Vol. XXVII p 360.
25. C.f. the appointment of Cooper, Bishop of Lincoln to Winchester in 1584 after the laxity of Bishop John Watson (see Chapter V, p 88).
26. S.P. Dom Eliz Vol. 17 No. 23. It is important that this document exists, for there is no other record of Horne's first visitation.
27. S.P. Dom Eliz 19, No. 36.
28. S.P. Dom Eliz 21, No. 7.
29. More than half of the Cathedral canons, who remained had been Marian priests. See page 8.
30. C.f. A.C. Southern, Elizabethan Recusant Prose (Ldn 1950-) p 21.
31. Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism, by Nicholas Sanders D.D.. Published 1585 with a continuation of the History, by the Rev. Edward Rishton, B.A. ... Translated ... by David Lewis M.A. (1877) p 261, cited Southern op cit p 22.
32. Southern, op cit, pp 25 and 26.
33. See The Marian Exiles: A study in the origins of Elizabethan Puritanism by Christina H. Garrett (Camb. Univ. Press 1938). The Wykehamist is Augustine Bradbridge of Chichester, who was a Fellow of New College and became Treasurer and Chancellor of Chichester. (See T.F. Kirby, Winchester Scholars (Ldn 1888) p 123. For the four Hampshire men, see pp 129, 175, 208, and 269, Garrett op cit).
34. See Section I. ~~above~~.
35. Hughes, op cit 3, p 114.
36. They were: Nicholas Sanders (or Sander) Thomas Harding, Thomas Dorman, John Fenn, Nicholas Harpsfield, John Martial (or Marshall), Robert Pointz, John Rastell, Thomas Stapleton and John Fowler. See paragraphs following. All were in exile, except Nicholas Harpsfield, who, like his brother, John, remained in England (see Appendix I).
37. J.H. Pollen S.J., op cit, p 107.
38. Southern op cit, p 26.
39. Pollen, op cit p 111 N, citing Sanders' De Schismate lib iii, in MS Eng. Coll. Rome, p 136.

40. Southern op cit p 26.
41. For full details of the lives of this Wykehamist and the other Wykehamist writers, see D.N.B. (various volumes, under names) from which these brief particulars have mainly been taken.
42. Pollen op cit, p 107.
43. For details of the controversy with Jewel and a scholarly appraisal of the literary merits of Harding and the other Wykehamist writers, see Southern, op cit, p 67 et seq.
44. Strype, op cit i, pp 507-8, cited D.N.B. Vol. 36, pp 269 and 270.
45. See Chapter VII, Section III (Pitts).
46. D.N.B. Vol. 54, p 101.
47. Southern op cit p 47.
48. Cal. Span. S.P. Vol. I, No. 294, 14 April 1565 p 418.
49. Apologies of Two English Seminaries 1581, p 26 cited Pollen op cit p 111, N.
50. Visitation Articles and Injunctions Vol. III 1559-1575 Ldn. 1910 (ed W.H. Frere) pp 182 and 189.
51. Ibid, p 226.
52. Ibid p 265
53. Dyson, Proclamations fol 114, cited Southern op cit pp 38 and 39 Note.
54. Ibid
55. See Appendix I.
56. Southern op cit p 27.
57. Dr. Sanders' Report to Cardinal Morone (May ? 1561) C.R.S. Vol. 1, p 43. Horne's first Visitation of New College seems to have been made in Sept. 1561 (S.P. Dom Eliz 19, No. 56 of 26 Sept. 1561).
58. Ibid
59. S.P. Eliz Dom 19, No. 56, 26 Sept. 1561.
60. Horne MS Register f 14. Those who were removed or resigned later were Edward Harris, Stephen Henslowe, Richard Sitwell (or Sotwell) and William Reynolds. (See Appendix I).

61. Appendix I.
62. Visitation Articles and Injunctions, 1559-1575, Vol. III (Ldn 1910 ed. W.H. Frere), p 134 et seq.
63. Ibid, p 131.
64. Liber Actorum 1566 (Winchester, ^{Diocesan} ~~Episcopal~~ Registry), f 33.
John Rastell had been a Fellow of New College (see Appendix I). Thomas Heskens was a Cambridge man and Fellow of Clare Hall. ~~He~~ became a Dominican friar. He was a man of great learning exemplified by one work of his which survives, The Parliament of Chryste (1566): Recusant Prose, op cit p 48).
65. Ibid. For Mundyn, see Appendix I. He became a priest and was executed at Tyburn on 12 Feb 1584.
66. Ibid. For Harding's works, see Southern op cit p 420.
67. Ibid f 34. The work of Nicholas Sanders referred to is probably The Supper of the Lord (1565) - see Southern op cit p 94.
68. Ibid ff 37 and 38. Hyde was a "schismatic" or Church-Papist (a Papist who outwardly conformed) and later a harbourer of priests. Thomas Dodwell, a spy, in 1584, gave He intelligence of people who were sheltering Seminary priests. ~~(said~~ S.P. Dom Eliz 168 No. 34) that "Mr. Hyde, hard by Abingdon, of Norcote, a schismatic and his wife, a recusant, entertaineth Askew (alias Nutter), - John Nutter, who was executed at Tyburn on 12 Feb 1584.
For the work of Nowell (Noel), Dean of St. Paul's, who was engaged in controversy at this time with Harding, see Southern op cit, p 62 et seq.
69. Horne MS Register, f 54. For Robert Poyntz (or Pointz) see page 19.
70. Liber Actorum, 1566, ff 37 and 38. See also Appendix I.
71. Ibid f 38, and Appendix I. For the Henslowe family, see Chapter VII, Section III.
72. Ibid f 39 and Appendix I. He and others "utterly refused to subscribe to the Articles of Religion": Horne Register f 20.
73. Horne Reg. ff 42 and 32. The Warden was Thomas White, appointed 1553 (History of New College, H. Rashdall and R. Rait (Ldn 1901) p 232). He celebrated Mass in Mary's reign (ibid pp 121, 122).
74. Liber Actorum, 1566, f 55, and Horne Reg. f 42.

75. Horne MS Reg. f 42.
76. Ibid
77. Ibid f 44 v.
78. Ibid, f 46. George Lewkner of Tangmere. He is probably identical with George Lewkner, a Hampshire man who was returned as a recusant in 1583 (S.P. Dom Eliz 160/26). See also Appendix I.
79. Horne Reg. f 45.
80. Ibid, f 62.
81. Ibid, f 55, Appendix I.
82. Horne Reg. f 55.
83. Ibid, f 56 and Appendix I.
84. Horne Reg. f 58 v.
85. Ibid, ff 57 v and 58. John Ingram, born at Stoke Edith, Herefordshire was ordained priest in 1589 and executed at Gateshead in 1574 (Our Martyrs: edited C.A. Newdigate S.J. (C.T.S. 1935)).
86. c.f. History of New College, op cit, p 117.
87. Appendix I.
88. History of New College, op cit, p 129 et seq.
89. Visitation Articles and Injunctions III op cit:
Injunctions for New College, 1567 No. 26, p 189.
90. Ibid, No. 56, p 192.
91. There are altogether 14 Libri Actorum (Bishop's Consistory Court) for the whole of Horne's episcopate (1561-1579). They deal with all kinds of ecclesiastical offences (including recusancy), covering practically every year. Unfortunately, no records exist regarding presentments to the Archdeacon's Court.
92. L.A. (Liber Actorum) 1558-1562 (Winchester Diocesan Registry), f 95.
93. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS 122 transcript by Canon A.W. Goodman, B.D., F.S.A. with notes, Hants Field Club Proceedings, Vol. 14 p 63 et seq. Thomas Crane had been presented to the living by Bishop Gardiner on 15 Feb. 1554. (Registers of Bishops Gardiner and Ponet, transcribed Herbert Chitty, Oxf. 1930).

94. Further citations are recorded in L.A. 1570, f 305 v, L.A. (II) 1572-4, ff 115 v and L.A. 1575-7, f 168.
95. "Marie, wife of Richard Smyth" was presented for the parish of Winnall in 1583 (S.P. 160/26).
96. C.C. College, Cambridge MS 122 op cit. He was Thomas Cheston, an ex-Marian priest, who had been inducted to the living on 6 Sept. 1558. He may have been a relative of Stephen Cheston, another ex-Marian priest, who remained on the staff of the Cathedral. (Ibid).
97. L.A. 1562 f 4 v.
98. Ibid, f 8 v.
99. L.A. 1563-4, f 58.
100. L.A. 1563-64 f 8. William Copege was an ex-Marian priest, inducted 7 March 1556. (C.C. Coll. MS 122 transcript).
101. L.A. 1562 F 73 v.
102. L.A. 1567 f 31.
103. C.C. Coll. Camb. MS 122 transcript, p 83. The next induction to the living at Odiham was on 2 October 1571, the vacancy having been caused by the death of Hugh Laiver (Horne MS Register f 93), cited M. F. S. Baigent papers, Cathedral Library, Winchester).
104. For the genealogy of the White family see Hants Visitations, Harleian Socy. Vol. 64. For "Church-Papists" (or "Schismatics") see Section VII of this Chapter.
105. L.A. 1568, f 114.
106. John Bruertone, Rector of Meonstoke, had been inducted on 22 August 1557, and the Rector of Droxford in the reign of Henry VIII, in 1525 (C.C. Coll. Camb. MS 122).
107. L.A. 1563-64 f 6.
108. The distinguished family of the Sandys were related to the Windsor family. Henry, Lord Sandys, son of Thomas, the second Lord Sandys, married Elizabeth, daughter of William Lord Windsor. After Henry's death Elizabeth married Sir George Paulet, of Crondall, who died in 1585. Lady Elizabeth Paulet was a harbourer of priests and an unswerving recusant. (Recusant Rolls E 377 et seq S.P. Dom Eliz 160/26, Foley Records Vol. 2, p 586 etc.). The Mistress Windsor at the christening was probably either her sister-in-law or her nephew's wife (See Woodward, History of Hampshire III, p 263 and Visitations of Hampshire, Harleian Society Vol. 64).
109. L.A. 1563-1564 f 49.

110. Ibid f 51.
111. Thomas Travers was a substantial yeoman of Alresford and was to be a well-known recusant (C.R.S. Vol. 22 and S.P. Dom Eliz 160/26). He spent a good many years in prison for recusancy and in 1579 was imprisoned in Winchester, being then described as aged 80. (Strype Annals, Vol. II Pt II, p 660). In 1587 he was in prison with other Hampshire recusants in Wisbech Castle and there wrote a letter to Walsingham, complaining of his treatment. (S.P. Dom Eliz 203, No. 39).
112. L.A. 1567 f 71 v.
113. L.A. 1568 ff 47 and 52.
114. L.A. 1569 f 100 v. "Erexit crucem ligneam insculpatam nomine suo".
115. Ibid
116. Ibid
117. L.A. 1569 f 124 v.
118. Ibid f 110.
119. L.A. 1562 f 46.
120. L.A. 1566 f 52 v.
121. L.A. 1567 f 32: "nupti fuerunt³ in aurora ante lucem". There were known to be two Marian priests in Winchester at this time, Simon Palmer and Thomas Cook (See N 147 below).
122. L.A. 1558-1562, f 104 v.
123. L.A. 1567 f 15 and f 32.
124. Ibid f 33.
125. L.A. 1566 f 52.
126. L.A. 1568 f 96.
127. L.A. 1566, f 60 v.
128. For instance, in charges against Sir John Bourne, an ex-Secretary of Queen Mary, in 1563, Bishop Sandys of Worcester said that "if he were put to trial when and where he received the Communion, I think it would fall forth that he received it not since the Queen's Majesty's reign, for his custom is to shift ever on Easter Eve from the one of his houses to the other and so avoid the matter". (S.P. Dom Eliz 28, No. 42, cited Anglo-Roman Relations C.G. Bayne (Oxf. 1913), p 160).

129. Visitation Articles and Injunctions III 1559-1575 (ed. Frere, Ldn 1910) pp 135, 136.
130. See Note 121 above.
131. L.A. 1567, f 32. John Scrut and his wife were presented as late as 1586 for not receiving Communion. (L.A. 1586 f 3 v).
132. L.A. 1567 f 32.
133. Ibid.
134. L.A. 1562 f 30 v.
135. L.A. 1568 f 47. Margaret Peckens is returned as a recusant in the official list of recusants for 1583 (S.P. Dom Eliz 160/26).
136. Richard Erle of S. Stoneham (2 years) L.A. 1566 f 99, Robert Goldham, Havant: L.A. 1568 f 39 (2 years) and Richard Knight of Itchen Abbas (7 years), L.A. 1569, f 41.
137. L.A. 1558-1562 f 123 V.
138. L.A. 1566 f 36. In 1583 Joan Bassett was returned in an official list as a recusant of St. Peter's-in-the-Soke, Winchester (S.P. Dom Eliz 160/26).
139. This was in accordance with a rubric in the Book of Common Prayer which said, "And if there be not above twenty persons in the parish of discretion to receive the Communion, yet there shall be no Communion, except four (or three at the least) communicate with the priest".
140. L.A. 1566 f 50.
141. See Chapter VII. Section III (Cotton).
142. L.A. 1566 f 56 v.
143. L.A. 1566 f 73 v.
144. L.A. 1567 f 11 v.
145. L.A. 1558-62, 1566, 1567, 1568 and 1569.
146. L.A. 1567 f 74 v.
147. L.A. 1568 f 94 v. Simon Palmer is returned as a priest in 1583 in an official list of Hampshire Recusants (S.P. 160/26). He is then stated to be in the Gaol. According to Bishop Gardiner's Register, p 140, Thomas Cook was presented by Gardiner to the living of St. Maurice, Winchester, on 11 August 1554.
- Both Simon Palmer and Thomas Cook are cited in 1570. They are then charged with refusing to go to church or to receive Holy Communion (L.A. 1570, f 199 v). They were both excommunicated (ibid)).

148. A.P.C. (N.S.), 4 Nov. 1564, p 156. At this time (Nov. 1564) Hodson was reported by Horne to the Council as being a "misliker" of the reformed religion (Letters from the Bishops to the Privy Council, 1564, with returns of the J.P's (Camden Misc. Vol. 9 1895, ed Mary Bateson).
 Mary Hodson of Kallendre, Winchester, who is probably a relation of Robert Hodson, was cited as a non-communicant in 1582. (L.A. 1581-2 f 80).
149. A.P.C. (N.S.) 11 Nov 1564.
150. A.P.C. (N.S.) 14 Nov 1564.
151. A.P.C. (N.S.) 24 Nov 1564.
152. P. Hughes Reformation III (Ldn 1954) p 121.
153. Elizabethan Episcopal Administration, W.P.M. Kennedy (Ldn 1924) Vol. 1, p cxxvi cited, Hughes op cit p 121, Note 4.
154. L.A. 1562 f 64. He was to remain an obstinate recusant. In 1577 he was returned as a recusant in an official list (C.R.S. Vol. 22: List).
155. Ibid
156. L.A. 1566 f 25.
157. L.A. 1574/37.
158. L.A. 1567 f 50 v.
159. L.A. 1567 f 14.
160. The figures for individual years are: L.A. 1558-1562:
 1 H.C., Nil, church absence; L.A. 1562 23 H.C., 3 C.A.;
 L.A. 1566 12 H.C., 15 C.A.; L.A. 1567 22 H.C., 8 C.A.;
 L.A. 1568 119 H.C., 13 C.A.; L.A. 1569 71 H.C., 16 C.A.
161. See e.g. Lingard History, Vol. 6, p 329 (London 1849):
 "Some, to escape the penalties, attended occasionally at the Established service and endeavoured to elude the charge of hypocrisy by maintaining that such attendance was with them nothing more than the discharge of a civil duty, an expression of their obedience to the letter of the law ...".
 Henry Garnet, the Jesuit Superior, at his trial for alleged complicity in the Gunpowder Plot (1605) said:
 "I know divers myself who before that Bull (Bull Regnans in Excelsis, 1570, excommunicating Elizabeth) refused to go to church all the time of Queen Elizabeth, though perhaps most Catholics did indeed go to church before".
 (Cobbett's State Trials, Vol. II p 239 (London 1809)).
 The requirement to receive Holy Communion was a

- rubric in the Book of Common Prayer, 1559: "And note that every parishioner shall communicate at the least three times in the year of which Easter to be one ...".
162. On 9th April 1571 a Bill "concerning coming to church and receiving of the communion" was read a first time in the Commons (D'Ewes Journal (1682) p 159). Norton, in the debate on the measure, considered that such a measure would enable Papists to be discovered. "The very touchstone of trial", he said "... must be the receiving of the Communion" (Ibid p 177). The Bill passed the Commons and the Lords, but the Queen refused her assent. Before the recusancy statute of 1581 was passed, the Lords considered a similar bill to that of 1571 "amended and extended ... to meet the deepening crisis. In its main clauses it was a rather severer version of the 1571 bill ...: failure to receive Holy Communion thrice a year involved fines ranging from £20 for the first offence to £100 for the fourth. The bishops, one supposes, had been at it again". (Eliz I and Her Parliaments 1559-1581: J.E. Neale (Ldn 1953) p 386). It was not pursued apparently owing to the opposition of Elizabeth (ibid).
163. L.A. 1568 f 94 v. He is presented as a "clerk".
164. Winifred Scrope, L.A. 1568 f 8; William Hoorde ibid f 24; Roger Tichborne and his wife ibid f 34 v; Katherine Hall L.A. 1569 f 97; Elizabeth Pitts ibid p 85 f 96; and John Beconsawe ibid f 102 v.
165. B.M.: Bishop Kennet's Collections, Vol. XI, Lansd. MSS 945 f 172.
166. S.P. Dom Eliz 168 No. 35 of (? Feb) 1584.
167. Span Cal 1558-1567 p 258, Quadra to de Vargas (Rome). See also F.W. Maitland, Collected Papers, 3 vols (Cambridge 1911) iii, p 178.
168. Maitland Ibid.
169. C.G. Bayne, Anglo-Roman Relations 1558-1568 (Oxford Historical and Literary Studies, Vol. 2, Oxf. 1913), p 162, pp 170 and 289 and Appendix 43, with a reference to a contemporary MS at Oscott College, entitled, An Answer to a comfortable advertisement with it (sic) additions written of late to afflicted Catholics concerning going to church with Protestants etc. See also R. Simpson Life of Campion (London 1896) p 25, N.5, citing Henry More, Hist. S.J. Prov. Angl. lib iii paras, 5-10.
170. Simpson op cit pp 25 and 203 N. 5 (quoting S.P. Dom Eliz 2 Nov. 1566) and Frere op cit p 140.
171. C.G. Bayne, op cit p 162.

172. See Southern op cit, pp 55 and 139; also p 461 ibid for the effect of Langdale's pamphlet. Persons said that Langdale, who was chaplain to the Catholic noble, Viscount Montague, "permitted him (Montague) as was said, to have English service in his house for his servants, though himself went to Mass". (Southern p 462).
173. D.N.B. Vol. 28, p 401.
174. Cobbett, State Trials Vol. I p 1157 (Ldn 1809).
175. Foley, Records, 2, p 587.

