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EDMUND CAMPION.

A Biography.

BY

RICHARD SIMPSON.

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P R E F A C E.

THE first eight chapters of the following Life were printed off from time to time, as they appeared in the *Rambler* in the years 1861 and 1862. When the *Rambler* changed into the *Home and Foreign Review* this work was dropped, and was only resumed in November 1866.

Campion has had so many biographers that a new one may be expected to state his reasons for telling again a tale so often told. They are very simple. In the course of my researches among different archives, I found a quantity of unpublished matter that had never been seen by the former biographers; and in reading over the earliest and most authentic memoirs I found so many points obscured by phrase-making, misunderstood through ignorance of England, or misrepresented through the one-sidedness of those whose information was depended upon, that there seemed ample room for another book on the same subject.

I have to express my obligations to the Jesuit Fathers at Stonyhurst, who had the kindness to send the mss. relating to Campion to London for my convenience; to Charles Weld, Esq., who took the trouble to copy from a ms. at the Gesù in Rome the whole of Bombinus' unpublished additions and corrections for his biography; and lastly, to Father Victor de Buck, Bollandist, of Brussels, for several references to rare books, and for encouragement, without which the work would never have been resumed.

The Bibliographical Appendix and the references in the notes will be a sufficient indication of the authorities which I have followed.

Clapham, Dec. 21, 1866.

LIFE
OF
EDMUND CAMPION.

CHAPTER I.

EDMUND CAMPION, the protomartyr of the English Jesuits, was born in London on St. Paul's day, January 25, 15³⁹/₄₀, the thirtieth year of Henry VIII., a year marked by the suppression of the great religious houses in England, and the inauguration of a persecution of which, forty years after, Campion was to be a victim, as well as by the solemn papal approval of the Society of Jesus, of which he was to be an ornament. His father was also Edmund Campion, citizen and bookseller of London. "His parents were not wealthy in the riches of this world, but very honest and Catholic," says Father Parsons. Campion himself was not so certain of this; he only "hopes" that they died in the faith. They had four children, a girl and three boys, of whom Edmund was either eldest or second. He and his youngest brother took to books; the other preferred adventure, and took a wife, who was occasionally left to herself while her husband served in the wars.*

When Edmund was come to "years of discretion," that is, when he was nine or ten, his parents wished to apprentice him to some merchant; but some members of one of the London companies—Parsons thinks that of the merchant adventurers, but I think the grocers—having become acquainted with the "sharp and pregnant wit" that he had shown from his childhood, induced their guild to undertake to maintain him "at their common charges to the study of learning." He was sent first to some London grammar-school, and after-

* See Note A at end.

wards to the new foundation of Edward VI. at Christ Church, Newgate Street,—if we may call it his foundation; but a new religion had brought in new notions of merit and reparation; it was ample satisfaction for the theft of a hog to bestow its feet in alms. Just three weeks before he died, Henry VIII. not only atoned for his wholesale pillage of the church, but acquired the honours of a founder and benefactor, by restoring St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, to the service of God and the poor; and his son followed his example by founding schools with some of the confiscated Church property, according to the lesson first taught by Cardinal Wolsey, and since repeated with variations by most of the European governments. Christ-Church Hospital, or the Blue-Coat School, was one of these foundations.

In those days there seems to have been a common *concursus* among the London grammar-schools, as if they had formed a university. Campion is said “ever to have borne away the game in all contentions of learning proposed by the schools of London;” a fact which he would occasionally “merrily mention” in after life, not without some talk of the prizes he had gained. His “championship” was acknowledged; and so when Queen Mary, on her solemn entry into London, August 3, 1553, had to pass by St. Paul's School, it was none of the “Paul's pigeons” that was selected to address her, but Campion, as the representative of London scholarship, was brought from Newgate Street to make the requisite harangue. Minds that had faith in functions would have triumphed in the prospects which that day opened to the Church. They could not admit that the enthusiasm could be so soon cooled. They noted with admiration the long procession: the lords marching three and three together; the ambassadors surrounded with crowds of their own countrymen, and each attended by one of the privy councillors—the Spanish Ambassador for greater honour attended by St. John the Lord Treasurer; the Lord Mayor, Sir Thomas White, who was afterwards to be Campion's great patron; the Earl of Arundel, bearing the sword before the queen; the queen herself, “in a long-sleeved robe of crimson velvet, with side-sleeves and train of the same, enriched with gold embroidery and precious stones;” followed by her sister, the Lady Elizabeth, and a hundred and sixty other ladies,—duchesses, countesses, dames, mistresses, and maids. Eight thousand horsemen rode in the procession, and the Tower guns kept firing from the first moment the queen passed under Temple Bar till she reached the old fortress; the roofs and streets were crowded with citizens singing, playing organs,