CHAPTER III

NOTES

1. Lansd. MS 12, 74.
2. Lands. MS 12, 63.
3. H.M.C. Cal. Salisbury Papers, Vol. 2, 96, 1572.
4. The Bull was dated 25th February 1570. It was only after it was issued that Pius V learnt that the Northern Revolt had collapsed. For text, see G.W. Prothero, Select Statutes (4th Ldn edition) p 195.
5. Cal. Span. S.P. ii No. 193.
6. N. Sanders, Anglican Schism p 305 (English edition, ^{Ldn} 1877: D. Lewis).
7. W. Camden, Annals, (Ldn 1717), Book 2, p 10.
8. J. Lingard, History, Vol. VI, p 225 (Ldn 1849). cf. A.O. Meyer, England and the Catholic Church under Queen Elizabeth (English translation, 1916) p 535: "By this Bull, Pius V now placed the English Catholics in a desperate position between conflicting duties".
9. See Chapter XII as regards the three Statutes and the Proclamation of 1st July 1570, against those who bring in traitorous books and bulls.
10. Camden, Annals, op cit Book 2, pp 10 and 107.
11. See Chapter VII, Section III.
12. Chapter II, p 39.
13. L.A. 1570 (Diocesan Registry, Winchester).
14. L.A. 1571 (Jan. 1571/2 - Jan. 1572/3; L.A. 1572-4 (Jan. 1572-3 - April 1574) and L.A. 1574 (May 1574-Nov. 1574).
15. For example, Thomas Travers, cited as a non-Communicant in 1570 (L.A. 1570 f 8 v) was later (1583: S.P. Dom Eliz 160/26) in Winchester Gaol for recusancy; Henry Shelley and his wife Mary, of Mapledurham (Buriton) (L.A. 1570 f 97 v) were cited as non-Communicants; ~~later~~ Mary Shelley was returned in the official list of recusants for 1583 (S.P. Dom Eliz 160/26) and Henry Shelley was later imprisoned in London for recusancy (C.R.S. Vol. 1, p 69, Vol. II pp 232, 234); Katherine Hall of Easton (L.A. 1571 f 103 v) also returned as a non-Communicant, was a constant recusant later (S.P. Dom Eliz 117 Nos 10 and 10 (1) and S.P. Dom Eliz 160/26). See also Chapter II, ~~No.~~ N.164.

16. L.A. 1570 ff 230, 232 v, 242, 246, etc.
17. See Chapters VII, Section III and Appendix II, for these recusants.
18. L.A. 1570.
19. L.A. 1571, 1572-4, 1574, 1575, 1575-~~6~~ 7, and 1578.
20. L.A. 1570.
21. AS ~~Note~~ 18 above.
22. L.A. 1574.
23. L.A. 1570.
24. L.A. 1575.
25. L.A. 1570 f ~~214~~ 214. Thomas Palmer, described as a priest, was in ^{the} gaol at Winchester in 1583 (S.P. Dom Eliz 160/26).
26. L.A. 1570 f 199 v. They had been previously cited - in 1568 (L.A. 1568, f 94 v). Thomas Coke was imprisoned in the Marshalsea in 1572 (see Appendix VII).
27. L.A. 1572-4, f 132. Simon Palmer was in Winchester gaol in 1583 (S.P. Dom Eliz 160/26).
28. L.A. 1575 ff 4 and 4 v.
29. See, for example, the case of Elizabeth Dowse of Romsey (L.A. 1571 f 39) and that of John Manning of Andover, ibid f 47 v, etc.
30. L.A. 1568 f 23.
31. L.A. 1572-4. Ann Tichborne was returned as a recusant in April 1583 in an official list (S.P. Dom Eliz 160/26).
32. L.A. 1572-4, f 96.
33. See English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I Bishop W.H. Frere (Ldn 1904), p 208 for a brief graphic description of the English Church and the clergy in the earlier years of the reign.
34. Elizabethan Episcopal Administration, I (Ldn 1910) (ed. W.P. M. Kennedy) p 203, N. 29 quoted P. Hughes, Reformation, III (Ldn 1954), p 145, N.1.
35. L.A. 1570 f 266, and L.A. 1571 f 91 respectively.
36. L.A. 1571 f 93 v.

37. L.A. 1571 f 77.
38. L.A. 1570 f 240 v.
39. cf. The christening at The Vine, Chapter II, p 30.
40. L.A. 1570 f 78 v.
41. L.A. 1570 f 101 v.
42. L.A. 1570 f 272.
Article 36 of Parker's Articles of Inquiry for his
Metropolitical Visitation of the Winchester Diocese in
1574 or 1575 asked "whether inns, taverns, victuallly,
tippling houses or gaming houses be patent or entered into
in service or preaching time ..." (Visitation Articles
and Injunctions Vol. 3, (edited Frere), p 381).
43. L.A. 1570 f 56.
44. Ibid f 56 v.
45. L.A. 1570 f 273 and L.A. 1571 f 103 v.
46. L.A. 1570 f 306 v.
47. L.A. 1575 f 78.
48. For Thomas Pounce, see Chapter VII, Section III (Pounce).
49. L.A. 1570 f 106. "Invocat auxilium Beate Marie".
50. L.A. 1570 f 238 v.
51. He was inducted to the living on 30th March 1556:
transcript of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge,
MS 122 by Canon A.W. Goodman, B.D., with notes: Hants
Field Club Proceedings, Vol. 14, p 63 et seq.
52. L.A. 1570, f 79 A.
53. Visitation Articles and Injunctions, III 1559-1575
(Ed. Frere) pp 318 and 324, and Horne MS Register f 81
et seq.
54. S.P. Dom Eliz 90, No. 18.
55. See page 61.
56. "Contra Papam et superstitiosam Missam" : Horne Reg.
ff 81 and 81 v.
57. "Favet magis religioni superstitione quam vera religioni
nunc recepta. Et quod non ministrat juratum publicum super
~~sum~~ supremitate Domine Regine": ibid.

58. Visitation Articles and Injunctions op cit III p 318.
59. Ibid p 319
60. See Chapter II, p 32.
61. Visitation Articles and Injunctions, op cit, 3, p 323.
62. Ibid.
63. Ibid p 322.
64. Ibid p 323.
65. The Reformation and English Education, N. Wood M.A. Ph.D. (Ldn 1930), p 173.
66. Ibid, p 173 quoting Visitation Articles and Injunctions op. cit, 3, p 327.
67. Ibid
68. Ibid p 173.
69. Visitation Article and Injunctions (edited Frere) 3, p 328.
70. Ibid
71. Ibid p 330
72. Ibid
73. S.P. Dom Eliz 90 No. 18. Cf Dom N. Birt, O.S.B. The Elizabethan Religious Settlement (London, 1907) p 420. The distinguishing marks appear to be in Burleigh's hand.
74. S.P. 35 No. 47, 1564. Cf Birt, op.cit. p 527.
75. Cf Birt op.cit p 527. Before about 1580 the Government generally speaking, confined their attention to the more important Catholics: it is only after that year that recusant members of the lower classes become seriously affected. Horne, for example, stated in a letter to Cecil in August 1561, what may be referred to as the basis of the Government's attitude in the first half of the reign. He said: "The Common sort of the people, who may easily be brought to conform themselves to the better sort of them in dignity and reputation, as they see them bent to set forward". Bishop Horne to Cecil, 29 August 1561, S.P. Dom Eliz 19, No. 36, cited Birt op.cit p 527.
76. Ralph Henslowe of west Boarhunt was the husband of Catherine Henslowe, a well-known recusant (see official list of recusants for 1583: S.P. Dom Eliz 160/26). All the

Henslowes were recusant, except Thomas Henslowe, Ralph Henslowe's son, who was a "schismatic", (see Chapter VII, Section III) ~~F. Ralph Henslowe's son, who~~ was Clerk of the Peace in 1574 (S.P. Dom Eliz 96, May 1574). For the ancestry of the Henslowes, see Hutchins' History of Dorset, III, p 537 and V.C.H. Hampshire III, p 145.

77. See Appendix VII.

78. Recusant Roll 1592-3 E 377/1 (C.R.S. Vol. 18 pp 276, 281, 286) and later Rolls (E 377/2 et seq).

79. Edward de Marini ~~seems to have been~~ ^{was most probably} a member of the wealthy family of Genoese merchants who settled in Southampton towards the end of the 15th century (see Dr. A.A. Ruddock's Italian Merchants and Shipping in Southampton, 1270-1600 (Southampton, 1951). Edward de Marini may have been a brother of Gerardo de Marini or, in his full name, Gerardo de Marini de Egra. Gerardo's sister, Isabel, ~~the well-known Hampshire Elizabethan recusant - (see Hants Visitations, Harleian Society Vol. 64, under Wells)~~ was the second wife of Gilbert Wells, esquire, of Brambridge, Twyford, the well-known Hampshire Elizabethan recusant (see Hants Visitations, Harleian Society Vol. 64, under Wells). Gerardo himself was a recusant. He entered the Inner Temple in November 1559 and was expelled for recusancy in 1572. In a certificate of recusants for the Inner Temple made in 1577 he is stated to be among those who "are discontinued, but whiles they continued in our house were vehemently suspected and letters directed for the conventing of them. Whereupon they absented themselves and sithens have not come amongst us" (C.R.S. Vol. 22 p 104). Gerardo's name is in a list of recusants in London in March 1588 (C.R.S. Vol. 22 p 123).

Gerardo was the son of Niccolo de Marini de Egra, who died in 1544 (Italian Merchants, op cit, p 251). Dr. Ruddock says (op cit p 254) that Gerardo died probably in 1594 "for in that year one 'Edward Marine' presumably his son and doubtless by this time the complete Englishman, succeeded to his place among the free suitors of the town (Southampton)". This would not have been the Edward de Marini of 1572, if Gerardo's son is meant.

80. Hatfield MSS Part II, No. 96, 1572, p 36.

81. A.P.C. (N.S.) 24 June 1574.

82. In Visitation Articles and Injunctions 1559-75 Vol. III (ed W.H. Frere) p 374 it is stated that the Articles for Parker's Visitation "are not dated but that '1575' is inserted in writing on the title page of the printed copy. At Horne's request, Parker visited his diocese (citing Parker, Parker Soc. Camb., 1853). The Archbishop's inhibition for his visitation is dated 7 March 1574-5. (Horne Reg.

f 99). On 17 May (1575) Parker died".

On the other hand, the following preamble occurs to the statement of the proceedings in Liber Actorum a termino Pasche 1574 (Winchester Diocesan Registry): "Die Saboti xv viz., Die Maij An^o Dni 1574 in loco Consⁱ Winton etc. Coram Venerabili viro Johe Sprint Artium M^{ro} Surro^{to} Venerabilis Viri Mri Georgii Acworth Legum Doct. Commissarii Generalis Reverendissimi in Christo et Dni Matthei permissa dia Cant. Archipi etc Durant^e Visitatione sua metropolitana infra Dioc^u Winton nuper inchoate in presentia etc.

The underlinings have been made advisedly. Parker's Visitation seems to have begun in 1574.

83. Strype, Annals of the Reformation (Oxford 1824) II, ii, p 344 quoted Zurich Letters I: Letter 130, Note on page 322. Strype refers to Parker's Visitation in 1575; the source of his information is not known.
84. Visitation Articles and Injunctions, op.cit, III, p 374 et seq .
85. Ibid Arts. 6 and 7, p 375.
86. Ibid Art 33 p 380. The schoolmaster of George Cotton of Warblington had been cited for recusancy in 1570 and excommunicated: L.A. 1570 f 101. There is no record of any other citation of a schoolmaster.
87. Ibid Art 34, p 380.
88. Ibid, Art 37 p 381 (see also Chapter XI, Section I).
89. Ibid
90. Ibid, Art 38, p 381.
91. Ibid, Art 41, p 382
92. Parker's Correspondence, op cit, Letter 369, p 478
93. S.P. Dom Eliz 108, No. 40. The underlining is not in the original document.
94. C.R.S. ix, pp 62-69, cited J.H. Pollen, English Catholics in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth (London 1920) p 258.

95. Coke appears to have been something of a firebrand. John Philpot (1516-1555), Archdeacon of Winchester in Edward VI's reign and Protestant martyr, "quarrelled with his bishop John ~~Reveret~~ ^{Reveret}, whom his Registrar, Cook, "a man who hated pure religion", had set up against him. Cook even set on the Archdeacon with his servants as if to murder him". (D.N.B. Vol. XV, p 112).
96. S.P. Dom Eliz 114, No. 22.
97. See Chapter XI, Section II.
98. Conyers Read, Mr. Secretary Walsingham and the policy of Queen Elizabeth (Oxford Clar. Press, 1925) Vol. II, p 280. Cuthbert Mayne was captured on June 1577.
99. Ibid
100. S.P. Dom Eliz 114, No. 68. The memorandum is headed "How such as are backward, corrupt in religion, may be induced to conformity and others stayed from like corruption". C.f. Conyers Read, op.cit., p 281, where there is a transcript of the document. This transcript mentions "by the space of two months" for the "conference" in (2) of the proposals, but no specified period seems to be mentioned in the original which has been examined.
Professor Conyers Read says that the document has been much neglected by historians (ibid p 282).
101. Hampshire recusants were so "conferred with". For example, in Sept. 1578 (A.P.C. (New Series), 26 Sept. 1578 p 329) Horne wrote to the Warden of the Fleet, to which prison George Cotton had been committed by the Bishop (C.R.S. Vols. 1, 2, and 3 - Prison Lists) to have Cotton sent to him "to be further conferred withal in matter of religion". Also, in 1578, (A.P.C. (N.S.) 9 June ~~June~~ 1578) Thomas Travers was to go to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners because of "evil behaviour in matters of religion".
102. S.P. Dom Eliz 116 No. 15.
103. S.P. Dom Eliz 117, No. 10. Hampshire may be compared with Yorkshire. In sending his return, Sandys, Archbishop of York, said "... but little have I prevailed, for a more stiff-necked wilful or obstinate people did I never know or hear of ...". (C.R.S. Vol. 22, p 3).
104. B.M. Harl. MS 360 f 65. C.f. Conyers Read, op.cit. p 282 Note 2.
105. See Chapter IX, Section III and Appendix VII.

106. S.P. Dom Eliz 117 No. 13 and S.P. 118 No. 9 cited by W.P.M. Kennedy, Elizabethan Episcopal Administration, I (London 1924) pp clxxiii and clxxiv. Thomas Cooper was translated to Winchester in 1584.
107. Zurich Letters I, No. 129 Horne to Gualter, 10th August 1576.
108. Adam Horne of Saffron Waldon entered Winchester College in 1569 and became a Scholar and Fellow of New College (1575-7). He went to Rheims in August 1577 and died in the College in 1578. He is described in the Douai Diaries as "adolescens et nepos pseudo-episcopi Wintoniensis" (Douai Diaries I and II ed T.F. Knox Ldn. 1878 pp 128, 133).
109. D.N.B. Vol. 27 (Robert Horne) p 361 (edn 1891) says that Horne died at Winchester House on 1st June 1580, but Strype says that the date of the death was June 1579 and that his will was proved on 27 June 1579. (Strype Annals II (ii) p 378, quoted Zurich Letters Vol. I, p 332). This seems to be confirmed by A.P.C. (N.S.) of 4 March 1579 (old style), p 408, which speaks of "the late Bishop of Winchester".

CHAPTER IV

NOTES

1. S.P. Dom Eliz.45, No.27, cited Prof.Conyers Read, Mr.Secretary Walsingham and the policy of Queen Elizabeth (Oxford 1925), II, p.284. Conyers Read considers that, although ~~Walsingham's~~ letter (~~Walsingham~~) is not dated, the appropriate date is 1579, and that Walsingham wrote it probably at the Queen's request.
2. Peter Guilday, The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent, 1558-1795 (Ldn.1914), p.125.
3. See Appendix I.
4. Thomas Pounce had been committed to the Marshalsea by Horne on 11 March 1576 (C.R.S.I, p.70). For Pounce, see also Chapter VII, p.157 C.R.S. 39, Introduction p.xv.
5. The group received the approval of Gregory XIII on 14 April 1580: R.Simpson, Life of Campion (1896) pp.222 and 223. Thomas Pounce was no doubt a member of the group (H.Foley, Records of the Society of Jesus (Ldn,1577-82) III, p.628)¹ Another Hampshire recusant was a member, Chideock Tichborne (ibid).
6. Foley, op.cit p.628.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. See Pollen, op.cit p.225, cited Southern, op.cit, p.150.
10. The Challenge is reproduced in Foley, Records III, p.630 and in Southern, op.cit, p.153. It was not at the time printed, but distributed extensively in manuscript. The shortness made it an easy matter to copy. For an appreciation of its literary qualities, see Southern, op.cit, p.155.
11. C.R.S., 39 xii and xxiv.
12. Foley, op.cit, pp.644, 645. William Hoorde was a well-known Hampshire recusant - Recusant Roll E 377/1. Like Benjamin Tichborne, he was a Wykehamist.
13. S.P. Dom Eliz.144, No.3, 18 November 1580.
14. Ibid.
15. S.P. Dom Eliz 144, No.37.

16. Henry Pitts, gentleman, Alton, was not a Catholic, but the rest of the family were undoubted recusants. Henry Pitts' wife was the sister of Dr. Nicholas Sanders (See Chapter VII, p.165). For the pedigree of the Sanders family, see Visitations of Surrey, Harleian Society, 43, under Sanders.
William Pitts himself subsequently went to Rheims, where he was ordained priest in 1585. He was sent to England as a missionary priest on 29 May 1585 (Douai Diaries I and II ed. T.F. Knox, Ldn, 1878), pp.12, 206.
17. Probably a relative - see No. 16 above.
18. S.P. Dom Eliz 147, No.73.
19. S.P. Dom Eliz 144, Nos3.
20. Ibid
21. S.P. Dom Eliz 147, No.73.
22. S.P. Dom Eliz 147, No.73.
23. Ibid.
24. See p.75 of this Chapter.
25. S.P. Dom Eliz 147, No.73.
26. Ibid.
27. S.P. Dom Eliz 147, No.74.
28. S.P. Dom Eliz 147, No.73.
29. S.P. Dom Eliz 90, No.18.
30. C.R.S. Vol.XIII (List, 1574).
31. S.P. Dom Eliz.147, No.76. Memo of charges against Tichborne, etc. He became an M.P. in 1593 (Parliaments of England, Part I, 1213-1702: Ldn,1878) and was knighted by Queen Elizabeth on 14 September 1601 (V.C.H. Hants II, p.85), the year in which two of his kinsmen were executed (Thomas Tichborne, priest, executed on 20 April 1601 and Nicholas Tichborne, layman, on 24 August 1601: R.Challoner, Memoirs, Part I, pp.216 and 405, Ldn,1741).

There is a presentment of Benjamin Tichborne and his wife as recusants at an unspecified date (Losely MSS Bundle 1380:

Recusancy, cited in A Century of Persecution (compiled from contemporary records, mainly Losely MSS), 1920, by St. George K. Hyland, D.D., Ph.D (Ldn, 1920). He was cited as a non-Communicant in 1568 (Liber Actorum 1568 f.36, Winchester Diocesan Registry) when he was described as of West Tisted. He did not come into full possession of the Tichborne estates till 1571 (V.C.H. Hants II, p.85).

32. S.P. Dom Eliz 147, No.74, Articles containing matters of offence against the State.
33. Besides finding Elizabeth Sanders at the Pitts' house at Alton, Norton found John Body (executed in 1583) at the Shelley's Manor of Mapledurham (Buriton) C.R.S. V p.395. With two other J.P.'s he searched the recusants' rooms in the Gaol at Winchester in January 1583 (S.P. Dom Eliz 158, No.9).
34. S.P. Dom Eliz 147, No.74.
35. D.N.B. Vol.36, p.106.
36. Richard Weston, of ancient descent, was a Judge of the Common Pleas under Elizabeth and had been Solicitor-General under Mary, having been appointed to that post on 20 November 1557. He died on 6 July 1572. (Biographical Dictionary of Judges of England: Edward Foss, London 1870, p.429).
37. S.P. Dom Eliz 147, No.74. As one of the quorum a J.P.'s power was considerable. To be of the quorum meant that he was one of the J.P.'s who "had to be present at all formal exercises of authority, and the men so named were those with official or legal experience". (R.G. Elton, England under the Tudors, Ldn 1954, pp.418 and 419).
38. S.P. Dom Eliz 147, No.74.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
41. 23 Eliz - see G.W. Prothero, Select Statutes and other Constitutional Documents illustrative of the reigns of Elizabeth and James I (4th edn., Oxford, 1913), p.74.
42. For Recusancy Finance, see Chapter XI.
43. Dyson's Proclamations, B.M. Grenville Library 8463, No.207 cited J.H. Pollen, op.cit., pp.339,340.
44. Bibliography of Royal Proclamations of the Tudors and Stuarts, Vol.I, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1910.

45. See Chapter VIII, Section IV.
46. A.O. Meyer, op. cit., p.146.
47. The records are L.A.1581 (January 1581 - January 1582) and L.A. 1581-1582 (January 1582 - July 1583): Winchester Diocesan Registry.
48. E 372/428.
49. E 372/429.
50. S.P. Dom Eliz 160/26.
51. See Chapter VII, p.163.
52. L.A. 1581-1582 f 127 v: ~~Winchester~~ (~~unabridged~~)
53. Ibid, ff 128, 137 v, and 139 v.
54. Ibid f 137 v. c.f. Letter of Mendoza to Philip II, 21 August 1580, Span. Cal. No.41: "... When the Catholics here are summoned before the Council and are asked why they do not attend the preachings, they answer that it is against their conscience to do so..."
55. See Anglo-Roman Relations (C.G.Bayne, Oxford 1913), p.160.
56. L.A.1581, ff 31 and 61. At Fareham lived John Ludlow, gentleman, of Cams Hall, a well-known harbourer of priests. Members of the Ludlow family were cited at this time to appear at the same Court as Thomas Woolgar and the others.
57. L.A. 1581-2 f.138.
58. See Chapter IX, p.215.
59. L.A. 1581-2 f.138.
60. L.A. 1581, f 157.
61. L.A. 1581-2 f 35. "Dominus declaravit dicto Leceter nonnulla capitula erroris suit concernentis transubstantiationem Corporis Christi".
62. L.A. 1581 f 2.
63. L.A. 1581-2 f.77.
64. A.P.C. (N.S.) 11 September 1581.

65. S.P. Dom Eliz 154, No.14.
66. A Collection of Scarce & Valuable Tracts by Lord Somers (Ldn. 1809), Vol.I, pp.64 and 165.
67. S.P. Dom Eliz 160/26.
68. The number is at least 299. It is not possible to state the exact number because some entires are in such terms as "One Allen and resorters to the house of Anthony, his wife...;" "Lawrence Young and others ... servants ..."; "the Lady Mary West and all her family", etc.
69. As regards the "slackness" of churchwardens, see Chapter V, p.89.
70. See Chapter VIII, p.203.
71. Letter of Rev.George Birket to Dr.William Allen from London, 24 April 1583, Douai Diaries I and II (edited T.F.Knox, Ldn 1878), p.353: "... Bodeus et Sleidus ... coram tribunali tam prudentibus responsis et tanto animi fervore catholicae religionis causam egerunt ut majorem fere Hamptoniensis comitatus partem ab ecclesiis haereticorum retraxerunt. Antea quidem multi nobiles in illa provincia catholici erant; jam autem non solum plures nobiles, sed ipsi etiam rustici undique convolant ..."
72. Cotton MS, Titus N III, No.81.
73. See Note 54 above.
74. Knox op.cit p.lxxi, citing MS Archiv, Dioc. Westmonast.
75. See p.82.
76. Lansd.MSS 39, No.46.
77. See Chapter VI, p 203.
78. Lansd.MSS 40, No.23.
79. D.N.B. Vol.60 p.13 (Edn.1899) and Watson MS Register (Winchester) f.1.
80. L.A. 1567, f 55.
81. Chapter II p.6 and Hants Visitations, Harleian Society, 64 (under White)
82. Chapter III, p.54.

CHAPTER V

NOTES

1. D.N.B. (1887) XII, p.149
2. Chapter III, page 64.
3. Lansdowne MS 42 (41)
4. Cooper was one of the members of the Court of High Commission created in December 1584 (Prothero op.cit. p.472 et seq.), but an Ecclesiastical Commission also seems to have been created for the Winchester Diocese (See examination of Stephen Cheston in November 1585, S.P. Dom Eliz.184, No.21).
"Oyer and terminer" means to "hear and determine". By a commission of oyer and terminer the commissioners, who in practice are judges of assize, though there may be other types of commissioners, enquire into treasons, felonies and misdemeanours. They hear and determine these cases in accordance with the law.
5. Robert Persons' Memoirs, C.R.S. Vol.4, p.141
6. This illustrates what has previously been said about the type of recusants who were fined.
7. 27 Eliz. C.I, Prothero op.cit., p.80.
8. 27 Eliz. C.2, Prothero op.cit., p.83.
9. S.P. Dom Eliz. 185, No.83 of (?) 1585.
10. L.A. 1581-2, f.138.
11. Chapter IV, page 73.
12. C.R.S. II, p.241 et seq. He was described in June 1586 as an "Under-Keeper at Winchester". (C.R.S. 2, p.241 et seq.)
13. S.P. Dom Eliz. 177 (3)
14. Ibid.
15. S.P. Dom Eliz. 184, No.21.
16. This question is not underlined in the original document.
17. C.R.S. II, p.251 et seq.

18. Strype, Annals, Vol. 2, Pt.2, pp.344, 345. Strype assigns Cooper's letter to "near about this date (1580)". But Cooper was not translated to Winchester till 1584. The date is actually fixed by the fourth proposal of his letter, which refers to the recusants' "compounding". The question of "compounding" with a view to some alleviation of the financial penalties of the recusancy Act of 1581 did not arise till 1586. (See Chapter XI, Section V.) C.f. Birt op.cit. p.423, N.1, where he says that the letter (Egerton MS.693 f 117) is from the pen of Cooper.

The Council gave instructions on 25 May 1586 to the Lord Lieutenants of Hampshire to watch the ports and creeks for Jesuits and Seminary priests (A.P.C.(N.S.) 25 May 1586, p.123).

19. A.P.C. (N.S.) Vol.14, p.125.
20. See Chapter XI, Section V.
21. This number does not correspond with any particulars from the Act Books of the Bishop, but is apparently based on presentments to the Archdeacon's Court.
22. See Appendix VII.
23. A.P.C. (N.S.) Vol.14, p.124: Letter of 25 May 1586 to the Sheriff of Hampshire.
24. The enclosed schedule does not survive.
25. Strype, Annals III, Part I, pp.623 et seq. The document dealing with the recusancy problem is headed: The dangerous state of the realm. It seems, says Strype, to be by Cecil or "some other wise counsellor".

A similar consideration was made by Walsingham in December 1586, suggesting much the same sort of remedy: S.P. Dom Eliz.157, No.89 cited by Conyers Read, Walsingham, II, p.305.

Later (on 7 February 1587) Burghley in a "memorial" mentioned the recusants who were to be restrained (S.P. Dom Eliz.198 No.18, 7 February 1587). In Hampshire they were: George Cotton, Henry Shelley and Gilbert Wells (Henry Shelley died in 1585 or 1586 (S.P. Dom Eliz.188, No.16)). In a further memorial (29 February 1587: S.P. Dom Eliz.198, No.29) he considers the measures which are necessary for the defence of the realm. Arrangements are to be made for the restraint of recusants "that are of most value in livelihood and tenants". Some are to go into houses in nearby shires with keepers, such as Wisbech, Ely and Farnham. Others "may be committed as close prisoners" to the Bishop of Winchester (and other bishops): they are to be "restrained" in Southwark.

They will be obliged "to live upon their own charge and their revenue to be taken up for the same". Commissioners are to be nominated "to take care specially ... how their lands may be surveyed and better answered".

The sons and heirs of recusants above 15 years should also be "stayed" to remain in certain places.

George Cotton, Thomas Vachell (apparently Stephen Vachell of Buriton is meant) and Gilbert Wells are the Hampshire recusants mentioned in this "memorial" as being of "special value".

As part of the general policy, Hampshire recusants, like those of other countries, were imprisoned before and at the time of the Armada.

Some of Walsingham's and ^{Burghley's} ~~Burleigh's~~ proposals were suggested again at the time of the Armada (see Note 72 below)

26. It was a treasonable act under the recusancy statute of 1581 to withdraw any person from the Established religion to the "Romish religion" (see Chapter XII)
27. Recusant parents risked incurring the penalties of the 1585 Statute (An Act against Jesuits, Seminary priests and such like disobedient persons, 27 Eliz.C.2.) by sending their children abroad. Notwithstanding these penalties, children were sent abroad in considerable numbers to be educated.
28. S.P. Dom Eliz.191 No.15, 11 July 1586: transcript Hants Field Club Papers, Vol.XII, 1932, p.54 et seq.
29. Strype Annals, III, Part 2, Appendix p.423.
30. He "followed the company of young gentlemen in England without attending to his function": Morris, Troubles, op.cit, ii, 340 quoted by Conyers Read op.cit III, p.19 Note I.
31. C.R.S. Vol.21, p.145 et seq.
32. C.R.S. Vol.21, p.95, footnote.
33. Span Cal. 1580-6 No.433, p.576.
34. See the Confessions of Anthony Tyrrell; Morris Troubles, Second Series, passim.
35. Ibid, p.340.
36. Ibid, pp.368 and 372
37. Mapledurham was the manor of the Shelleys at Buriton, near Petersfield. It seems clear that Tyrrell and the others took the Ports-

mouth to London road.

The Shelleys of Mapledurham were a well-known recusant family.
(see Chapter VII, p.165)

38. "Mr.Titchbourne, sometime of Portchester, now remaining at Longwood ... he being in London, Mr.Portescue brought thither Somersfield, his sisters being the receivers". S.P. Dom Eliz.168, No.34.
On 13 August 1586, Chideock Tichborne's servant, Thomas Hewes, said that "his master was resident at his house as Longwood ..." (S.P. Dom Eliz.192, No.34).
39. See Chapter VII, p.165.
40. B.M. Harl. MSS 286 f 52 cited C.R.S. 21, p.95
41. Span Cal 1580-6, No.468, Mendoza to King, 13 August 1586
42. Cobbett's State Trials, p.1136.
43. Kenyon MSS, H.M.C. 14th Report, App.iv, pp.612 613.
44. Bardon Papers, Camden Society, Series 3, Vol.1 (1909), p.45.
45. Cobbett's State Trials, p.1160.
46. The Censure of a Loyal Subject, 1587, by George Whetstone (edited J.Payne Collier, Ldn, 1863), p.22.
47. Holinshed, Chronicles, Vol.4, p.1573
48. Camden, Annals, Book 3, p.80
49. His gift for writing poetry is seen in three exquisite elegiac stanzas which he composed the night before his execution. They are to be found in many anthologies.
50. He was returned in the official list of Hampshire recusants for 1583: S.P. Dom Eliz.160/26. In that year he seems to have been questioned with Laurence Vaux about his journey overseas and the "popish relics" he had brought over, etc. (S.P.Dom Eliz.165, No.18)
51. See Chapter VIII, pp.197, 198 and 206.
52. C.R.S. Vol.I, p.132, quoting S.P. Dom Eliz, 192, No.18.
53. C.R.S. II, p.261.
54. The will of the Earl of Southampton is dated 24 June 1581. The executors include Gilbert Wells of Brambridge, brother of Swithun Wells, and "his faithful servant, Thomas Dymock, gentleman": Life

of Third Earl of Southampton, Carmichael Stopes (Camb.Univ. Press, 1922), p.4.

55. S.P. Dom Eliz.160/26.
56. The Attorney-General reported that Dymock "was committed by the Lords and Mr.Secretary, but the particular causes we know not". (C.R.S. 2, p.259)
57. Morris, Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers, Second Series (Three Series, Ldn, 1872-77), pp.340 and 365.
58. Ibid, p.352.
59. C.R.S. II, p.266.
60. Appendix I.
61. S.P. Dom Eliz.160/26.
62. "Mr.Tychyner brought from Winchester": C.R.S. II, p.257.
63. C.R.S. II, p.259.
64. C.R.S. II, p.262.
65. C.R.S. Vol.21, p.181 etc.
66. Cal Scottish and Mary Queen of Scots Papers, Vol.8, p.688.
67. C.R.S. 21 passim.
68. Knox, pp.17, 32. Anthony Tychinor left a permanent record of his imprisonment by twice cutting his name on the walls of the Beauchamp Tower, Tower of London, once just below the inscription of the Earl of Arundel (C.R.S. 21, p.189, Note).
69. A Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts by Lord Somers (Ldn,1809) Vol.I, p.167.
70. A.P.C. (N.S.) 24 February 1586-7
71. The Catholic Second Earl of Southampton died on 4 October 1581. His son, the future patron of Shakespeare and associate of the Earl of ~~Sussex~~ ^{Sussex}, was just on eight years of age at his death: Life of the Third Earl of Southampton. Carmichael Stopes (Camb.Univ.Press,1922), pp.4 and 5.
72. Eight recusants, including three of the rank of gentlemen, were returned for Titchfield in the list of recusants in 1583 (S.P. Dom Eliz.160/26).

73. See Note 25 above. Burghley further considered generally the restraint of recusants in a "memorial" on 6 March 1587. (S.P. Dom Eliz.199, No.16).
74. S.P. Dom Eliz.204, No.2
75. Lansd Mss 52 p.64.
76. See Chapter II, p.6.
77. B.M. MSS Royal 18 D iii.
78. S.P. Dom Eliz.206, No.85.
79. See p.110 of this Chapter.
80. S.P. Dom Eliz.208, No.24.
81. S.P. Dom Eliz.208, No.75.
82. A.P.C. (N.S.) 12 April 1588.
83. Henry Hallam, Constitutional History, Vol.1, p.162 (Ldn,1872: 3 vols).
84. Hume, History of England, Vol.5, p.297 (Oxford, 1826: 8 vols).
85. Allen, Defence of English Catholics, I, pp.85-86 (1584) quoted Hughes, Reformation, op.cit, III p.395.
86. B.M. The Spanish Armada (Ldn, 1886) by T.C. Noble. The list is stated to be based on contemporary and other documents. A similar list was published in 1798 (Ldn) entitled Names of Nobility, gentry, etc, who contributed to defence of the country against Spanish Armada, compiled by Leigh and Sotheby.
87. S.P. Dom Eliz.90, No.18.
88. Richard White was a J.P. till 1587, but was deprived because of the recusancy of his wife, See p.108.
89. Ricardus Straunge alias Barnes de Buriton (Weston is in the parish of Buriton) was fined £180 for recusancy (Recusant Roll 1592-3, E 377/1: C.R.S.18, p.288).
For Henry Carewe of Hordle (Hordle Bremor) see Recusant Rolls, 1592-3, et seq, E 377/1 etc.
90. S.P. Dom Eliz.160/26. (The entry of recusancy is: Anthony Lisle, gentleman, of Whippingham (I.of W)).

91. Helen Pregnish, wife of Richard Pregnish of Hursley, yeoman, is fined £180 for recusancy on Recusant Roll 1592-3 (E 377/1, C.R.S. 18 p.288); and Anna, wife of George Philpott, lately of Thruxton, esquire, is fined £160 on the same Roll (ibid).
92. S.P. Dom Eliz 90, No.18.
93. S.P. Dom Eliz.205, No.42, 21 November 1587.
94. See Chapter VII, p.155.
95. S.P. Dom Eliz.205, No.40, 21 November 1587.
96. They were both sons of Nicholas Tichborne of Tichborne and West Tisted, Sheriff of Hampshire (died 1555), the husband of Elizabeth Tichborne, "an obstinate recusant". (Hants.Visitations, Harl. Socy, Vol.64).
97. H.M.C. Report XV, Appendix Part 5.(Foljambe MSS), p.42.
98. L.A. 1586 and L.A. 1588 (There is no exact date for the commencement of this record.)
99. L.A.1586 f.7.
100. For example, Dorothy Pinck of Bighton presented as a non-Communicant in 1588 (L.A.1588 f.5) and previously was returned as such (L.A.1575 f. 80 v), was in the 1583 official list of recusants (S.P. Dom Eliz.160/26); similarly Joan Cooke of New Alresford (L.A.1588 f.6), Nicholas Collins (ibid f.37 v), John Goldsmith, gentleman, of Exton (ibid f.39) now cited as non-Communicants were also in the 1583 list. John Goldsmith was a convicted recusant in 1592-3 (Recusant Roll E 377/1).
101. L.A. 1586, f.3.
102. L.A. 1588, ff.34 and 35.
103. L.A. 1586, f.48.
104. In 1574 47 people were presented from Bishop's Waltham for not Communicating (L.A.1574, ff.23 et seq).
105. L.A. 1588, f.44.
106. S.P. Dom Eliz.157, No.89, quoted by Conyers Read, Walsingham II, p.305.
107. Ibid f.7 v.

108. L.A. 1588 f.6. et seq.
109. L.A. 1586 f.44.
110. Ibid f 48 v.
111. L.A. 1588 f.31 v.
112. L.A. 1586 f 8 v. See also Royal Injunctions, 1559: item "For tables in the church"..... "It is ordered ,. that the sacramental bread be made plain ... of the same fineness and fashion round ... as the usual bread and water heretofore named singing cakes, which served for the use of the private Mass". (Royal Injunctions, 1559: Prothero, op.cit. p.190).
113. Eight non-Communicants were presented from this very small village in 1588. L.A. 1588 f 8 v.
114. L.A. 1588 f 56.
115. L.A. 1586, f 39 v.
116. Ibid.
117. A.P.C. (N.S.) 21 September 1589.
118. Ibid.
119. A.P.C. (N.S.) 7 April 1590.
120. Ibid.
121. C.R.S. 42, p.148 referring to a document in the Stonyhurst Archives, A iv 1: M:196-7.
122. Other Elizabethan bishops took similar action. For example, Bancroft, at his visitation of the London diocese in 1601, enquired "whether any notorious recusant who obstinately refuseth to be partaker of the Church of England in public prayer and hearing the word of God preached ... be buried in Christian burial ..." (Bancroft's Articles of Visitation, Elizabethan Episcopal Administration, (edited W.P.M.Kennedy, Ldn, 1924) Vol.III, p.351).
123. C.R.S. 42, p.146.
124. C.R.S. 42, p.146 et seq.

CHAPTER VI - NOTES

1. A.P.C. (N.S.) 5 May 1590.
2. Ibid
3. Ibid
4. Chapter VIII, page 207.
5. S.P. Dom Eliz 240, No. 42. There is also a MS copy of the proclamation in the British Museum (MSS 3936 bb 44) relating specially to Hampshire and inscribed "for Mr. Deane of Winchester".
6. S.P. Dom Eliz 240 No. 43.
7. This particular measure was apparently intended to prevent the action known as "riding up and down" - see Chapter VII, page 161.
8. A.P.C. (N.S. 19 Dec. 1591.
9. Both Sir Walter Sandys, whose wife and her sister were recusants (see Chapter VII, page 147) and Benjamin Tichborne, all of whose many known kinsman were Catholics, were J.P's of the quorum. It is not known whether these two were among the special commissioners, but they, as J.P's, naturally had considerable authority in the county. In 1592 Sandys was High Sheriff for Hampshire (P.R.O. List of Sheriffs, Ldn, 1898). C.f. the action which J.P's were required to take against recusants at this time (see p.121).
10. A.P.C. (N.S. 28 January 1591-2.
11. Recusant Roll for 1592-3: transcript in C.R.S., Vol. 18 and p 287 et seq for Hampshire.
12. Ibid.
13. A.P.C. (N.S.) 21 July 1593. The letter for Hampshire is addressed to D.A. Atkinson, Southampton". David Atkinson was one of the Messengers of Her Majesty's Chamber (A.P.C. (N.S.) 12 Sept. 1592).
14. Ibid
15. S.P. Dom Eliz 243, No. 103, 1592 (?).
16. A.P.C. (N.S.) 8 Jan 1592/3.
17. S.P. Dom Eliz 247, No. 5.
18. S.P. Dom Eliz 248, No. 9.