and shouting, "God save Queen Mary!"* It was in the midst of this tumult that little Campion had to spout his address, and to share the honours of a day when good-humour ruled, and criticism was mute except to applaud. The queen is said to have been much pleased with him, and the people cheered him heartily, though they probably did not hear a word he said; for at thirteen he had not that "sweet, modulated, full, sonorous bass voice"† which afterwards inspired hearts with so high resolves, though there might have been the *faciei grata venustas*, a youthful beauty against whose rhetoric the people could not hold argument, and anticipations of excellence to make citizens proud of their young champion.

When Sir Thomas White founded St. John's College, Oxford, the Grocers' Company dealt with him to admit this youth as a scholar, "which he did most willingly after he was informed of his towardliness and virtue." The Company gave him an exhibition for his maintenance. In 1557, when the college was increased, Campion became junior fellow; for the founder had conceived a special affection for him, and he had in very short time grown to be much known for his wit, and especially for his grace of speech and gift of eloquence, in which he was thought to be the best man of his time.

In November 1558, Queen Mary and Cardinal Pole died. Elizabeth succeeded, set up chiefly by the forwardness and forces of the Catholic nobility and people, who at that day, says Parsons, were without comparison the stronger party, but were content to act thus, partly on the hope of Elizabeth continuing in the Catholic religion, of which she had made much demonstration while her sister lived, and partly on a certain politic persuasion that this was the less evil, the best way to preserve peace, and exclude a foreign succession to the crown. But within a few weeks the new queen had forbidden the Host to be elevated in her presence, had chidden her preachers for their doctrine, and had excited such suspicion that a Bishop could hardly be procured to crown her. After her coronation she quite threw off the mask, and by a packed party in the "beardless parliament," and a majority of one voice in the House of Lords, from which, by threats and cajolery, she had caused the chief Catholic nobles to absent themselves, against the unanimous decision of the Bishops, and the expressed wishes of Convocation, she substituted the Anglican Establishment for the Catholic Church. But it was a long time before the law written on paper be-

* See Note B.

† See Note C.

came transfused into the habits and life of the English; the utmost address and ingenuity, the most imperturbable patience, were requisite to enforce it step by step, first in one place, then in another, upon the divided and isolated population of the country.

The change was not immediately felt at Oxford, especially by the undergraduates; the authorities did not want to make Oxford a desert by forcing too many consciences; no oath was required of Campion till he took his degree in 1564. By that time the seductions of the university, a host of friends, and a large following of disciples had entangled him. His eloquence was a dangerous gift; as junior in the act of February 19, 1564, he was orator in the schools, "at which time," says Anthony à Wood, "speaking one or more most admirable orations, to the envy of his contemporaries, he caused one of them, Tobie Mathew, to say, that rather than omit the opportunity to show his parts, and *dominari in unâ atque alterâ conciunculâ* (to be cock in a spouting-match or two), he took the oath against the supremacy of the Pope and against his own conscience." In this envious stab of Tobie's there is some truth to poison the wound. The orator's success tempted him to desert theology, to which he had addressed himself from his boyhood, and to become a humanist; and why should a humanist and a layman trouble himself with the quarrels of Pope and queen? His own path of duty was plain; he was more certain that he ought to obey his superiors, and fulfil his engagements with his pupils, than he could be about the abstract question of the Pope's supremacy. The more certain duty eclipses the less; and as a mere layman he had no particular call to certify himself more securely on so very inconvenient a point. Nevertheless, though he took the oath himself, he sometimes saved others from doing so. "I knew him at Oxford," says Parsons, "and it was through him that the oath was not tendered to me when I took my M.A. degree."*

Still, however loth, he was obliged, by the statutes of the college, to enter on the study of theology; but he managed to find a respite, and to stave off the urgent questions. He began with natural theology, and read it up from Aristotle—Aristotle says nothing about the Pope's supremacy. Then he went on to positive theology, the old settled dogma, which had not much to do with the controversies of the day. Then he determined to spell through the Fathers, where he could not expect to find much about these crabbed points; this I gather from his own statement: "First I learned grammar

* See Note D.

in my native place; then I went to Oxford, where I studied philosophy for seven years (1557-1564), and theology for about six—Aristotle, Positive Theology, and the Fathers.”*

After he had taken his degree he had hosts of pupils, who followed not only his teaching but his example, and imitated not only his phrases but his gait. He filled Oxford with “Campionists;” he became, like Hotspur, the glass wherein the youth did dress themselves, whose speech, gait, and diet was the copy and book that fashioned others. Among these Campionists was Robert Turner, afterwards rector of the University of Ingoldstadt, who speaks of his master as the *one qui stilum meum, prius disjectum et libere effluentem extra oram artis et rationis, redegit in quadrum, aut aptius ad normam hanc rectam exegit*; he had pinched up, and pulled out, and squared into shape his pupil's slovenly style. Another was Richard Stanihurst, poet, historian, and divine; and another, Henry, son of Lord Vaux of Harrowden. None of them approach their master in his brief and brilliant phrases, and forcible and lifelike epithets; but they gathered round him and formed a classical public, a brotherhood of scholars, to excite, to appreciate, and to applaud.

St. John's College was at that time a nursery for Catholics. The founder, Sir Thomas White, a Catholic, who as Lord Mayor of London in 1553 had done good service against Sir Thomas Wyatt's rebellion, and who in Elizabeth's first Parliament had protested that “it was unjust that a religion begun in such a miraculous way, and established by such grave men, should be abolished by a set of beardless boys,”—was still alive to superintend its foundation. When Elizabeth abolished the Mass, Dr. Alexander Belsire, whom Sir Thomas had appointed first president of his college in 1555, was deprived by the Royal Commissioners, for Popery, in 1559 or 1560; and then White took away all the crucifixes, vestments, and holy vessels that he had given, and hid them in his house, to be restored in happier times.† Belsire's successor, Dr. William Ely, who was elected by the scholars and confirmed by White, was as much a Catholic as his predecessor; but he managed to hold his post till 1563 without acknowledging the queen's supremacy. In that year the oath was tendered to him, and he was ejected. William Stock, Principal of Gloucester Hall, succeeded Ely, but was also ejected in a year for Popery. In 1564 Sir Thomas White made John Robinson president; he remained so for eight years, till July 1572, when, White being dead, and the Puritan Horne, Bishop of Winchester, having succeeded in

* See Note E.

† See Note F.

upsetting White's arrangement which deprived the Bishops of that see of the visitation of the college and vested it in trustees, of whom one of the first was to have been William Roper, the descendant of Sir Thomas More,* the character of the college underwent a complete change. Tobie Mathew was made president (1572), the suspected Papists (nine out of twenty) were ejected from the fellowships, and their places were filled by Puritans. Such is always the end of attempts to graft Catholic institutions upon the Establishment; a generous impulse is called forth, foundations more or less liberal are made, matters go on well while the personal presence of the founder overlooks them; but when he dies, his spirit departs, and his foundation reverts to the true representatives of Anglicanism, the High Churchman or the Puritan. The unsoundness of the constitution which requires the constant supervision of a man of genius, is shown by its collapse under his successors. There is no home for any thing Catholic in the Establishment. It would be ridiculous to look for the spirit of Sir Thomas White, or of Edmund Campion, in the present society of St. John's College, Oxford.

In the times I am speaking of, that society, if we may believe Yepes, Bishop of Tarracona, never would have the Lord's Supper celebrated in their chapel, nor would go elsewhere in search of it. If they had not the same objection to the Common Prayer, they avoided all topics of religious dispute, devoted themselves to philosophy and scholarship, and made Campion promise not to compromise himself in his public disputations. They were all waiting for something to turn up; waiting like the drunken man for the door to come round to them, instead of shaking off their lethargy and walking out through the open door. They were waiting for Burghley to die, or for Elizabeth to die or to marry a Catholic husband, or for the King of Spain to come and depose her; waiting for fortune to change for them, instead of trying to change their own fortune; and forgetting that fate unresisted overcomes us, but is conquered by resistance. They might have been reproached, like the Athenians of old: "Will you for ever go sneaking about, and asking, 'What news?'" What can be more disgraceful news than that an heretical woman is putting down the Catholics, and usurping their inheritance? Is Elizabeth dead? No, i' faith, but she is very sick; and what matters it to you? If she were dead, you would soon set up another Elizabeth, through your sloth and poltroonery. For this one has not made herself what she is; it is you that have built her up." It was this English