19. S.P. Dom Eliz 254, No. 65. The information from this investigation was, so far as Hampshire was concerned, probably that eventually incorporated in the episcopal record known as the Processus contra Recusantes 1598-1603 (See page 128 of this Chapter).
20. S.P. Dom Eliz 256, No. 102, 22 March 1596.
21. This was William Wickham (II), who was appointed in 1595. William Day, the present bishop, was appointed in 1596.
22. See Chapter IV, pp 85, 86.
23. S.P. Dom Eliz 256, No. 102.
24. Page, ~~2~~ 128 et seq.
25. S.P. Dom Eliz 260 No. 92.
26. A.P.C. (N.S.) 21 Nov 1596.
27. A.P.C. (N.S.) 12 Dec. 1596.
28. A.P.C. (N.S.) 6 Nov. 1596.
29. S.P. Dom Eliz 264, No. 130, 2 Oct. 1597 (docquet).
30. Hatfield Cal. Part xii, p 123, 25 April 1602.
31. A.P.C. (N.S.) 16 July 1598 and 31 August 1598.
32. For these three, see Irish S.P. Vol. 204, No. 7, 8 Aug. 1598
33. The ten were: Thomas Dymock of Titchfield, Richard Bruning of Wymering, John Beconsawe of Ewhurst, Alexander Cuffaud of Basing, William Bruning of Southwick, William Hall of Winchester (Easton?), Benjamin Stockwith of Lymington, Robert Joy of East Meon, Stephen Vachell of Buriton, John Uvedale of Hambledon: A.P.C. (N.S.) 31 August 1598.
34. A.P.C. (N.S.) 4 February 1599/00.
35. See Chapter XI, Section VII.
36. A.P.C. (N.S.) 28 February 1599/00.
37. A.P.C. (N.S.) 11 May 1600. The Hampshire recusants were Gilbert Wells and Henry Carewe (of Hordle Bremor), now stated to be in London, who owe £30; and Alexander Cuffold Richard Bruning, John Bourne, Nicholas Scrope, Ursula Uvedale, William Bruning and Robert Joy, who owe £15.
38. A.P.C. (N.S.) 29 July 1600.

39. A.P.C. (N.S.) 9 Oct. 1600. If any sums were paid by Hampshire recusants such sums are not identifiable in the payments recorded among the Pells Receipts at this time (E 401/1866 etc.) which relate either to recusancy fines or two-thirds rentals of lands.
40. Liber Actorum, 1593, (ii).
41. Ibid f 29.
42. Ibid f 12.
43. C.R.S. 18, p 289.
44. Processus contra Recusantes, 1598-1602, p 106.
45. L.A. 1593 (ii), f 14.
46. Ibid, f 51 v.
47. Ibid
48. Ibid/54
49. See Chapter V, N.112.
50. L.A. 1593 (ii), p 47 v.
51. Ibid, f 51 v.
52. Ibid, f 13.
53. Ibid, f 32.
54. Ibid, f 12 v.
55. Ibid, f 45 v.
56. Ibid, f 18 v.
57. S.P. 160/26.
58. L.A. 1593 (ii), f 51.
59. Ibid, f 10 v.
60. 35 Eliz C.2, Art. I. Prothero op cit, p 93.
61. The volume (in the Diocesan Registry, Winchester) is entitled Processus contra Recusantes, 1598-1602. (March 1597-8 - March 1602/3).
62. Liber Detectorum, 1599 - 1600

63. These cases appear in the Processus as follows:
p 39 (2 cases), p 41 (1), p 42 (1), p 45 (1), p 51 (1),
p 52 (2), p 56 (1), p 66 (3), p 67 (1), p 72 (1), and p
75 (1).
64. Processus p 166.
65. Ibid
66. E 377/11.
67. An analysis of particulars taken from the Roll will be
found in Appendix X.
68. The chief centres of recusancy during this period are
indicated in Appendix IV.
69. The Parish Register and Parochial Documents in the
Archdeaconry of Winchester; edited W.A. Fearon and
J.F. Williams (Winchester 1909), p 2, N.1.
70. Map opposite page 138 ~~and~~ Appendix IV.
71. Liber Detectorum, 1599-1600.
72. Processus, p 2.
73. Ibid. She does not appear in the previous comprehensive
return of recusants of 1583 (S.P. Dom Eliz 160/26),
probably as a result of local connivance.
74. Ibid
75. Processus, p 66.
76. Processus, p 4. Like Anna Elston (see No. 73 above), his
name does not appear in the 1583 list.
77. He was in the gaol on account of recusancy in 1599 and
was examined in connection with the escape of Edward
Kenyon, the priest, see Chapter X, page 242.
78. Processus, p 4.
79. See Chapter X, pages 242, 243.
80. Processus p 6. She is not in the 1583 list, see N. 73 and
N. 76 above.
81. Processus, p 6. Not in 1583 list, see N. 80 above.
82. See Chapter VII, page 147.
83. Processus, p 15. His name is in the 1583 list of
recusants (S.P. 160/26).
84. Ibid p 12.

85. Ibid. Her name is also not in the 1583 list.
86. They were: Barbara Tompson, widow of Avington, who had been a recusant for eight years (Processus, p 13); William Lyall (? Lisle), gentleman, of Winchester, who had been one for seven years (ibid, p 22); Ralph George of St. Maurice, Winchester (ibid, p 32); Richard Smith of the parish of St. Clement, Winchester (ibid); Cecilia Greetham of Durley, who had not been to church for ten years; and Laurence Moorcock of Twyford (ibid, p 53).
87. Processus p 33.
88. Ibid p 64.
89. Ibid p 34.
90. Ibid
91. Ibid, p 50.
92. Ibid p 61.
93. Ibid p 69.
94. Ibid.
95. Ibid, p 38.
96. Liber Detectorum, 1599-1600, f 50.
97. They were Johanna, wife of Thomas Abraham, the recusant who escaped from the gaol (Processus p 35 and Chapter X, pp 242, 243); John Paye of St. Bartholomew's, Winton (Processus p 47); and Amy, wife of Thomas Hunt, of Farley Chamberlayne (ibid p 61).
98. Processus, p 61.
99. Liber Detectorum 1599-1600, f 48 v.
100. Ibid
101. Processus p 70.
102. Liber Detectorum f 4 v
103. Ibid f 69 v.
104. Ibid f 23.

CHAPTER VII

NOTES

1. See Chapter VIII.
2. Letter to Aquaviva of 11 July 1588: Arch. S.J., Rome, Fondo Gesuitico, 651, cited William Weston, Autobiography of an Elizabethan (translated Philip Caraman, Ldn 1955) pp xxi, footnote 2.
3. S.P. Dom Eliz 160/26, April 1583.
4. Processus contra Recusantes, 1598-1602: Winchester Diocesan Registry.
5. Liber Detectorum 1599-1600: Winchester Diocesan Registry.
6. Processus contra Recusantes, 1598-1602 (Diocesan Registry, Winchester), p 34.
7. Although Henry Carewe does not appear to have been cited previously as a recusant, he was summoned (presumably for recusancy) before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, at Winchester in 1589, but refused to appear. He was thereupon ordered to appear before the Council and was afterwards committed to the Marshalsea, but was released on bond a few weeks afterwards (A.P.C. (N.S.) 21 Sept. 1589 and 26 Oct. 1589). He seems to have been convicted for recusancy within a short interval, for on the Pipe Roll for 1591-2 it is recorded that the rentals of two-thirds of his manors of Hordle Bremor and Southam als Hamworthy, Dorset, are owing to the Crown: the debt is for 1590-1 and the preceding half year (Pipe Roll E 372/437).
8. See Appendices III and IV.
9. Lady Mary West was apparently the wife of Sir Owen West of Wherwell, see Patent Roll, 31, Henry VIII (1540) pt 4 m 4, cited in Hampshire Scraps, Vol. I, Winchester Public Library Archives. In this volume it is stated that "on the remains of an altar tomb or tombs now built in the wall dividing the churchyard (at Wherwell) and the vicarage are the following inscriptions:-

'Of your charity pray for the sooles of Sir Owen West, Knight, and Mary his wyffe who died (sic)'.

'The which died the 18 day of July anno domini, 1551'.

The last refers to Sir Owen West, an extract from whose will is reproduced below.

Extract from will of Sir Owen West

PPC 30 Buck " ... In the name of God amen, the xvij day of July the year of our Lord God a thousand five hundred fifty one ... I, Owen West ... do make my will and testament ... The rest of all my goods with the lease and occupying of my farm I give and bequeath unto Dame Mary my wife ...".

For the descent of Sir Owen West see pedigree of the West family in Hutchins 'History of Dorset' 3, p 141. This also shows that he married Mary, daughter of Sir George Guilford.

10. S.P. Dom Eliz 127 No. 42 of Dec. 1578. The date assigned in the P.R.O. is probably too early, and a more likely date is the early 80's, when the Catholic Renaissance was taking place and Government informers were active. James Bird or Byrd who was present at the Mass in Lady Mary West's house was returned as a recusant in the official list of April 1583 (S.P. Dom Eliz 160/26) when he was described as the son of the Mayor, Anthony Bird. The priest mentioned, Stone, was staying with the Shelley family at Mapledurham (Buriton) in 1586 (S.P. Dom Eliz 190/50 of 23 June 1586). James Bird was executed in 1593 for having been reconciled to Catholicism (See Chapter VIII, Section VI). The house of Lady Mary West is now the Royal Hotel (C.R.S. 42, p 2).
11. S.P. Dom Eliz 160/26.
12. S.P. Dom Eliz 164/No. 14, 10 Dec. 1583. The report is by the bishop and is signed by, among others, Anthony Bird, the Mayor, father of James Bird, who, a little earlier, had heard Mass at Lady Mary West's house (see N. 10 above).
13. S.P. Dom Eliz 168 No. 34.
14. John Nutter was executed at Tyburn on 12 Feb. 1584 and Roger Dickinson at Winchester on 7 July 1591 with Ralph Miller, a layman (see Chapter VIII, Section VI).
15. C.R.S. Vol. 21, p 95.
16. Original document in Scrap Book entitled City of Winchester Proceedings of (Winchester Public Library Archives).
17. S.P. Dom Eliz 160/26.
18. See V.C.H. Hants Vol. 3 p 344.
19. For Anthony Norton, see Recusant Roll, 1592-3 E 377/1, C.R.S. Vol. 18, p 283. Benjamin Norton went to Douai and became a priest (Knox pp 196, 217). In 1625 he was appointed Catholic Vicar for five counties including Hampshire (C.R.S. I, p 395).

20. In 1626: C.R.S. 5, p 395.
21. See Chapter VIII, Section VI.
22. C.R.S. Vol. 18, p 287. The ancestry of the Heath family is not known. Benjamin Beard (see N. 23 below) said that Jerome Heath was his cousin (Cal. S.P. 248, No. 95, May 1594).
23. Cal. S.P. 248, No. 30 of 16 March 1594. According to Sussex Visitations, Harleian Society, Vol. 53 (Berd), Ben. Beard was the son of John Berd (or Beard) of Abberton (Edburton), Sussex, by Mabel, the daughter of Sir Benjamin Tichborne. But Beard himself said that his grandmother was Mistress Tichborne (the mother of Benjamin Tichborne, of West Tisted - Hatfield Cal. Part IV, p 402 - and that his uncle was Benjamin Tichborne (Hatfield Calendar, Part 4, p 432). The pedigree is evidently incorrect in describing Mabel as the daughter of Sir Benjamin Tichborne.
Beard knew Hampshire well and gave a good deal of information about recusants in the county either to Sir Robert Cecil, or to Morgan Jones of Gray's Inn, who appears to have been an intermediary between Beard and Cecil. He was in the Fleet in 1593, apparently for debt, and hoped by acting as an informer to be *liberated*.
24. C.R.S. Vol. 1, p 394.
25. See N. 10 above.
26. William Beckinsall of Moyle's Court, Ellingham, was the son of Richard Beckinsall and grandson of Walter Beckinsall of Hartly Waspell. (Hants Visitations, Harleian Society, Vol. 64, pp 204).
27. S.P. Dom Eliz 160/26.
28. Ibid
29. S.P. Dom Eliz 168 No. 34, Feb (?) 1584.
30. She was presented as a recusant in 1583 (S.P. Dom Eliz 160/26). In her will made on 20 February 1593, proved in 1594 (in the Archdeacon's Court, County Record Office, Winchester) she was described as of the city of Winchester. She made substantial bequests to other recusants (John Tichborne, Stephen Henslowe, Thomas Goter, Elizabeth Birte (Burte) and Mary Cotton).

31. Hants Visitations, Harl. Socy. Vol. 64, p 191. The Yates of Lyford were Catholics and it was at Lyford that Edmund Campion was captured (See Life of Edmund Campion by R. Simpson. See also Appendix I).
32. S.P. Dom Eliz 117 No. 10 of Oct. 1577.
33. S.P. Dom Eliz 160 (26).
34. C.R.S. 18, p 287.
35. See Appendix VII.
36. S.P. Dom Eliz 177 No. 3, 3 March 1585. John Owen was captured on 28 February, 1585.
37. Ibid
38. This house cannot be identified by the vague information given, but it was possibly the house of Sir Walter Sandys of the great Hampshire Sandys family of the Vine, whose wife, Lady Mabel Sandys, the sister of the Catholic second Earl of Southampton, had been presented as a recusant with her sister Lady Katherine Cornwallis, from the parish of St. Maurice, Winchester, in 1583 (S.P. Dom Eliz 160/26). It is known that Sir Walter Sandys began in 1582-3 to build a great house in Winchester and it seems to have been completed by 1585, the time of the report to Walsingham. It stood opposite the site of St. George's Church on the eastern side of Lower Brook Street at its junction with the High Street (Book of Ordinances I, f 222 (a)). It would no doubt have been an easy matter to conceal priests there in its great extent. Moreover, if priests had access to the mansion, as they probably did by reason of the staunch Catholicism of Lady Mabel Sandys, it would doubtless not have been searched because of Sir Walter Sandys' official position as a J.P., his religious position as a non-Catholic, and of his own social prestige and that of his wife. The vagueness of the particulars furnished to Walsingham and the seeking of further instructions can therefore be understood.

The writer is much indebted for the information about the Sandys' mansion to the kindness of Mrs. Carpenter Turner, the Hon. City Archivist, Winchester (see also her article in the Hampshire Chronicle for 17 Nov. 1956: Churches of Mediaeval Winchester: 4).
39. City of Winchester: Proceedings of the Corporation, 6 July 1597 to 3 April 1605, B. (Original manuscript documents in Winchester Public Library Archives). The document dealing with the search is numbered xxvi and dated Nov. 1598.
40. John Pottinger, gentleman, of Winchester, was returned as a Papist in 1572 (S.P. Dom Eliz 90, No. 18).

41. The Goldsmiths were well known recusants of Exton and Corhampton - see Appendix II. Thomas Churcher, Magdalen Churcher, Edith Churcher, were all returned as recusants for Kingsgate, Winton, in 1601 (Processus contra Recusantes, 1598-1602, f 90). Agnes Church of Michelmars was included in a list of recusants in 1586 when she was requested to make a "composition" offer to the Queen in view of her recusancy. She is then described as "nothing worth" (S.P. Dom Eliz 188, No. 16). As regards the "widow of Dr. Martin's son", Edward Jones informed the Earl of Sussex in 1586 that certain Hampshire recusants used to resort to a house in Fenchurch Street, London. These included Chideock Tichborne, Mrs. Hall, "a Hampshire woman" and Doctor Martin and his wife. (S.P. Dom Eliz 190 No. 50 of 23, June 1586) *Edward Jones had been a servant of Chideock Tichborne (ibid)*
42. MS volume entitled City of Winchester: Proceedings of the Corporation, 6 July 1597 - 3 April 1605. B. (Winchester Public Library).
43. V.C.H. Hants, Vol. 4, p 183 and 185.
44. Harl. Socy. Vol. 64, p 128.
45. C.R.S. Vol. 22, p 101.
46. Ibid
47. V.C.H. Hants, 4, p 183.
48. L.A. 1586, f 4.
49. S.P. Dom Eliz 160, No. 26.
50. C.R.S. 18, pp 287 and 289.
51. Foley, op cit, Vol. 3, p 278.
52. See Chapter VIII, Sections V and VI.
53. For Gilbert Wells, see under Wells, Section III of this Chapter, and for Swithun Wells, see Chapter VIII, Sec. VI.
54. S.P. Dom Eliz 160/26.
55. Processus page 49.
56. D.N.B. Vol. 63, p 152 (Article on Thomas Wriothesley).
57. Ibid
58. P.R.O. List of Sheriffs (Ldn 1898).
59. Woodward, op cit p 177, N.1.

60. V.C.H. Hants, 4, p 487. See also N. 38 above.
61. S.P. Dom Eliz 160/26.
62. Losely MSS Vol. 5, No. 41 cited St. G. K. Hyland, D.D., Ph.D, A Century of Persecution (London 1920), Appendix I, p 385.
63. Ibid
64. Losely MSS, 1085, 15, cited Hyland op cit Appendix I, p 408
65. V.C.H. Hants 3, p 447.
66. S.P. Dom Eliz 160 (26).
67. Ibid
68. Harleian Socy. Vol. 64, p 125.
69. V.C.H. Hants, 4, p 511.
70. C.R.S. Vol. I, p 361.
71. Pipe Roll, E 372/429.
72. Foley, Records of the Society of Jesus, 5, p 815 (Ldn 1877-82).
73. The sketch of the second Earl's life in the D.N.B. (under Thomas Wriothesley), ^{very recent} but there is a fuller and well-documented account of him ~~in~~ with full transcripts of letters in Addenda III p 499 et seq of Carmichael C. Stope's Life of Henry, Third Earl of Southampton, the patron of Shakespeare. (Camb. Univ. Press, 1922).
74. C.R.S. Vol. 9 pp 62-69 cited J.H. Pollen: English Catholics in the Reign of Elizabeth p 258 (Ldn 1920).
75. Camden Annals Book 3, p 26 (Ldn 1717).
76. S.P. Vol. 96, May 1574, pp 1-169 containing names of hundreds and resident J.P's.
Miss Carmichael Stopes, op cit p 520 and N.6, quoting from a newsletter in State Papers (Dom Eliz Addenda 25, 74) mentions that it is learnt from it that by 22 Feb 1579 "the Earl of Southampton is out of the Commission of the Peace". And "yet", as Miss Stopes says "on 4 September 1579, Sir Francis Walsingham wrote to tell him that he had misunderstood the Council's orders to the Commission of Piracy". It is clear from this that the Earl was still taking a responsible part in the affairs of the county, and the statement in the newsletter does not seem to justify an assumption that he was deprived of his Justiceship.