* See Note G.

dilatoriness, this provisional acquiescence in wrong, this stretching of the conscience in order that men might keep what they had, which lost England to the Church, as it has since lost many a man who was quite convinced that he ought to be a Catholic, but waited till his conviction faded away. The Catholics waited for the times to mend; and they waited till their children were brought up to curse the religion of their fathers, till they had been robbed piecemeal of their wealth and power, and found themselves a waning sect in the land they had once occupied from sea to sea.

Campion's first public oratorical display at Oxford was in 1560, at the re-burial of poor Amy Robsart, Robert Dudley's murdered wife, who had been hastily stowed away at Cumnor, till the people muttering about her husband having caused Foster, his servant, to throw her down-stairs and break her neck, in order that he might enjoy the Queen's favours more freely,—as afterwards he did during his whole life,—induced him to display his love and grief by a magnificent funeral in St. Mary's Church, Oxford, when Dudley's chaplain, Dr. Babington,* made her funeral oration. But either more than one oration was made over her grave, or the event was commemorated in the different colleges; for Parsons says that "Edmund Campion was chosen, though then very young, to make an English oration in her funerals, which he performed with exceeding commendation of all who were present." I have already mentioned his successes in February 1564. In the same year Sir Thomas White died, and, in conformity with his will, his body was brought from London to Oxford, "with great celebrity and a marvellous concourse of people, on account of the fame of his virtues and charities;" and because he was a known Catholic, and had done much to defend and advance his religion, therefore (says Parsons) Campion was chosen to make the funeral oration in Latin; and in it he so well "improved" the alms-deeds of Sir Thomas, "that he wonderfully moved his audience to esteem such pious deeds," and "appalled much for many days the new-fangled preachers of that time," who used to disparage the merit of good works, and had not yet arrived even at the moderate Anglican view, that a few of them do no harm.†

A copy of this oration is preserved at Stonyhurst; it is in very idiomatic and elegant Latin, and my translated extracts give no idea of its excellence. The author begins with a rhetorical picture of the grief of the thirty towns which White's munificence had enriched, and then turns to the simplicity which governed this liberality. "What magnifi-

* See Note H.

† See Note I.

cent generosity it was for a wholly unlettered man to found this great home of literature, for a man without learning to patronise the learned, for a wealthy citizen to adopt so many strangers when he had no children of his own, and to give all he had to aliens!" He enlarges on White's childlessness, and declares that it was providential, not natural: "Wherefore? he was freed from this care that he might be wholly unencumbered for another; and this other care he so entirely embraced, that for the last ten years he has devoted all his thoughts, all his means, all his labour upon us; when away from Oxford his soul was here, waking or sleeping he only thought of us. As soon as his last fatal paralysis attacked him, he immediately sent off for one of us. Our president was away, and I was sent instead. As soon as he saw me, the old man embraced me, and with tears spoke words that I could not hear with dry eyes, and cannot repeat without weeping. The sum was, that we should take every care that the college was not harmed, that we should be in charity among ourselves, and educate the youth intrusted to us liberally and piously. We were to tell him if there was any thing as yet unfinished, for he was prepared to supply what was needful; and there was yet time to make fresh regulations, or to repeal, remove, or change the old. He had provided for us in his will, and hoped that his wife and William Cordell, his executors, would take care of us. He begged that we would not pray for his recovery, but for faith and patience in his last moments; and nothing annoyed him so much as wishes for a renewal of health."* Then there is an apostrophe to Sir Thomas, and a summary of his charities—the foundation of Merchant-Tailors' School in London, the restoration of Gloucester Hall, and the foundation of St. John's College, Oxford. "He has beaten all of us students with our holy ways, our sacred teaching, our pious talk, and our sacrilegious life. In this man's tongue, manners, and gait, there was nothing polished, dressed up, painted, affected, or false; all was bare, open, pure, sincere, chaste, undefiled." He and Sir Thomas Pope were the only private persons who had founded colleges; but he did it at a time when there were few incentives to such an act; "when literature was despised, was in prison, in poverty, and in despair, half dead with sorrow, nearly washed out in tears."

The next great occasion of Campion's oratorical triumphs was in 1566, during the queen's visit to the university. The shows with which Oxford entertained her are of a piece with those which she afterwards witnessed at Kenilworth, and

* See Note J,

which Sir Walter Scott has made familiar to us. Wherever she went, inscriptions were put up in her honour; one that was set up over the gate of Christ Church made a painful impression on Campion. That college was one of Wolsey's two magnificent foundations. "That at Ipswich" (says Campion) "was destroyed by Henry. The other at Oxford is without comparison grander than any college in Europe, and endowed with an income of about 3000*l.* At the present day Henry is called its founder, simply because he did not upset it and confiscate its revenues after the cardinal's death. Witness the verses carved in great letters over the entrance when Elizabeth made her visit; the last line of the inscription was, *Imperfecta tui subiens monumenta parentis* ('Enter the unfinished monument of your father'). I never saw any thing more miserable; the memory of the noble patron obliterated, and the honour given to one who had violated every principle of honour, trampled under foot all laws, human and divine, and destroyed the religion and commonwealth of England."* Campion did not make allowance for the tendency which he exemplified in his own mind. In organised bodies honourable actions are attributed to the recognised head of the body, as the individual prowess of soldiers and skill of officers swell the general's credit, while the general's victories are set down to the king. The courtly Anglican naturally refers the foundation of Christ Church to Henry, the independent churchman to Wolsey; but its real founders were the men who had set up the small monasteries out of the revenues of which Wolsey, with the king's permission, endowed his colleges. But the real founders were not a representative body; they were a mere catalogue of names, without meaning or coherence, and their honour was going a-begging till some one appropriated it. Churchmen claimed it for the churchman, politicians for the king, according to the usual rule in such cases. *Κόραξ κόρακι*. According to our individual bias, we select somewhat arbitrarily our representative men; and I see nothing to wonder at in Campion, a churchman, selecting Cardinal Wolsey, or in the Oxford courtiers flattering the father of their sovereign mistress.

Besides these speaking scrolls, "the whole university forced itself every way to make the best show they could in all kinds of learned and liberal exercises, as orations, disputations, *preaches*, comedies, tragedies, and the like." There were farces and rough horse-pranks, which Elizabeth relished amazingly; there were sour theological disputes "moderated" by John Jewel of Sarum; and a discussion of phy-

* See Note K.

sical philosophy, in which Campion bore the chief share. But he had his share in the other revels, "whereof myself," says Parsons, "was then an eye-witness, though some six or seven years behind Mr. Campion in standing and in age." Wood says that he welcomed the queen in the name of the university, at her first entry into the city, as thirteen years before he had welcomed Queen Mary to London. His opinions would not be against him at court. The queen notoriously hated the Puritans, and had a taste for many of the externals of the old religion, towards the professors of which she exhibited the moderation of endeavouring to win them by gentle means without exasperating them.* Campion's state of mind, however obnoxious to Jewel or Tobie Mathew, would make him the more interesting to a political coquette who prided herself on her powers of fascination. Nevertheless his friends extorted from him a promise to avoid all controverted points in his orations. Nor was the council less anxious to keep such disputes from the queen's ears. The documents remaining in the State-Paper Office† are an amusing proof of the industry with which the queen's advisers incubated over this important point. One list of questions in Sir William Cecil's hand carefully eschews all theology, and begins with the inquiry, "Why is ophthalmia catching, but not dropsy or gout?" Another paper, which probably contains Jewel's scheme, proposes to affirm as many heresies as could be stuffed into the budget. The scheme finally adopted by the council was a clever one for committing the university to the political theology of the court. Its questions in divinity are, "Whether subjects may fight against wicked princes?" "The ministry is not an external power." In moral philosophy, "Princes should be declared by succession, not by election;" "The rule of the king alone is better than that of law alone." The political nature of the so-called religious movement in England is well indicated by these questions, and it shows some liberality in the government, that they were allowed to be canvassed at the university in the presence of the queen.