77. L.A. 1566 f 85 v, L.A. 1575-7, f 151 v, and L.A. 1581, f 51 v.
78. Letter of 21 March 1579 by Countess of Southampton to her father (Cotton MS, Titus Book 2, 174 f 366 cited Stopes op cit p 521 et seq.
79. A Catholic in Brussels, writing much later (in 1599) to a friend, mentions Charles Paget as still "tampering in broils and practices between friend and friend, man and wife ... I will overpass his youthful crimes, as the unquietness he caused betwixt the late Earl of Southampton and his wife, yet living". (S.P. Dom Eliz 271, No. 74 4-14, quoted Stopes op cit, p 6, N.2).
Father Persons in his Memoirs (C.R.S. Vol. II p 183) also refers to Charles Paget as a guilty party. Miss Stopes did not apparently know ~~fn~~ of this. Persons says: "One thing also increased the difficulties of Catholics at this time, which was the falling out between the Earl of Southampton and the Lord Montacute (Montague) about the Earl's wife, which was daughter to the Lord and put away by the Earl, as suspected of incontinency, in which quarrel and dissension, as also that of the Lord Paget with his wife (it) was then said in England that Mr. Charles Paget, brother to the said Lord, had much fault". In connection with this, it should be mentioned that Charles Paget was one of the executors of the Earl's will (Stopes op cit p 527). Moreover, the Earl said in the will that "if any of the clauses of my will breed trouble, and my executors cannot settle it, Charles Paget, Esq. and Thomas Dymock to decide..." (Stopes p 526). This, indeed, looks more like confidence in Paget than suspicion of any guilt.
80. Stopes, op cit, p 527.
81. Ibid p 526.
82. Ibid p 11.
83. Letters 17 and 5, Cottrell - Dormer MSS cited Stopes pp 9 and 10.
84. Stopes op cit pp 17, 18 and 24.
85. William More, in writing to the Council some time in October 1570 (Losely MSS No. 90 p 233 edited H.J. Kempe (Ldn 1836) said "that he (the Earl) did not absent himself from the same (Common Prayer in More's house) as of one that contemned the service, for not only he had usually Common Prayer in his own house, but also at his being in the Court did there frequent the same". Afterwards, he went to Common Prayer in More's house apparently once or twice. (Losely MSS ibid).

86. "A yearly rent of £5 to be paid to his servant Henry Allway". (Stopes op cit p 526, referring to the Earl's will).
87. Letter 5, Cottrell - Dormer MSS cited Stopes op cit p 10.
88. L.A. 1581, ff 156 and 156 v.
89. S.P. Dom Eliz Nos. 55 160 (26). In a codicil to his will the Earl mentioned that his house at Dogmersfield was not yet "perfected". (Stopes op cit p 527).
90. S.P. Dom Eliz Nos. 55 and 56, 25 June 1584.
91. See Chapter VI page 106.
92. C.R.S. 2, p 266.
93. C.R.S. 18, p 290.
94. V.C.H. Hants, 3, p 214.
95. S.P. Dom Eliz No. 10, 24 Oct. 1577.
96. S.P. Dom Eliz 160, No. 26.
97. A more modern residence is on the site of the manor house.
98. S.P. Dom Eliz 168 Nos. 33 and 34 (?) Feb 1584.
99. S.P. Dom Eliz 188, No. 16 (1), 13 April 1586.
100. Pipe Rolls 1582-3 (E 372/428) and 1583-4 (E 372/429).
101. The name of John Ludlow appears on the Recusant Roll (Hampshire) for 1606-7 (E 377/11).
102. Hutchins' History of Dorset 3, p 540 and V.C.H. Hants 3, p 145.
103. S.P. Dom Eliz 90/18.
104. S.P. Dom Eliz Vol. 96, pp 1-169, May 1574.
105. S.P. Dom Eliz 117 No. 10 of 24 Oct. 1577.
106. Hutchins' History op cit 3, p 540 and V.C.H. Hants 3, p 145.
107. Appendix I.
108. C.R.S. 22, p 100.
109. S.P. Dom Eliz 160, 26.

110. For the Cuffold family, see Appendix II (Cuffold). Mary Cuffold was the sister of Catherine, Ralph Henslowe's wife. They were both daughters of Sir Geoffrey Pole of Lordington, Sussex, brother of Reginald Cardinal Pole, sons of Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, executed by Henry VIII. (See Ralph Henslowe's will made 1577 proved 13 Jan 1578: County Record Office, Winchester, Harleian Socy. Vol. 64, pp 35, 36, 200, and D.N.B. (Articles Margaret Pole and Geoffrey Pole)).
111. S.P. Dom Eliz 168, No. 34.
112. Chapter VI, page 111.
113. C.R.S. 18, pp 333 and 334. John White, the brother-in-law of Ralph Henslowe, married Katherine Pounce, aunt of Thomas Pounce: ~~County Genealogies~~, (Hampshire), *William Berry*, *County Genealogies* (Ldn 1933) pp 194¹⁹⁵ and V.C.H. Hants 3, p 145 (Ldn 1908).
114. C.R.S. 18, p 290.
115. Rec. Roll E 377/4. Henry Henslowe~~x~~ was a Wykehamist - see Appendix I.
116. Knox op cit/^Ip 10.
117. Gillow op cit Vol. 5, p 354.
118. Foley Records III, p 572.
119. Ibid p 574.
120. Ibid p 575.
121. Ibid p 576.
122. Ibid
123. Ibid pp 577.
124. Letter of 4 Nov. 1578 by Thomas Stephens, to the Father-General of the Society of Jesus, in Foley 3, p 584.
125. S.P. Dom Eliz 195, No. 115, 1586.
126. Foley 3, p 580.
127. See Chapter IV, page 67.
128. S.P. Dom Eliz 142, No. 20 cited Foley III, p 633.
129. Foley III, p 643.
130. S.P. Dom James I, 21, p No. 48, quoted Foley 3, p 614, et seq; Foley 3, p 613.

131. See Appendix IX.
132. See under George Cotton, Chapter VII (Section III).
133. S.P. Dom Eliz 160 (26).
134. Foley, 3, Vol. I, p 476 and III p 47.
135. Hants Visitations, Harleian Socy. 64, p 129.
136. Forgotten Shrines, Dom~~o~~ Bede Camm, O.S.B. (Ldn 1910) p 178 et alia.
- * 137. Hants Visitation, op cit p 129.
138. C.R.S. 22, pp 39-41.
139. A.P.C. (N.S.) 26 Sept. 1578.
140. Prison Lists 1577-80 (C.R.S. 1, 2 and 22).
141. S.P. Dom Eliz 209, No. 39, 29 March 1588.
142. Strype Life and Acts of John Whitgift (Oxford 1822) pp 528, 529. The date given here is 1586, which is the date on which George Cotton was sent to Wisbech.
143. Camm, op cit p 89.
144. Winwood's State Papers, 3 vols, (Ldn 1725) Vol. III, p 43.
145. Camm, op cit p 89.
146. See Chapter XI, Section V.
147. A.P.C. (N.S.) Vol 19, 1590 p 108, 5 May 1590.
148. See Chapter XI, Section VII. In July 1589 George Cotton was granted three months' release from prison to sell some of his property in Hampshire and Cheshire "for payment of fines to Her Majesty". (Cal. S.P. Dom Eliz 225, No. 17).
149. Challoner. Memoirs, op cit, p 30.
150. Foley, I, p 284.
151. P.R.O., List of Sheriffs (Ldn, 1898).
152. Woodward, History of Hampshire, Vol. 2, p 17.
153. L.A. 1568, f 36. The precise reason for citation is "not having received the Holy Communion at Easter". She was ordered to produce a certificate of communicating, but did not do so.

154. H.M.C. Cal. Salisbury Papers, Vol. 2 (96) 1572.
155. S.P. Dom Eliz 117, Nos. 10 and 10 (1), 24 Oct. 1577.
156. Hatfield Cal. Pt. 4, p 402, and Cal. S.P. Dom Eliz No. 30 (16 March 1594) and No. 94 (5 May 1594).
157. See Chapter X, Section II.
158. S.P. Dom Eliz 189, Nos 54 and 55.
159. ~~P.R.O. List of Sheriffs.~~ *Henry, op. cit. pp 110, 111*
160. Chapter VIII, Section VI.
161. C.R.S. I, p 48.
162. P.R.O. List of Sheriffs (~~Edn 1598~~).
163. C.R.S. 22, pp 39-41.
164. Appendix VII.
165. C.R.S. 22, p 120 et seq.
166. Rec. Roll 1592-3 (C.R.S. 18, p 276) et seq.: E 377/1 et seq. The manor of Brambridge remained in the possession of the Wells family till 1762. In that year, in fulfilment of the will (dated 2 August 1762) of Henry Wells, it passed to his cousin Walter Smythe, second son of Sir John Smythe, Bt., of Acton Burnell, Salop. The famous Mrs. Fitzherbert, wife of George IV, was the eldest daughter of Walter Smythe (C.R.S. 27, p 4).
167. ~~177~~ Appendices III and IV.
168. S.P. Dom Eliz 160 (26).
169. Stopes op cit p 527
170. S.P. Dom Eliz 168, No. 34 (Feb ?) 1584. As Dodwell mentions Wisbech he is referring to Gilbert Wells, who had been imprisoned there.
171. Cal. S.P. Dom Eliz 248, No. 30, 16 March 1594.
172. Cal. S.P. Dom Eliz 248, No. 116, ~~24~~ 24, May 1594.
173. S.P. Dom Eliz ~~185-No-17-10-Dec-1585~~ 151, No. 11.
174. S.P. Dom Eliz 185, No. 17, 10 Dec. 1585.
175. See Chapter IV, p 71 and Chapter X, Section I and II.
176. S.P. Dom Eliz 187 No. 3.
177. See Appendix I and Chapter IV p 69, et seq.

178. C.R.S. Vol. 7, p 65.
179. Harl. Socy. Vol. 64, p 7.
180. Ibid
181. S.P. Dom Eliz 117, Nos. 10 and 10 (1).
182. S.P. Dom Eliz 160 (26).
183. He was probably in the White Lion Prison certificates for the period Oct. 1583-March 1584 show that he was then in that prison (C.R.S. 2, p 232).
184. S.P. Dom Eliz 183, Nos. 45 and 45 (1).
185. Mapledurham was purchased by Edward Gibbon, the grandfather of the historian, in 1719 (V.C.H. Hants, 3, p 87). It was subsequently pulled down.
186. S.P. Dom Eliz 190, No. 50.
187. See Appendix V.
188. C.R.S. Vol. 5, p 395.
189. Chapter X, Section II.
190. Cal. S.P. Dom Eliz 248, No. 30.
191. Thomas Shelley was the eldest son of Henry Shelley (Harl. Socy. 64, Shelley).
192. Richard Strange alias Barnes, gentleman, of Buriton, was fined £180 for recusancy in 1592-3 (C.R.S. 18, p 288). Robert Barnes was accused of harbouring priests and was arrested on this charge on 5 June 1594. He was then imprisoned in the Bridewell, London. at his trial he made an able and spirited defence against the attacks of Topcliffe whom he accused of having tortured James Atkinson to death in the Bridewell early in 1595. It was possible owing to Barnes' courage and skill that Topcliffe suffered eclipse: there had already been great indignation among Protestants at ^{Topcliffe's} ~~this~~ treatment of Robert Southwell in 1592-3. (See D.N.B. Vol. 57, under Robert Southwell).
- The whole story of Barnes and Topcliffe is related at length in C.R.S. 5, p 287, et alia.
193. Cal. S.P. Dom Eliz 248, No. 116. Robert Knight of Ludshott is on the Recusant Rolls for 1592-3 (C.R.S. 18, pp 274, 280) and the following years.

194. Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers Second Series
p 385 (J. Morris, London 1875) and Hatfield Cal.
Salisbury Papers, Pt. IV p 402.
195. J. Strype Annals Vol. 2, Pt. I p 359 (Oxford 1824).
196. The Reconstruction of the English Church R.G. Usher
(Ldn 1910) Vol. I, p 139.
197. S.P. Dom Eliz 168, No. 33 (?) Feb 1584. Robert Nutter
was martyred at Lancaster in 1600 (see Appendix VI).
198. Foley Records, 6, p 716.
199. Strype op cit, Vol. 3, Pt 2, Appendix p 424.
200. S.P. Dom Eliz 206, No. 74.
201. Cal. S.P. Dom Eliz 248, No. 30.
202. Foley op cit p 205.
203. Cal. S.P. Dom Eliz 238 No. 139.
204. Foley op cit I, p 383.
205. S.P. Dom Eliz 190, No. 50.
206. S.P. Dom Eliz 168/33.
207. Foley Vol. 6, Appendix p 715 etc.

CHAPTER VIII

NOTES

1. Chapter III, page 57
2. See for example, Chapter II pp 29, 30 and Chapter III p 53.
3. S.P. Dom Eliz 160 (26), C.R.S. Vol. I, p 60, C.R.S. 3 pp 5, 6.
4. S.P. Dom Eliz 160 (26).
5. Challoner, op cit p 299; F.A. Gasquet, Hampshire Recusants in Old English Bible and other Essays (Ldn, 1908), p 276 et seq.
6. Chapter III p 50.
7. Chapter II, p 36.
8. Chapter III page 50.
9. Ibid
10. S.P. Dom Eliz 248/30.
11. C.R.S. 22, p 120 et seq
12. Foley, op cit Vol. III p 582
13. Ibid
14. For George Gilbert, see Chapter IV p 67.
15. C.R.S. 39, p 331.
16. M. Bateson: Original Letters from the Bishops to the Privy Council, 1564: Camden Socy Misc ix (1595) p 3 quoted by Meyer op cit p 129, N.I.
17. Bateson, Ibid p 34 and passim.
18. Knox op. cit. p lxii, quoting Allen's letter to Dr. Vendeville, 16 September 1578 or 1580: MS Eng. College, Rome.
19. John Gerard, Autobiography op. cit. p 20
20. Knox, op cit Appendix p 378.
21. Knox, p lxii Note 4.

22. J.Black, The Reign of Elizabeth, 1558-1603 (Oxford, 1936), p 19, quoted Hughes, op cit, p 285.
23. Knox op cit, pp xxiv and xxxi.
24. Letter written in September 1583 to the Cardinal Protector at Rome: Knox op cit p lxxii.
25. The seminary was removed from Douai to Rheims in 1578 on account of the troubles in the Low Countries.
26. Hughes op cit p 340.
27. Knox op cit, p li. There were 55 students in the seminary at Douai (or Rheims) in 1578; 112 at Rheims in 1580 with others resident in the town; and in 1583 some 200.
28. These were fortunately away from the area of tension in the Low Countries and in places where training could uninterruptedly be carried on. The English College in Rome commenced in 1576 with 10 students from Douai (Peter Guilday: The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent, 1558-1785 (London, 1914) p 697). Valladolid was founded by Persons in 1589 and Seville in 1592 (ibid p 27). Other colleges were Madrid, San Lucar and Lisbon founded between 1598 and 1604. (Ibid).
In addition to all these, St. Omers founded in 1592 (Guilday, op cit p 128), gave the sons of recusants a sound education. It continued the work of the college at Eu which had been established by Persons in 1582 and became the chief preparatory school for the seminaries.
29. See Knox op cit, passim
30. For Dodwell see p 201. For Pemberton see Page 186.
31. C.f. Norman Wood, The Reformation and English Education (London 1931) p 302.
32. See p 195
33. Chapter 11 Section IV.
34. The Government had particulars from time to time of recusants who maintained children or kinsmen abroad without licence. In Dec. 1581, for instance, it possessed a collection of the names of such persons in several dioceses as have children or others belonging to them, that now remain in the parts beyond the seas.

(S.P. Dom Eliz 150 No. 95). As regards Hampshire the particulars were: Thomas Owen (Abroad with the privity of his father) son of Thomas Owen of Ellsfield (List of Recusants for 1583, S.P. 160 (26) and Wykehamist List), who had been "at Paris without licence for four years"; Richard Puttenham of Sherfield, Hants, who was maintained by Thomas Colby "having of him £110 a year pension" who was "beyond the seas, the place not known"; John Pitts, son of Henry Pitts (~~Chapter V~~, *John Pitts was a Wykehamist*, see *Appendix B* Section), who was absent without licence for three months; Thomas, Roger and John Burte, sons of Joan Burte, widow (she was returned as a recusant in 1583: S.P. 160 (26)), all stated to be in Spain for six years without licence: Walter Loveden, son of Mistress Loveden, late of Pennington, who was in *France* ~~son of Mistress Loveden~~, gentleman, and his wife of Pennington were returned as recusants in 1577: S.P. 117 No. 10 (i)); William Lisle, brother of Anthony Lisle, esquire of Woodton, Isle of Wight, who had been absent without licence for four years (Anthony Lisle, was returned as a recusant in 1583: S.P. 160 (26)); John Pounce, son of Mistress Helen Pounce of Farlington, "a Jesuit beyond the seas" (brother of Thomas Pounce: Chapter *VII* Section). *page 159/*.

A year previously the Council had written (A.P.C. (N.S.) 16 December 1580) to all the Bishops requiring them "to take bonds of the parents and friends of such young gentlemen and others of Her Majesty's subject as are presently beyond the seas without licence".

35. Guilday, op cit p 78
36. Cal. S.P. Dom Eliz 149 No. 51: William Allen to Rector of English College, Rome,
37. Huges, Reformation III, p 347, N. 2.
38. There are differing estimates of the number of the priests in England at the end of the reign. An account in S.P. Dom Eliz 262, No. 28 (c.f. Foley op cit Vol. III, p 723) says that in 1598 there were over 500 secular priests in England and 150 Jesuits in England and abroad. Dr. R.G. Usher op cit Vol. 1, p 134, estimates that there were 200 priests of all descriptions in England in 1600.
39. Winwood's State Papers (London 1725) Vol. I p 51.
40. The main contemporary records are the State Papers, Acts of the Privy Council, R. Challoner's Memoirs of Missionary Priests, and Acts of the English Martyrs (documents hitherto unpublished: ed. J.H. Pollen, London 1891).
41. See Map immediately before page 138 and Chapter VII, p 138.
42. Dr. R.G. Usher, The Reconstruction of the English Church (London 1910) Vol. I p 139.

43. Chapter 7, Section III and Appendix II.
44. Ibid.
45. Appendix II
46. Ibid.
47. Chapter V page 94.
48. A.P.C.(N.S.) 25 May 1586.
49. A.P.C.(N.S.) 2 August, 1586.
50. A.P.C.(N.S.) 10 September 1586
51. Strype, Life of Whitgift Vol.II, p 3. Strype assigns the paper by Maynard to the year 1590.
52. Harl MSS 703, No. 49 f. 74 b.
53. A.P.C. (N.S.) 18 Jan 1576 - 7.
54. He was harboured in 1584 by John Goldsmith, gentlemen of Exton (SP 168 No. 34 and Appendix 2).
55. Giles White, gentleman, a J.P. in the earlier years of the reign was returned as a Papist in 1572. He was Mayor of Winchester in Mary's reign and also in Elizabeth's reign (in 1566) - see Chapter XII N 12.