It must have been a relief to his friends to find that Campion was only to be the oracle of two physical mysteries — "Whether the tides are caused by the moon's motion?" and "Whether the lower bodies of the universe are regulated by the higher?" He was respondent; that is, he had first to expose his arguments briefly, then to listen and reply to the objections of his opponents. This display came off on September 3, 1566, before the queen and the handsome Lord

* See Note L.

† See Note M.

Robert, "the chick that sitteth next the henne,"* not yet Earl of Leicester, but chancellor of the university, the consoled widower of Amy Robsart, and almost a recognised suitor for the queen's hand, whose familiarity encouraged her faithful Commons, two months afterwards, to petition her to marry, even going so far as to designate him for her husband, "if she intended to marry a subject." But Elizabeth took offence, and commanded him on peril of his life not to aspire to such a thing.† As yet, however, the drama was not "Love's Labour lost," and so the adulatory Oxonians could treat him almost as if he were king, without making the queen jealous. Before this loving pair Campion was called out to dispute, Mr. Bully being moderator, Campion respondent; Day, Meyrick (a peppery Welshman, made Bishop of Man in 1573), Richard Bristow (afterwards a Catholic, and a dear friend of Campion, one of the founders of Douai College, and the author of the celebrated "Motives"), and Adam Squire, the attacking party. In his opening speech Campion shows more rhetoric and fact than knowledge. "The only thing that reconciled him to the unequal contest, which he had to maintain single-handed against four pugnacious youths, was the thought that he was speaking in the name of Philosophy, the princess of letters, before Elizabeth, a lettered princess, whose blessed ancestors were adepts in science, who set her the example of visiting the poor scholars." Then he addressed the magnificent chancellor, whose godly and deathless benefactions to the university he could not deny if he would, and ought not to conceal if he could. It was he who had raised Oxford from her lethargy, and encouraged her progress. "May God preserve these benefits to us; may He preserve your Majesty [to the queen], your Honour [to Dudley],—you, our mother; you, our protector,—you, who do these things; you, who advise them," &c. This Ciceronian see-saw was great clap-trap no doubt, but it effected its purpose. The queen was visibly affected, and turned with smiles to Lord Robert,—“You, my lord, must still be one;” words of no great weight, but which thrilled through an ambitious heart, and kindled in it no unkindly feeling to the young orator, who was perorating to so much better purpose than when, six years before, he was pronouncing the panegyric of poor Amy Robsart. Campion did not notice the queen's interruption, but proceeded with his pendulum: “You, who preserve us; you, who honour us; you, who give us security; you, who give us happiness.” If *bene esse* is better than *esse*, Campion certainly preferred the chancellor to the queen,

* See Note N.

† See Note O.

and she showed how deeply she was in love by smiling at the preference. "For all these things," continued the speaker, "we have no money, or dresses, or such-like presents to give; we can only give what we have within us, something from the veins and bowels of philosophy." Then he eviscerates philosophy after this fashion: "The moon rules the tides. How do you know? The astronomers tell us that she rules moisture; the physicians, that the humours of the body flow more freely at the changes of the moon; the naturalists, that she expands the sea-water. Directly beneath her, therefore, the sea is always blown out with vapours, like water boiling in a pot. This is the cause of tides." With equal brevity he infers that "the heaven rules all lower bodies," and concludes by asking his hearers' best attention for the sturdy youths who are to oppose him. This shows the low ebb of knowledge at Oxford, where an opinion was asserted which had been exploded three centuries earlier in the continental schools. "The ancients said," writes St. Thomas,* "that certain winds are generated in the sea which cannot break loose, but cause the ebb and flow; but this opinion is false."

After the dispute, the queen expressed her admiration of Campion's eloquence, and commended him particularly to Lord Robert, who willingly undertook to patronise the scholar. Campion certainly deserved some gratitude for the confession he had drawn from the queen; and his religious tendencies were not then offensive to Dudley, who "was for some years the secret friend of the Papists against the Protestants, till he was for policy persuaded by Lord North and his other friends to step over to the Puritans against both."† He therefore sent for Campion, told him how grateful he ought to be to the queen, who had commissioned Dudley to find out what she could do for him; he was urged to use this favour while it lasted, and to increase it by cultivation. "Do not be too modest," he said, "for it is not only the queen's command but my own inclination to befriend you. Ask what you like for the present. The queen and I will provide for the future."‡ But Campion would not make any particular request. The friendship of the chancellor, he said, was worth more than all gifts. Dudley of course was pleased to gain a brilliant client at no cost. For four years from this time the Earl of Leicester (Dudley's new title) showed him no little kindness, as Campion acknowledges in his dedication of his *History of Ireland* to the earl in May 1571;—"There is none that knoweth me familiarly, but he knoweth withal how many ways I have been beholden to your lordship. The regard of your

* See Note P.

† See Note Q.

‡ See Note R.

deserts and of my duty hath easily won at my hands this testimony of a thankful mind. I might be thought ambitious if I should recount in particular the times and places of your several courtesies to me. How often at Oxford, how often at the court, how at Rycot, how at Windsor, how by letters, how by reports, you have not ceased to further with advice, and to countenance with authority, the hope and expectation of me, a single student. Therefore, in sum, it shall suffice me to acknowledge the general heap of your bounties, and for them all to serve your honour frankly, at least with a true heart. Let every man esteem in your state and fortune the thing that best contenteth and serveth his imagination; but surely to a judgment settled and rectified, these outward felicities which the world gazeth on are there and therefore to be deemed praisable when they lodge those inward qualities of the mind, which (saving for suspicion of flattery) I was about to say are planted in your breast. Thirteen years to have lived in the eye and special credit of a prince, yet never during all that space to have abused this ability to any man's harm; to be enriched with no man's overthrow, to be kindled neither with grudge nor emulation, to benefit an infinite resort of daily suitors, to let down your calling to the need of mean subjects, to retain so lowly a stomach, such a facility, so mild a nature in so high a vocation, to undertake the tuition of learning and learned men,—these are indeed the kernels for the which the shell of your nobility seemeth fair and sightly; this is the sap for whose preservation the bark of your noble tree is tendered; this is the substance which maketh you worthy of those ornaments wherewith you are attired; and in respect of these good gifts, as I for my part have ever been desirous to discover an officious and dutiful mind towards your lordship, so will I never cease to betake the uttermost of my power and skill to your service."

Campion's admiration of Leicester is certainly a weak point in his character. His great superiority of intellect and his scholarship were united, say his biographers, with great modesty, and an easy pliability to the wishes of others. Protestant and Catholic writers alike praise his humility, his sweetness, his amiable manners, and his maidenly meekness. Charity thinks no evil, and reverence gives honour to great place. If St. Alphonsus might dedicate a book with fulsome flattery to Tanucci without suspicion to his sanctity and simplicity, I do not see how we can quarrel with Campion for this preface, though we know now that his patron had murdered his wife in 1560, by means of that exquisite villain Sir Richard Varney, and had become so notorious to the more

knowing ones, that when Elizabeth proposed him for a husband of Mary Queen of Scots, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton wrote to beseech her *in visceribus Christi* to prevent it, if she did not want her council to be *opprobrium hominum et abjectio plebis*, infamous for forcing a queen to marry a murderer, a poisoner, and a sorcerer.

But these crimes were not public; those were days of more than ordinary hypocrisy, and the secret workings of intrigue were harder to discover. Leicester appeared open and free, his manners were engaging, his treatment of dependents liberal. He was unpopular with his monopolies; but if any one had a suit to recommend, Leicester was the mediator; if a poor scholar had written a treatise, Leicester was his patron; if a Bishop sighed for his temporalities, Leicester was the man to get them. A position like his creates a circle of admirers blind to faults, and incredulous to rumours of inconsistent conduct.

Parsons remembers "the infinite praises that of all men were given to Campion at this time." When the queen asked Guzman, the Spanish ambassador, what he thought of the Oxford exercises, "Very well," he replied; "but I marvel not thereat considering the variety of good wits and talents there discovered, and that all the speakers came very well prepared beforehand; but I should desire to hear somewhat done extempore and without preparation." On this a number of men were at once sent for to Merton College, where, in presenee of the ambassador, Dudley, Cecil, and others, they were made to dispute upon "fire." "No wonder they wax warm with such a subject," said Guzman. "Campion bore away most praise in this sudden encounter, as he did a little after for a certain rare oration that he was forced to extemporise before the queen at Woodstock, in which he was like to have lost himself utterly, partly through the haste, partly by the sudden great pomp wherewith the queen come forth to hear him, until after a few moments (as he was wont to tell) he remembered that she was but a woman, and he a man, which is the better sex, and that all the splendour and pomp which glittered in his eyes was but transitory vanity, and had no substance in it, by which, and similar cogitations, he was emboldened to go through with his speech, to the great contentation of the queen and court, and his own high commendation."