Gasquet, op cit p 276, suggests that Giles White's brother, the spy's informant, may have been Thomas White, gentleman, of Titchfield. Thomas was returned with his wife Jane as a recusant in 1583. (S.P. 160/26).
56. He was captured in Hampshire in 1582, - see page 190.
57. S.P. Dom Eliz 171 Nos. 55 and 56.
58. Thomas Hall was returned as a recusant in the previous year (1583) for the parish of Otterbourne (S.P. Dom Eliz 160 (26)).
59. William Powlwheel was returned as a recusant in 1583 for the parish of Compton (near Winchester): S.P. Dom Eliz 160 (26).
60. C.R.S. 2, p 263.
61. C.R.S. 21, p 69.
62. Ibid

63. C.R.S. 2, p 261.
64. C.R.S. 21, p 119.
65. S. P. Dom Eliz 246 No. 18, 29 Nov. 1593.
66. William Edmondes alias Holloway of East Meon was fined £160 for recusancy in 1593. (Recusant Roll, 1592 - 3, transcript C.R.S. 18 p. 289) In 1598 he was cited for recusancy but did not appear at the Consistory Court. He was pronounced contumacious for this and excommunicated on 4 Nov. 1598. (Processus contra Recusantes, 1598-1602, p 50).
- William Brock, stated to be of the Winton Diocese, was one of those students who matriculated at the University of Douai "before 1612":
Knox op cit p 280.
- George Lewknor, Doctor of Law, and Mistress Margaret Lewknor, his wife, were returned in 1583 as recusants for the parish of Preshaw, Hants: S.P. Dom Eliz 160/26.
67. Hatfield Cal. Salisbury Papers, Part 7, p 35.
William Uvedale had been High Sheriff of Hampshire in 1595;
~~William Berry, Genealogies, op cit~~, List of Sheriffs: P.R.O (Ldn 1898).
68. Winwood op cit Vol. 1, p 51.
69. Hatfield Cal xi, p 278: 10 July 1601.
70. This was probably Dorothy More, who was returned as a recusant in 1583 for Warblington, the Cottons' own parish: S.P. Dom Eliz 160/26.
71. Hatfield Cal. xi, p 302, 27 July 1601.
72. S.P. Dom Eliz 283, No 43, 27 December 1601. C.f. Foley op cit II p 226.
73. Southern, op cit p 33 et seq.
74. Ibid.
75. Ibid.
76. Chapter II, page 20.
77. S.P. Dom Eliz 155 Nos. 8 and 8 (i)
78. Ibid.
79. C.R.S. 5, p 32, quoted Norman Wood op cit, p 290.

80. Chapter IX, page 226.
81. S.P. Dom Eliz 155 Nos 8 and 8 (i).
82. Chapter IV page 269.
83. S.P. Dom Eliz 206, No. 74.
84. See page 186.
85. C.R.S. 2, p 263.
86. See Map before page 138.
87. Chapter VII page 155.
88. See Map before page 138.
89. See Appendix II.
90. See Chapter VII page 165. John Body, the schoolmaster, was caught at Mapledurham (C.R.S. 5, 9 395), but as a layman he probably did not expect arrest and therefore may not have taken any precautions. There must have been priests staying there at the time, but none seems to have been caught.
91. Harl. MSS 253, 37, para 6.
92. John Gerard, op cit p 17.
93. See Chapter VII page 155.
94. See Chapter V page 111.
95. Ca~~l~~ S.P. Dom Eliz 248 No. 102. The identity of this priest has not been confirmed. He may have been Fixter or Fixer (See Appendix V), but the stated dates of arrival in England do not coincide.
96. S.P. Dom Eliz 248 No 105 (i)
97. See Chapter II, page 18 et seq, and Appendix I.
98. Appendix V.
99. Ibid.
100. Foley, op cit p 725 et seq.
101. John Gerard op cit p 40.
102. Knox, op cit p Lxxi, quoting MS Archiv. Dioc. Westmonast.
103. Chapter VII page 140.

104. Chapter IX, page 226.
105. A way to deal with persons of all sorts in order to convert them, based on the methods of Fr. Robert Persons and Fr. Edmund Campion: written by George Gilbert in 1583: C.R.S., Vol. 39, p 331 et seq. For George Gilbert, see Chapter IV, page 67.
106. C.R.S. Vol. I: Documents relating to English Martyrs, p 132.
107. R.Challoner, Memoirs of Missionary Priests, Part I, (London 1741) p 155.
108. Challoner op cit I, p 227 (Appendix)
109. Ibid. The location of his house is not specified.
110. Challoner op cit Appendix, pp 145 and 230. See also Appendix V.
111. Challoner op cit p 228.
112. Ibid.
113. Challoner, op cit Appendix, pp 145 and 230.
114. Ibid.
115. Ibid.
116. S.P. Dom Eliz 160 (26).
117. Chapter VII page 147. Norden, op cit said that Sir Walter Sandys lived in Upper Somborne. Sandys also possessed the Manor of Timsbury.
118. Challoner op cit Appendix, pp 145 and 230.
119. Ibid.
120. Ibid.
121. See page 186.
122. Chapter VII page 143.
123. S.P. Dom Eliz 177 No. 3, 3 March, 1585.
124. Chapter V, page 92.
125. C.R.S. 2, p 241.
126. Chapter IV, page 82.
127. See Appendices I and V.

128. See Appendix I.
129. Foley op cit p 725 et seq, and Appendix V.
130. Chapter V, page 91.
131. Chapter V, page 94.
132. Chapter V, page 115.
133. See Appendix VI c.f. classification of martyrs in the booklet The Martyrs of Hampshire by the Rt. Rev. Mgr. J.H. King (now Archbishop King) (Catholic Truth Society, London 1945).
134. An Account signed R.B. of the execution of J.Slade and J.Body, two Roman Catholics (? 1583). In the copy in the British Museum the title page is missing and the date 1583 has been inserted as conjectural. But Challoner, op cit Pt. I p 81, gives the information that it was an account by an eyewitness (Protestant) and that it was printed in London by Richard Jones in 1583. William Allen also knew of this printed work, for he refers to it in his Defence of English Catholics (1584): see Note N. 135 below.
135. Defence of English Catholics in reply against a seditious and slanderous libel, entitled The Execution of Justice in England by William Allen 1584 (London, Manresa Press, 1914; 2 vols): Vol I p 14 et seq. It was a reply to The Execution of Justice in England which is now generally attributed to Burleigh (see Hughes, Reformation, Vol 3, op cit, p 298).
136. See Chapter XII.
137. Ibid.
138. Somers' Tracts Vol. I, p 189 (London 1809).
139. William Allen op cit p 14, et seq.
140. See N 134 above.
141. 13 Eliz C.1: Prothero op cit, p 58: An Act whereby certain offences be made treason. For the circumstances in which he was charged, see J.H. Pollen, Acts of English Martyrs (London 1891) p 235. Humphreys is said to have uttered in sickness words to the effect that the Queen was a heretic.
142. Under the Act of 1585 (27 Eliz C.2). See also Challoner, op cit pp 145 and 230; A.P.C. (N.S.) 14 June, 1591.
143. Both under the Act of 1581, 23 Eliz C.1, Prothero, op cit p 75.

143. James Bird was returned as a recusant in 1583, when he was
contd. stated to be the son of the Mayor, Anthony Bird (S.P. Dom Eliz 160 (26)).
The names of Anthony Bird and Richard Bird are frequently found
together in the Third Book of Ordinances (City ~~Records~~^{Records Office}, Guildhall,
Winchester), which deals with the proceedings of the Mayor and his
brethren. Richard was probably a brother or kinsman of Anthony:
the exact relationship has not been ascertainable. Anthony does not
appear in any known citations for recusancy or non-Communicants, but
Richard was probably a Catholic. He was prominent in the case of
Harman's wife, (1564), a Papist of Winchester (Chapter II, page 36)
whilst in December 1582 (L.A. 1581 & 1582 f 80 v) "Richard Burde of
Kallendre, Winchester" was presented with his servant for not
communicating at Easter, "and he called parson knave".
(L.A. *ibid*).
144. Challoner, op cit, p 151.
145. This was an offence under the Act of 1585. (27th Eliz C 2 - See
Chapter XII).
146. S.P. Dom Eliz 160 (26).
147. See Our Martyrs (a chronological list) by C.A. Newdigate S.J.
(London: Catholic Truth Society, 1935) pp 17 and 18.
148. See Chapter VI page 118.
149. Cal S.P. Dom Eliz 238, No. 143, 1 May 1591: A letter written
to Gerard Corby by his brother.
150. Cal S.P. Dom Eliz 243, No. 80, 2 December 1591.
151. Newdigate op cit p 19 and 20.
152. A.P.C. (N.S.) 5 May 1590.
153. 35 Eliz C.2: Prothero op cit p 92.
154. Newdigate op cit pp 20, 21.

CHAPTER IX

NOTES

1. Birt op cit, p 527.
2. S.P. Dom Eliz 19, No. 36 quoted Birt op cit, ibid.
3. S.P. Dom Eliz 114 No. 68.
4. Ibid.
5. See Chapter IV, page 66.
6. A.P.C. (N.S.) Vol. 12, p 133.
7. Letter of 12 September 1580, William Allen to Cardinal Cofomo, quoted Simpson op cit 237, 238.
8. See Appendix VII.
9. Ibid
10. S.P. Dom Eliz 160 (26-).
11. A letter of Persons dated 5 August, 1580, quoted Pollen op cit, p 365.
12. An Ancient Editor's Note Book in 3rd series p 27 of The Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers (3 Series, London 1872-7) (edited the Rev. John Morris S.J.)). This editor speaks of "one of Cooper's men being in charge of the prisons (in Winchester)," "so that he must be writing of a time during Bishop Cooper's episcopate, 1584-1594.
13. A letter of 10 December 1578 from the Council to the Bishop of Winchester referred to a "House of Correction lately finished within the Castle"; A.P.C. (N.S.) 10 Dec. 1578. It is not easy to identify all the three prisons which are stated to be "full of Catholics", but they were, without doubt, Winchester Gaol and the House of Correction, for many recusants were imprisoned there, and possibly the Bishop's own gaol.
14. S.P. Dom Eliz 185, No. 17.
15. See Appendix VII.
16. The Marshalsea was in the Borough Road to the south of Mermaid Court and was under the jurisdiction of the Marshall of the Royal Household; the White Lion was near; on the north side of the river and following Farringdon Street past Ludgate Hill, the Fleet was on the right, presumably near the old Fleet River. Near the Old Bailey

was Newgate and farther on, eastwards, at the end of Cheapside was the Poultry Counter. Wood Street Counter was off Cheapside on the north side, not so far down as the Poultry. The Gatehouse was in Westminster close to the Abbey. (See C.R.S. I, p 47, where the location of these prisons is described).

The Clink, which was closer to the river than the White Lion and in Clink Street, adjoined the palace of the bishops of Winchester: "it was a small place of confinement on the bankside, called the Clink from being the prison of the Clink liberty or manor of Southwark, belonging to the Bishops of Winchester". (Brayley, History of Surrey Vol. 5, p 348 quoted Foley op cit, I, pp 440 N.2.).

17. C.R.S. 2, p 238.
18. Ibid p 241.
19. Ibid p 259.
20. Ibid p 282.
21. See Appendix VI.
22. C.R.S. 2, p 288.
23. Thomas Pounce died in 1613 (Farlington, Hants, Parish Register cited Gasquet op cit p 276); George Cotton in 1609-10 (W and L Inq. p.m 7-8 James (Ser 2) bundle 3, No. 232, cited V.C.H. Hants 3, p 134); Gilbert Wells in 1600 (Hatfield Cal. Part 12 p 676); and Gilbert Tichborne, brother of Sir Benjamin Tichborne in 1636, at the age of 96 (C.R.S. 42, p 97 N).
24. See Appendix VII.
25. There seems to be no record of the release from prison of members of the lower social classes, but release must have occurred.
26. Foley, op cit 3, p 590.
27. Meyer, op cit, p 184.
28. Foley, op cit, p 582.
29. Ibid
30. P.H. to Walsingham, 168 No. 31 (?) Feb. 1584.
31. Cal. S.P. Dom Eliz 238, No. 126, 20 April 1591.
32. S.P. Cal. No. 138, 1 Oct. 1581.

33. See Appendix VII.
34. John Gerard, The Autobiography of an Englishman, translated by Philip Caraman (London 1951) p 78.
35. Ibid p 79.
36. William Weston, The Autobiography of an Englishman, translated by P. Caraman (London 1955) p 117.
37. C.R.S. 2, p 266. The writer owes this illuminating suggestion to the kindness of Archbishop J.H. King.
38. H.M.C. 11th Report, p 247, Inner Temple MSS No. 538, f 20.
39. Ibid
40. Appendix VII.
41. John Gerard, op cit pp 116, 129.
42. Ibid, p 128 et seq.
43. Ibid, p 117.
44. A.P.C. (N.S.) 18 Feb. 1581-2.
45. Ibid A similar complaint by recusants in the Gatehouse was remedied by instructions given by the Council in December 1581 (A.P.C. (N.S.) 4 Dec. 1581).
46. John Gerard, op cit, p 4.
47. Cal. S.P. Dom Eliz No. 116, 24 May 1594.
48. See Chapter IV, page 67.
49. Foley op cit 6, pp 715, 716, and 727.
50. A.P.C. (N.S.) 9 Dec. 1588, Vol. 7, p 388.
51. Chapter III, page 63.
52. A.P.C. (N.S.) Vol. 12, 26 June 1580.
53. Ibid
54. Ibid
55. Ibid
56. Foley, op cit 3, p 612.
57. S.P. Dom Eliz 203 Nos. 38 and 38 (1-4) 10 Sept. 1587.

58. S.P. Dom Eliz 203, No. 39.
59. He was churchwarden from 1554-1557: The Early Churchwardens' Accounts of Hampshire, edited T.F. Williams (Winchester and London 1913), p 171.
60. L.A. 1562, f 39 (L.A. 1563-4, p 51 etc.
61. J. Strype Annals of the Reformation, Vol. 2, Pt 2, p 660 (Oxf. 1824).
62. Ibid
63. S.P. Dom Eliz 203, No. 39.
64. Ibid
65. S.P. Dom Eliz 203, No. 38, (1).
66. A.P.C. (N.S.) Vol. 19, 6 Sept. 1590.
67. William Weston, op cit, p 165.
68. A.P.C. (N.S.) 11 Jan. 1595-6, 28 Feb. 1595-6, 15 August 1597 and 5 Jan. 1599.
69. A.P.C. (N.S.) 25 March 1600.
70. S.P. Dom Eliz 211, No. 67, 30 June, 1588.
71. A.P.C. (N.S.) 13 March 1589 - 90.
72. A.P.C.(N.S.) 7 August 1592.
73. A.P.C. (N.S.) 21 August 1590.
74. A.P.C. (N.S.) 7 May 1581.
75. See Chapter XII.
76. A.P.C. (N.S.) 11 July 1581.
77. A.P.C. (N.S.) 13 August 1581.
78. Appendix VII.
79. A.P.C. (N.S.) 13, p 189, August 1581.
80. Cal. S.P. Dom Eliz 189, No. 21, 15 May 1586.
81. A.P.C. (N.S.) 3 March 1585, 14 March 1585, and 27 April 1586.
82. For the Whites of South Warnborough, see Chapter II, p 29.

83. A.P.C. (N.S.) 26 Nov. 1595.
84. Chapter V, page 108.
85. Hatfield Cal., Part XIII, p 67, 1594-98. The Warnfords were recusants of Winchester (^{See} p. 143).
86. Appendix VII.
87. Act 35 Eliz C.2, Prothero op cit p 92.
88. A.P.C. (N.S.) 5 Oct. 1592, Vol. II, p 228. ^{Mother's Searle} ~~She~~ [^] was imprisoned in Winchester (~~See~~).
89. Cal. S.P. Dom Eliz 225, No. 17, 7 July 1589.
90. Ibid
91. A.P.C. (N.S.) 19 August 1593.
92. A.P.C. (N.S.) 25 Feb. 1595.
93. A.P.C. (N.S.) 12 Dec. 1596.
94. See N. 23 above.
95. A.P.C. (N.S.) 13 Sept. 1600.
96. Appendix II.
97. V.C.H. Hants I, p 431.
98. V.C.H. Hants 3, p 48 quoting Pat. 27 Henry VIII Pt. 2, m 8.
99. Ibid quoting Memoir R.L.T. Hil 1, Eliz m 81.
100. S.P. Dom Eliz 188, No. 16 (2).
101. Pipe Roll 1588-9, E 372/434.
102. Chan. Inq. (Ser 2) celviii, No. 41 cited in V.C.H. Hants.
103. See Chapter X, Section III.
104. See Chapter IV page 73.
105. See page 215.
106. L.A. 1581-2, f 138.
107. C.R.S. 2, p 266.
108. S.P. Dom Eliz 127, No. 42.
109. S.P. Dom Eliz 158~~4~~ No. 9, 11 Jan. 1583.
110. S.P. Dom Eliz 155, Oct. 1582 & S.P. Dom Eliz 158, No. 10.
111. S.P. Dom Eliz 173, No. 62, 8 Oct. 1584.

CHAPTER X

NOTES

1. See Chapter IV page 71.
2. S.P. Dom Eliz 144 No. 3, 18 Nov. 1580.
3. P. Guilday, English Catholic Refugees on the Continent, (London 1914), Vol. I, p.58.
4. This letter is in the Archives of the English College at Valladolid: Englefield Correspondence. It is referred to in Cal. S.P. Dom Eliz, 31, No. 103 24 Jan/3 Feb, 1590. (Madrid. Sir F. Englefield to the Father Confessor of Syon at Rouen. I wrote to my Lady Abbess, and now write to you ... I want copies of the letters Sister E. Sanders wrote to me about the troubles in England...). The letter is undated, but it was written probably soon after May 1587 when she returned to the Continent (C.R.S. p 140).

Elizabeth Sanders apparently wrote two letters: one, the original mentioned above, and a second when she received no acknowledgment of the first. It is understood that the second was translated into Spanish by Bishop Yopez and incorporated in his Historia Particular de la Persecucion de Inglaterra, 1599, pp 724-737. The present writer is indebted to the kindness of Archbishop King for the copy of the original letter which has been used for the text.

The Yopez letter was translated from the Spanish by Dom Adam Hamilton O.S.B. in a publication called The Poor Souls' Friend (Chudleigh, Devon, Vols. I and II, 1893-6). This publication is associated with Elizabeth Sanders' own order, the Brigittine Nuns. The original of the letter used by Yopez has apparently been lost.

The re-translated letter agrees in the main with the first letter, but it is much less vivid and more general. It is on that account less historically valuable.

Sir Francis Englefield to whom Sister Sanders wrote was the eldest son of Sir Thomas Englefield of Englefield, Bucks. He was a member of Parliament as Knight of the Shire in Mary's reign. At the accession of Elizabeth he fled to the Continent and retired to Valladolid. He was indicted for High Treason in 1564 and his lands and vast possessions were forfeited to the Crown. He favoured a pro-Spanish policy in his Catholic associations. (D.N.B. (London 1908) Vol. 6, p 790).

5. The Yates of Lyford were a well-known Berkshire Catholic family and Edmund Campion was found "in the house of Mr. Yates of Lyford" on 17 July 1581 (Richard Calloner, Memoirs of Missionary Priests (revised edition (London 1924, p 22)).

6. See Chapter VII page 165.
7. A.P.C. (N.S.) 1 Dec. 1580.
8. Elizabeth Sanders' name is on the Pipe Roll for 1582-3 (E 372 /428), when the total amount of the fines against her was £250.
9. Appendix VII
10. Ibid. In the Yopez letter (see Note 4 above) Elizabeth Sanders says that these recusants were of the same opinion as the priests, but thought that she could obtain her liberty by means of money.
11. See Chapter VII - page 162.
12. Chapter VII, page 165.
13. It is not possible to identify this priest from the brief description.
14. See Note 18 below.
15. S.P. Dom Eliz 160 (26)
16. See Appendix II (Vachell).
17. See Chapter VII p. 143.
18. Ibid.
19. C.R.S. 5, p 142. In a letter of 10 May 1587 written at Rouen to Dr. Ely, Walter Stokes said: "I met with Sister Elizabeth Sanders at Dieppe out of England....".
20. A.P.C. (N.S.), 5 May 1590.
21. These were William Burley and either John or William Beconsawe. (Appendix VII).
22. As N 20 above.
23. A.P.C. (N.S.), 18 Jan. 1595-6.
24. Ibid.
25. S.P. 273, No. 23(1), 20 Sept. 1598. Thomas Canterton of King's Somborne is recorded on the Recusant Roll for 1594-5 (E 377/3) as owing the sum of £2.13.4 on account of recusancy.
26. Uvedale is named as William Uvedale in later State Papers (e.g. S.P. Dom Eliz 273, 23 (2)) relating to disorders in the goal. He was ~~apparently~~ ^{probably} a kinsman of Anthony Uvedale, the recusant Keeper, though the precise relationship cannot be ascertained.

27. S.P. 273, No. 23 (2), 5 Oct. 1598.
28. S.P. 273, No. 23, 5 Nov. 1599.
29. S.P. 273, No. 23 (2).
30. Ibid.
31. John, Marcus and Philip Goter, all of Timsbury, were cited as recusants in Nov. 1598 (Processus contra Recusantes, 1598-1602 (Winchester Diocesan Registry), p 15). As regards the other recusants, Pancras, Gendge of Christchurch and Robert ffidler of St. Clements, Winchester, were cited for recusancy in April 1601 (Processus, p 57 and p 47 respectively)
32. See Appendix II.
33. S.P. Dom Eliz 273, No. 23 (3).
34. Ibid. This statement is interesting because it showed that he was able to infringe the provision of the Act of 1593 which restricted recusants to a distance of five miles of their home parish.
35. Hatfield Cal, 9, 14 August 1599.
36. Ibid
37. S. P. Dom Eliz 272, No. 111 and S. P. Dom Eliz 273, No. 23. See also Chapter XII.
38. S.P. Dom Eliz 272 No. 111
39. S.P. Dom Eliz 273 No. 23 (4).
40. Ibid
41. See Appendix II.
42. S.P. Dom Eliz 273, No. 23 (4).
43. Marcus White was cited for recusancy in November 1598 (Processus, op cit, p 33) and was excommunicated for obstinately refusing to conform.
44. There is no record of the citation of anyone named Bidlecombe before 1602. In that year John Bidlecombe of Holdenhurst was cited for recusancy (Processus, op cit p 75).

45. Thomas Abraham of the parish of St. Bartholomew, Winchester, was cited for recusancy in October 1598 (Processus, op. cit., p 5). He then said "he hath been a recusant these nine years and is resolved not to conform himself".
46. There is no record of his citation for recusancy.
47. William Myles of Weeke, was cited for recusancy in July 1598 (Processus op cit, p 4). He had not been to the church, he said, since Queen Mary's reign.
48. S.P. Dom Eliz 273 No. 23 (5).
49. Cal. S.P. 273, No. 23 (6).
50. S.P. 273 No. 23 (7).
51. The Corehams at Hyde were well-known recusants, see Chapter VII p 146.
52. S.P. 273, No. 23 (6).
53. S.P. 273, No. 23, 5 Nov. 1599.
54. Cal. S.P. Dom Eliz 274, No. 34, 6 Feb. 1600.
55. Pat 6 Jas. I, pt 3, m 19 quoted V.C.H. Hants, 3, p 48.
56. Feet of F. Div. Cos. East I, Chas. I, cited V.C.H. 3, ibid
57. C.R.S. 5, p 364.

CHAPTER XI ^{Note.} [for recusancy debts to the Crown and
payments, see Appendices VIII - XIII]

NOTES

1. 1 Eliz, C.2, Prothero op cit p 13.
2. Ibid
3. Documents illustrative of English Church History, edited H. Gee and W.J. Hardy, 4th edition 1921, p 369, quoted Hughes op cit p 34, N.3.
4. Quoted by Dr. W.P.M. Kennedy, Fines under the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity, English Historical Review, Vol. 33, 1918, p 517.
5. Kennedy op cit p 518.
6. See Kennedy op cit p 522, et seq for the Articles of Visitation and the Injunctions relating to various dioceses in England.
7. Parker Register, 1, f 302 quoted Kennedy op cit p 522.
8. Inner Temple, Petyt MSS 538, f 223, and 538, 47, f 545; and Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS, cvi, p 423. Quoted Kennedy op cit p 522.
9. The Advertisements of 1566 quoted from the contemporary text printed by Reginald Wolfe, B.M., T. 1014, (Kennedy op cit p 523).
10. Visitation Articles and Injunctions 1559-1575 Vol. III edited W.H. Frere, Ldn. 1910.
11. Grindal Register f 97 cited Kennedy op cit p 523.
12. Dr. Kennedy op cit p 523, refers, under the heading Visitations applying to the Diocese of Winchester, to an Article of Inquiry, 1569, in which it is asked whether the fine of 12d is paid by an absentee from the church or by anyone who is not devout or reverent at the Church service. He also says, referring to this Article, that in 1569 Horne "went the full length of the law in the parishes of Winchester ..." But this Article of Inquiry applied specifically to the Channel Islands, which Horne had not yet apparently visited, and not to the parishes on the mainland (see Horne Register f 67 for the Article in question). There is little doubt, however, that Horne must have made diligent enquiries about the fine at his Visitations.
13. S.P. Dom Eliz 19, No. 36.
14. L.A. 1566, p 59.

15. L.A. 1568, f 96 v.
16. L.A. 1568, f 113 v.
17. L.A. 1570, f 88.
18. Ibid ff 179, 193.
19. Ibid f 184.
20. L.A. 1574, f 9.
21. L.A. 1575,-7, f 112.
22. L.A. 1581-1582, f 72 v.
23. Ibid f 73 v.
24. Liber Detectorum 1599-1600, f 61.
25. The Early Churchwardens' Accounts of Hampshire (edited J.F. Williams, Winchester and Ldn. 1913).
26. Cotton MSS, Titus B iii, f 63, cited Conyers Reed, Mr. Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth, II, p 273, N.1. (Oxford 1925).
27. Span. Cal. No. 57, 11 Dec. 1580.
28. See Townshend's Historical Collections (Last Four Parliaments of Elizabeth (Ldn 1680): Date 1601.
29. 23 Eliz. C.1, Prothero, p 74.
30. To what extent, if at all, one-third was distributed to the poor it is impossible to say: there is no record of what was done in Hampshire, and the position is probably similar in the case of other counties. George Cotton, for example, was the only Hampshire recusant who paid the maximum fine of £260 a year regularly each year, and the full amount was paid into the Exchequer, as the Recusant Rolls and Pells Receipts indicate. What happened to the money after that is unknown.
Dr. A. Jessopp, the Anglican scholar, in One Generation of a Norfolk House (The House of Walpole, of Henry Walpole, S.J.) (Norwich 1878), p 106, who undertook extensive research in the Norwich diocese, said that "he never found the faintest trace that any one parish benefited directly or indirectly by the fines which were levied (paid ?)".

31. It is difficult to arrive at even an approximate modern equivalent, but at a conservative estimate, the £ in, say, 1590, would probably have been worth 25 times that of the £ today.
32. See Section VII below.
33. S.P. Dom Eliz 114, No. 22.
34. This would have been an important innovation. Refusal to receive Communion, unlike refusal to attend Common Prayer, was not a legal but an ecclesiastical offence: it was a provision in one of the rubrics in the Book of Common Prayer (q.v.).
35. Cal. Dom Eliz 116, No. 15.
36. C.R.S. Vol. 22, p 2, et seq.
37. Ibid
38. C.R.S. 22, pp 39-41.
39. Appendix XI.
40. Ibid
41. Ibid
42. 1592-3, et seq.: E 377/1, etc.
43. Incidentally, Lady Paulet never paid any of her recusancy debts to the Crown - Appendix XIII.
44. Strype, Life of Grindal p 345. Strype has the subject under the year 1577, but the correct year seems to be 1580 (see F. Peck, Desiderata Curiosa (London 1779).
45. 1 Eliz 1, C.6, Prothero p ~~88~~. 1.
46. 28 and 29 Eliz C.6, Prothero p 88.
47. F. Peck, Desiderata Curiosa, pp 87-89.
48. Whitgift MS Register, f 90 v, cited W.P.M. Kennedy, Parish Life in the Reign of Elizabeth, London 1914, p 126, cf C.R.S. 18, Introd. p xii.
49. 23 Eliz C.1. Act 7, Prothero, p 76. J.P's could not try cases of treason or misprision of ~~p~~reason.
50. MS. Guiseppi, Guide to Public Record Office, Vol. I, p 135, (Ldn 1923).

51. Ibid and Sir Geoffrey Gilbert, Treatise of the Exchequer (Ldn 1758) p 85.
52. John Stow, Survey of London, ed. C.L. Kingsford (Oxf. Clarendon Press, 1908) and Act of 1581, 23 Eliz C.1, Art 8.
53. Gilbert, op cit pp 74, 75
54. Appendix VII.
55. 28 and 29 Eliz C.6: An Act for the more speedy and due execution of certain branches of the statute (of 1581, - 23 Eliz C.1, Prothero pp 74 and 88.
56. Pells Receipts for 1582 onwards (E 401/1831 et seq).
57. S.P. Dom Eliz 160/26.
58. S.P. Dom Eliz 151, Nos 72 and 73. The report is in Walsingham's hand. The P.R.O. date assigned to these documents is 1581, but this is obviously too early and Professor Conyers Read (Walsingham, Vol. II, p 303, N.1) considers that the date is probably mid-1585. But it might well be later.
59. Walsingham seems to have had suspicion of some of the sheriffs and judging by the contributions from Hampshire towards the cost of light horses there seems to have been some lack of enthusiasm on the part of Wm. Wright, the sheriff. (See Section IV).
60. A.P.C. (New Series) 14, 1585-6, pp 8 and 15.
61. S.P. Dom Eliz 186, Nos 81-3.
62. 28 and 29 Eliz C.6, Prothero, p 88. See Conyers Read, op.cit., II, p 299.
63. Conyers Read, op cit p 298 N.1.
64. Chapter V, p 109 et seq
65. S.P. Dom Eliz 183, No. 45.
66. S.P. Dom Eliz 183, No. 45, II.
67. Nicholas Tichborne had been presented for recusancy as early as 1562 (L.A. 1562) when he was excommunicated. He spent years in prison and died in Winchester Gaol in 1589 (See Appendix VII).
68. Nicholas was the second son of Henry Tichborne of Owslebury and Porchester (Harl. MSS 5800). He married Mary, daughter of Robert Myll of Hartley Maudit, and seems to have lived there after his marriage.

69. Pells Receipt E 401/1834. The amount (£40) was paid in by Richard Tichborne (possibly his son) on behalf of Nicholas, who was in prison in Winchester at the time. It was partly to meet the accumulated debt in fines.
70. S.P. Dom Elix 184, No. 8.
71. S.P. Dom Eliz 184, Nos 17 and 17, 1.
72. A.P.C. (New Series) Vol. 14, p 86.
73. The mother of Sir Benjamin Tichborne, of the senior branch of the Tichbornes, who was High Sheriff of Hampshire in 1580 and 1602-3. (Harl. Socy 64 (Tichborne) and P.R.O. List of Sheriffs).
74. He was returned as a recusant in the official list of recusants. S.P. Dom Eliz 160, No. 26.
75. See N. 71 above.
76. A.P.C. New Series, 10 March 1587 p 413.
77. S.P. Dom Eliz 199, No. 74, 30 March 1587.
78. S.P. Dom Eliz 195, No. 2, 3 November 1586.
79. Ibid
80. S.P. Dom Eliz 186, Nos 81 and 82.
81. See ~~Section~~ p 262. et seq.
82. S.P. Dom Eliz 188, Nos 16 and 16 1-XIII.
83. S.P. Dom Eliz 189, No~~4~~ 54.
84. Appendix IX
85. ~~Pells~~ E Ibid
86. Pells Receipts, Easter 1585. E 401/1837.
87. Appendix IX.
88. S.P. Dom Eliz 189, No. 54.
89. S.P. Dom Eliz 189, No. 55.
90. S.P. Dom Eliz 194, No. 73. There is no clue as to the person who made the observations.
91. 28 and 29 Eliz C.6. Prothero p 88.
92. 23 Eliz C.i, Prothero p 74.

93. Pells Receipts E 401/1831-1840 inclusive.
94. Pipe Roll E 372/428.
95. Pipe Roll E 372/429 (1583-4). The amount of £240 indicated on the Roll was partly in respect of a period before the date of conviction.
96. Appendix IX.
97. Pipe Roll E 372/430.
98. Pipe Roll ~~7~~ E 372/434.
99. See e.g. the entries on pages 282 and 283 of the transcript of Recusant Roll, 1592-3 E 377/1. C.R.S. Vol. 18.
100. Appendix X.
101. Ibid
102. P.R.O. Augmentations Office: Particulars for the grant of Crown lands, E 318, Portfolio 49.
103. The names of Alice Knight and Robert Knight (probably her son) appear regularly on Recusant Rolls, E 377/1 et seq.
104. V.C.H. 5, p 492 (see also Recusant Rolls for 1595-6 et seq E 377/4 etc.
105. E 377/1 (Transcript C.R.S. 18, p 280). His wife's name appears on the Recusant Roll for 1602/3 (E 377/11) described as the wife of Stephen Temple. She was fined £100.
106. John Mewes himself appears to have been a recusant, for an inquisition into part of his property was made in 1591 and on 12 Dec. 1591 an order was given for a lease to be made in respect of two-thirds of it. (Augmentations Office, Particulars for grant, E 318, Portfolio 49). Nothing more is heard of him, however, and like Stephen Temple he may have conformed.
107. Mark Curle, gentleman, is returned as a recusant of Adderston (Arreton) in 1583: S.P. Dom Eliz 160/26, 1583.
108. See ~~Section III.~~ ^{pp 262, 263} The question of fraudulent conveyances continued to cause the Government anxiety. In 1593 a bill was proposed "for registering all leases or alienations of land, to avoid the penalties of Popish recusants who seek by transferring their estates to escape the penalties of the laws against recusants". (Cal. Dom Eliz 244, No. 111 March (?) 1593). Nothing apparently came of it.

109. Memoranda Rolls, L.T.R. Easter, E 368/455.
110. Ibid
111. The fine was evidently sanctioned, for it appears on the Pipe Roll for 1587-88, E 372/433.
112. Memoranda Rolls, L.T.R. Anno 1598 March, E 368/493.
113. Vide the case of Katherine Marryner of Wanstead, Southwick, in Sept. 1597 (Recusant Roll for 1596/7, E 377/5 and Memoranda Roll, E 368/492 L.T.R.). In this case the recusant was "forgiven the pains and penalties of the statute". This appears to have been an exercise of the royal prerogative. So far as the financial penalties were concerned the Act of 1586-7, Art. 6, stipulated that arrears before the date of conformity were payable (Eliz 28 and 29, C.6 Statutes at Large Vol. 6). The Recusant Roll does not give details of the submission, but refers to the Memoranda Roll for an account of the case.
114. B.M. Add MSS 31853 f 26. Norden's Maps of Counties with Notes (1595).
115. E. Lipson, The Economic History of England (London 1947) Vol. 2, p 188.
116. V.C.H. 5, p 470.
117. Studies in Administration of Finance 1558-1825, p 8. Edward Hughes, Manchester University Press, 1934.
118. Ibid f 35.
119. E 377/1 Transcript C.R.S. 18, p 279.
120. Appendix IX.
121. See Note 31 above.
122. In July 1589 George Cotton was granted three months' release from prison in order to sell more of his property in Hampshire and Cheshire "for payment of fines to Her Majesty". (Cal. S.P. Dom Eliz 225 No. 17).
123. V.C.H. III, p 134.
124. Pells Receipts E 401/1831 et seq.
125. Appendix XI.
126. Appendix IX.
127. Appendix XII.

128. They were Richard Chydden, tailor, Thomas Phillips, yeoman, and Joan Spencer, wife of William Spencer, yeoman all of Romsey, in 1583-4 (Pipe Roll E 372/429). (The year 1583 was the date of the execution of the martyrs John Body and John Slade), - and John Goldsmith and Gilbert Tichborne, gentleman, in 1592-3 (Recusant Roll, E 377/1).
129. Recusant Roll E 377/11, and Pells Receipts E 401/1873 et seq.
130. A History of England, Vol. II, p 409 et seq. (Professor E.P. Cheyney, London 1926).
131. See ~~Section III, N 592~~ ^{page 262 and} ~~III, N 592~~.
The fact that recusancy debts for fines are allowed to accumulate in such large sums before any further action is taken is further evidence of the weakness of the local executive (See Appendix IX).
132. There are records of six Hampshire recusants who owe debts of various amounts for the value of goods and chattels seized, (Pipe Rolls E 372/434 et seq and Recusant Rolls E 377/1 et seq) but most of them made no payment. The debts continue to be shown on the Recusant Rolls year after year. (E 377/1 et seq).
133. See Appendix VII.
134. See ~~Section IV~~ p 265.

CHAPTER XII

NOTES

1. This is the classification in the article on the penal laws in Catholic Encyclopaedia (Seminary edition, 1911) Vol.II, p.611 et seq.
2. 1 Eliz C.I: An Act restoring to the Crown the ancient jurisdiction over the State ecclesiastical and spiritual, and abolishing all foreign power repugnant to the same: Prothero, op cit p 1 et seq.
3. 1 Eliz C.2: An Act of Uniformity of Common Prayer and Divine Service in the Church and the Administration of the Sacraments. Prothero, op cit, p.13 et seq.
4. 5 Eliz C I: An Act for the assurance of the Queen's Majesty's royal power over all estates and subjects within Her Highness' dominions: Prothero op cit, p.39 et seq.
5. It was under this provision, viz.Art.9 of the Act, that the oath was tendered a second time to Bonner, the deprived Marian Bishop, by Robert Horne, Bishop of Winchester. Bonner at the time (1564) was imprisoned in the Marshalsea which was within the jurisdiction of the Bishops of Winchester. He was thus, for a second refusal, threatened with death: the Government considered that they had sufficiently tightened their net and made sure of their victim. Horne certified the refusal under the Act to the Court of King's Bench, but the astute Bonner denied that he had been tendered the oath by a bishop: Horne, he said, was not a properly-consecrated bishop, and could not therefore legally administer the Oath (Strype, Annals, Vol.I, Part II,p.2). The revived statute of 25 Henry VIII, C.20, required the election of bishops to be confirmed by one Archbishop and two bishops or else four bishops. Bonner asserted that Parker, Horne's consecrator, was not an Archbishop because he had not been properly consecrated. A special Act (8 Eliz C.I) was passed to legalise all the consecrations which had been made. The Government left Bonner alone (Strype, op.cit, pp.2 and 7; Hughes, Reformation III, p.44).
6. Chapter VIII, p.203.
7. Prothero, op cit. p 57 et seq.
8. Prothero, op cit, p.60 et seq.
9. An Agnus Dei was a "sacramental" made of wax and blessed by the Pope. On it was impressed the symbol of the Lamb of God as the Saviour. Its history goes back probably to the Fourth Century. (New Catholic Dictionary, New York, 1929, p.19).

A "sacramental" is any object blessed by the Catholic Church having as its purpose the increase of devotion (ibid p.844).

10. Strype, Annals, Vol.I, Part II, p.360.
11. Statutes at Large, Vol.2, Cambridge, 1763.
12. Ibid.
13. Meyer, op cit, p.148.
14. The speech is analysed in Elizabeth I and Her Parliaments, 1559-1581, p.382 et seq (J.E.Neale, Ldn, 1953).
15. Neale, op cit, p.383.
16. Neale, op cit, p.384.
17. Ibid.
18. "A distinction was drawn between being and becoming a Catholic. The first was punishable by fine and imprisonment, the second by death". (Meyer, op cit, p.148.
19. Conyers Read, Walsingham, op cit, II, p.292.
20. Foley, op cit, Vol.3, p.278.
21. This was Roger Coreham's house at Hyde, near Winchester - see Chapter VII, p.146.
22. See Chapter 13, Section VI.
23. Statutes at Large, (Ldn.1763), Vol.2.
24. D'Ewes Journals (1682) pp.471-472.
25. Meyer, op cit, p.167.
26. Ibid. Professor Meyer's statement must be understood to refer to recusants convicted.
27. A History of England from the defeat of the Armada to the death of Elizabeth: E.P. Cheney (2 vols. Ldn,1926) Vol.2, p.314).
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid.
30. Lambard, Eirenarcha, or the Office of Justices of the Peace, (Ldn, 1592) p.199, citing 13 Eliz C.2.

31. 23 Eliz, Art.5, Statutes at Large and Lambard op.cit p.202.
32. 27 Eliz C.I, Art.13, Statutes at Large.
33. Act of 1581, Art.8, 23 Eliz C.I. Statutes at Large.

There is some inconsistency in the Act of 1581 as between Articles 8 and 9 concerning the type of offences which may be dealt with by Justices of the Peace. Art.8 says that all offences against the Act or against the penal Acts of the first, fifth and thirteenth years of the reign, viz. 1 Eliz 1 and 2, 5 Eliz 1 and 13 Eliz 2, may be inquirable by J.P.'s. Art.9 says that J.P.'s have power "to inquire, hear and determine all offences against this Act (the Act of 1581), except treason, and misprison of treason". But Art.8 has already said, without qualification, that they may inquire into "all offences against the Act", which includes cases of treason. Moreover, the Acts of 1 Eliz 1 (Supremacy Act, 1559), 5 Eliz 1 (Act of Assurance, 1563) and 13 Eliz 2 (1571) also refer to cases of treason.
34. Lambard, op.cit, p.208.
35. Letters from the Bishops to the Privy Council, 1564, with returns of the J.P.'s and others with their respective dioceses, classified according to their religious convictions: edited Mary Bateson (Camden Miscellany, Vol.9, Ldn, 1895).
36. Ibid.
37. Robert Penruddock was returned as a "strong Papist" and William Bulkeley and William Paulet as Papists in the official list of 1572 (S.P. Dom Eliz.90, No.18).

As regards Thomas Shelley, by an inquisition taken at Winchester on 2 October 1570, it was ascertained that he had been a fugitive in foreign parts beyond the seas since December 1558 and was then living in Louvain. Before his departure he had granted a 12 years' lease of all his lands in Mapledurham (Buriton) to Thomas Golforde and John Jervys (V.C.H. Hants Vol.3, p.88, citing Excheq. Spec. Com. 12 Eliz, No.2015). He died seised of the manor of Mapledurham in 1577, his heir being Henry, his son, a well-known recusant (see Chapter VII, p.166).

38. In the same month, November 1564, Robert Hodson was actually committed to the Marshalsea for connivance at Papist activities (Chapter II, p.36). Richard Bethell, senior, and William Lawrence Lawrence were M.P's (Burgesses) for Winchester in Mary's reign (1st year) (1st Book of Ordinances, f 101a, Winchester City Record Office). Richard Bethell, senior, was a Freeman of the City of Winchester (1st Book of Ordinances, f 98a). Richard Bethell, junior, was made a Freeman in October 1562 (1st Bk. of O. f 134b). He was afterwards one of the City's Bailiffs (1st Bk. of O. f 196d, 16 September 1577, and 3rd Bk. of O. f 12b, 17 September 1577). Giles White was Mayor of Winchester in the 4th-5th year and 5th-6th year of Mary's reign (1st Bk. of O. ff 112b and 113b). He was also M.P. (Burgess) in the 4th-5th year of Mary's reign (1st Bk. of O. f 114a). He was again Mayor of the city in 1566 (1st Bk. of O. f 149). John Pottinger was made Town Clerk of Winchester jointly with John White on 31 March 1567 (1st Bk. of O. f 150). He was afterwards Chamberlain of the city (1st Bk. of O. f 239v). He died some time in 1585 (1st Bk. of O. f 239v).
William Lawrence, John Pottinger and Giles White were returned as Papists in 1572 (S P Dom Eliz 90 No.18) whilst Roger Coreham was a "strong Papist" (*ibid*).
39. Henry, the Second Earl of Southampton, was to remain a Catholic till his death in 1581.
Lord Sandys, apparently the father of the "young lord", was present at a Catholic baptism in 1562 when he became godfather to William Windsor's child (L.A.1563-4, f 6). Members of the Sandys family do not, however, appear as Catholics in any later records.
40. Letters from the Bishops, Camden Misc, Vol.9, *op.cit*.
41. Hatfield Calendar, Part I, p.392.
42. S.P. Dom Eliz,⁹⁰ No.18. The name ~~of~~ Richard Puttenham of Sherfield, Hampshire) was included in a list dated December 1581 of persons who had "children or others belonging to them .. in the parts beyond the seas". These "children or others" were Catholics. Richard Puttenham, who was possibly a son or kinsman of George Puttenham, was stated to be in a "place not known" (probably at one of the Seminaries), and to be maintained by Thomas Colby with a pension of £40 a year. (S.P. Dom Eliz.150, No.95). There is no record that Thomas Colby was an open Catholic, but he was a J.P. in 1577 (S.P. Dom Eliz, Vol.121, Liber Pacis).
43. S.P. Dom Eliz 59, No.46.
44. *Ibid*.
45. *Ibid*.

46. He was the third son of the Marquis of Winchester.
47. S.P. Dom Eliz 90, No.18.
48. See Note 37 above.
49. See Appendix II.
50. D'Ewes Journals, Parliament of 1571: House of Lords.
51. See Section A of this Chapter.
52. A.P.C. (N.S.) 12 July 1574.
53. Lansd. MS 16, 46.
54. Lancs. MA. 16, 48.
55. Act of Assurance, 5 Eliz C.I, Art.14.
56. P.R.O: S.P. Dom Eliz Vol.96, May 1574: pp.1-169: Names of Hundres and resident J.P's.
57. S.P. Dom Eliz 90, No.18. For the Henslow family see Chapter VII, p.155. Ralph Henslow died in 1577.

The Clerk of the Peace attended Sessions of the Peace. He read the indictments and served the Court. He enrolled the acts of the Sessions and drew up the processes. He sought fees from those who were acquitted of felony and sent up to the Court of King's Bench "transcripts of indictments, outlawries, attainders and convictions": Lambard op cit, 9.373.

58. S.P. Dom Eliz Vol, 104; List of J.P's
59. S.P. Dom Eliz.90, No.18 and Chapter IV, N 31.
60. See Chapter VII, page 152.
61. See Chapter IV, p.73.
62. Lansd MS.52, p.64 and S.P. Dom Eliz 206, No.85.
63. Lansd MS, 53, 88.
64. Ibid.
65. A.P.C. (N.S.) 20 October 1592, Vol.VI.

Chapter XIII

Notes

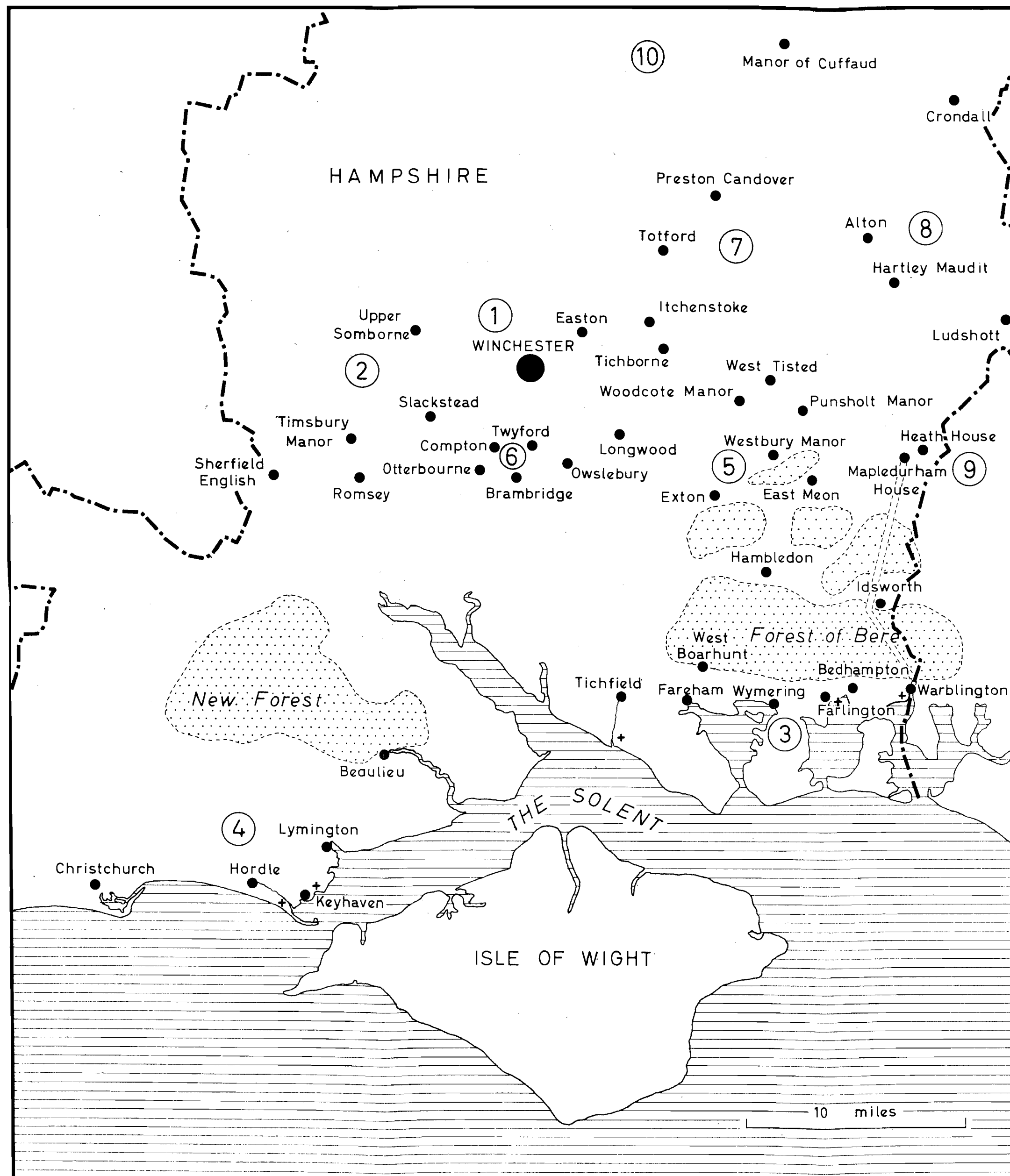
1. See Chapter VI, page 129.
2. A.P.C. (N.S.) 30 Oct. 1580.
3. Not underlined in the original document.
4. A.P.C. (N.S.) 30 Oct. 1580.
5. Ibid S.P. Dom Eliz. 144 No. 36. The Council's request is mentioned in this letter.
6. Walsingham's letter does not seem to survive, but Bishop Cooper refers to it in his letter of 10 Dec. 1585 (S.P. 185 No. 17).
7. See Chapter X, Sections I and II.
8. See N.6 above.
9. A.P.C. (N.S.) 5 Oct. 1592.
10. A.P.C. (N.S.) 7 Jan. 1592-3.
11. A.P.C. (N.S.) 13 Nov. 1592.
12. C.R.S. 5, p 203; Documents relating to English Martyrs, quoting Westminster Archives, iv, 287, p 203, "Advises from England, 1 October 1591". See Appendix VI for the martyrs mentioned.
13. Ibid
14. Strype, in his Life of Whitgift (Ox. 1822) Vol. 2, p 3, refers to a paper written by Maynard and assigns it to the year 1590.
15. Historical Collections; Last Four Parliaments of Queen Elizabeth (H. Townshend; London 1680)
16. S.P. Dom. Eliz. 248 No.9.
17. A.P.C. (N.S.) 7 June 1593.
18. S.P. 281, No. 37. Similar arguments are given in another document dated about this time - see Hatfield Cal, Pt XIV, p 282 (1596-1603).
19. 7 & 8 Jac I, C.6 (Art. 5); An Act for administering the oath of allegiance, and reformation of married women recusants - see Prothero, op cit p 274.

20. Chapter II, Sections II & IV and Chapter III, Sections II & III.
21. Chapter II, Section V and Chapter III, Section II.
22. Chapter II, Section III.
23. Chapter III, Section IV.
24. Chapter III, page 47 et seq.
25. Chapter III, page 57.
26. Chapter IV, page 81.
27. Chapter VI, page 128.
28. See Summaries in Appendix X.
29. Chapter IV, pp 81, 82, ~~Section V.~~
30. Chapter IV, p 84.
31. Chapter IV, p 84.
32. Chapter IV, p 86.
33. Chapter V, page 88.
34. Foley, op.cit. VI, p 725 et seq.
35. Chapter V, page 91.
36. Chapter V, p. 94.
37. Ibid
38. Chapter V, page 102.
39. Chapter V, page 109.
40. Chapter V, page 111.
41. Chapter VI, page 117.
42. Chapter VI, page 122.
43. Chapter VI, p 128 et seq.
44. Ibid
45. Chapter VI, p 130.

46. S.P. 208, No. 75.
47. Chapter V, page 94 and Chapter VIII, Section III.
48. Chapter VIII, Section V.
49. Ibid
50. Ibid
51. Chapter VIII, Section II.
52. Ibid
53. Chapter V, p 113 et seq.
54. Chapter 10, Sections I and II.
55. Letter to Dom Bernardino di Mendoza written as from a Catholic, but actually by Burghley (C.R.S. Vol. 21, page 169 Note). Burton and Pollen, Lives of the English Martyrs (Ldn. 1914) p xxv et seq state that there are two drafts preserved in Lansd. MSS, Vol. 103, N.55.
56. V.C.H. Hants, 2, p 85
57. A History of England, E.P. Cheyney, 2 vols. (Ldn 1926) p 347
58. C.A. Newdigate, op cit, p 9 et seq
59. See Appendix VII.
60. Chapter 9, Section I.
61. Appendix VII.
62. Appendix XII.
63. Chapter V, page 88.
64. Chapter V, p 94 et seq
65. S.P. 208, No. 75.
66. Chapter VI, p 117
67. S.P. Dom. Eliz. 160/26.
68. See Chapter V, pp 91, 94, 95.
69. Chapter IV, page 82.
70. Chapter V, page 89.

71. Chapter II, page 32.
72. Ibid
73. Chapter III, p. 49.
74. Chapter V, p 112.
75. Ibid
76. Chapter VI, p 133.
77. See, for example, Chapter VI, Notes 73, 76 etc.
78. Appendix IX.
79. Chapter VII, Section I.
80. Chapter VI, page 132.
81. Chapters IX and X.
82. Chapter IV, page 79.
83. S.P. Dom Eliz. 158, No. 9.
84. Chapter V, page 92.
85. In the north the increases were considerable. The Dean of Durham told Cecil in 1597 that "the number of recusants is great and increases: they were of good calling and wealth". (Cal. S.P. 262 No. 25). In 1599 Thomas Burghley, Lord President of the North, informed Cecil that he feared that in Yorkshire he would soon return an army of recusants (Cal. S.P. 272 No. 112). In 1604 the Archbishop of York said that recusants had grown in number courage and influence. (Winwood op cit, Vol. II, p 40).
86. In 1603, the number of non-Communicants in Hampshire was stated to be 230 (132 men and 98 women): Harl. M.S. 595, Nos. 213, 214.
87. See the considerations mentioned in Chapter XIII, Section A, first paragraph. There are 317 names on the Recusant Roll (Hampshire) for 1602-3 E377/117. 260 are of persons recently fined.
88. Chapter VI, page 129.
89. Pells Receipts, E 401/1873
90. Pells Receipts, E 401/1871

91. Pells Receipts E 401/1874
92. Processus contra Recusantes. 1598-1602. p 33
93. B.M. A Book of Proclamations during the reign of Elizabeth (London, 1618). Among other matters, the Proclamation said that such toleration would not only disturb the peace of the Church, but "bring this our State into confusion".
94. See under Tichborne in Burke's Landed Gentry.
95. E 377/11.
96. Chapter V, page 91.
97. Pipe Rolls, E 372/431, 432 and 433.
98. For example, according to Black op cit p 374, N.l., R.G. Usher op cit, I, pp 157-9 estimates that in 1602 there were between 750,000 and a million Catholics, whilst Meyer op cit pp 62-3 estimates 120,000 approx. In some counties like Lancashire the Catholic population was undoubtedly large, - see Leatherbarrow op cit. p 152 et seq
99. Dom Norbert Birt op cit p 412.
100. Appendix XIV.
101. Ibid
102. Recusant Roll E 377/15.
103. E 377/13.
104. Appendix 14.



KEY

GROUPS :- ① WINCHESTER & NEIGHBOURHOOD

② SLACKSTEAD & DISTRICT

Upper Somborne : Lady Mabel Sandys
& Timsbury Manor

Sherfield English : Mistress Francis Tichborne

③ COASTAL (1)

Tichfield : Earl of Southampton

Fareham : John Ludlow

West Boarhunt : Henslow family

Wymering : Bruning family

Farlington : Thomas Pounce

Bedhampton : Anthony Cope

Warblington : George Cotton
Mistress Bullaker

④ COASTAL (2)

Beaulieu : George Tattershall

Lymington : Benjamin Stockwith

Hordle Bremor

Nr. Milford : Henry Carew
& Keyhaven

Christchurch : John Tichborne

⑤ MEON - ROPLEY

Hambleton &
Woodcote Manor : Anthony Uvedale

Exton : John Goldsmith

East Meon : Robert Joy

Punsholt Manor : Anthony Norton
(Privett)

West Tisted : Mistress
Elizabeth
Tichborne

Westbury Manor : William ffawkenor
West Meon

⑥ TWYFORD - OTTERBOURNE

Brambridge : Wells family
Twyford & Otterbourne

Compton : Powlwheel family

Longwood : Peter & Chideock
Tichborne

⑦ ITCHENSTOKE & PRESTON CANOVER

Itchenstoke : Nicholas Scrope

Easton : Mistress Katherine Hall

Preston Candover : William Hoorde

Totford : Gilbert Tichborne

⑧ HARTLEY MAUDIT

Hartley Maudit : Nicholas
Tichborne

Alton : Mistress
Elizabeth Pitts

⑨ MAPLEDURHAM (BURTON) & IDSWORTH ⑩ OUTLYING

Mapledurham : Shelley family

Heath House : Stephen Vachell
(Petersfield)

Idsworth : Edward Banister

Crondall : Lady Elizabeth Paulet

Manor of Cuffaud : Cuffaud
(Basing) family

Manor of Ludshott : Knight family

Middleton Hall : William Burley
Longparish

+ Creeks

----- Road

Woodland areas

10 miles