Cecil, as well as Dudley, took great interest in Campion's success, and "invited him with many hopes and promises to follow that course." Four years afterwards, when Campion had left England, Cecil said to Campion's pupil, Stanihurst,

“It is a very great pity to see so notable a man leave his country, for indeed he was one of the diamonds of England.” Yet in 1581 Cecil was the chief author of his death, against the wishes of others of the council, as Parsons was told “by one that heard with his own ears the consultation about that matter.” On the whole, in 1564, Campion was the most popular man in Oxford, where no man envied his triumphs. He did not reside long enough to take his doctor’s degree; but he was made proctor and public orator, the highest posts compatible with his standing.

All these successes, says F. Parsons, put Campion into exceeding danger, by enticing him to follow a course of which his conscience disapproved; “for he was always a sound Catholic in his heart, and utterly condemned all the form and substance of the queen and council’s new religion; and yet the sugared words of the great folks, especially of the queen, joined with pregnant hopes of speedy and great preferments, so enticed him that he knew not which way to turn.” His youth, ambition, desire to satisfy the expectations of his friends, and emulation at the advance of his equals and inferiors pulled him back; while remorse of conscience, fear of hell, and an invincible persuasion of the truth of the Catholic doctrine and the falsehood of the Protestant opinion, pushed him onwards. He determined to compromise matters by temporising; his internal combat was long and dangerous, for he lacked the aid of the Sacraments and of spiritual direction; and though he prayed earnestly for light, yet he still hearkened to both sides inwardly, to see whether he could find sufficient reasons to allow his conscience to follow in peace the course to which his worldly interests so strongly inclined him.

This was the case also with Parsons for some years, and with many others, especially at the universities;—with young men, well accommodated in fellowships or otherwise, and provoked by infinite inducements to seek the preferments which the place and the country yielded, or at least to keep what they had; yet feeling that the religion on which these preferments depended was doubtful and therefore dangerous: hence they lived in great toil and torment of mind, loth to lose the hope of salvation, glad to hold their commodities without molestation of conscience, if it might be, ever in suspense, ever ready to listen to any reason that promised to remove their scruples.

The only safe anchor in this troubled water was, in Parsons’s opinion, the study of the Fathers. “Whatever we had heard or conceived in the whole day for pulling out this

thorn of conscience, and for smoothing the way to be Protestant, either by good fellowship and conversation with Protestants themselves, or by hearing their sermons or reading their books, all this was dashed by one hour's reading of some work of the old holy doctors, and the wound of conscience was made green again, and as grievous as ever, by every page which spake of virtue and austerity, or of questions of controversy, which were settled there as clearly as if the Fathers had distinctly foreseen the tumults of these days."

It was in 1567 that Campion, having exhausted Aristotle and natural theology, had to turn to these authentic reporters of the Christian tradition; and for three whole years he was distracted with the various arguments for and against the open profession of his Catholic belief. He had begun with a conscientious examination of the controverted doctrines one by one; the unhistorical and illogical character of the new tenets was soon discovered; and as truth begets truth, and as a mind once cheated ever suspects fraud, he examined the points which he had been used to take for granted; here too the ground failed beneath him. But the consequences of his step were too fatal to his worldly interests to allow of any hurry. He consulted his friends. He went to any one, no matter what his views, who professed to be able to tell him something; but every conference pushed him on a step further.*

An extract from his *Decem Rationes* will illustrate this: "When I was young," he says, "John Jewell, the Calvinist leader in England, was impudent enough to challenge the Catholics to a proof of their respective tenets from the works of the Fathers of the first six centuries. The challenge was accepted by some well-known men then in exile and poverty at Louvain. I venture to say that Jewell's craft, ignorance, roguery, and impudence, as exposed by those writers, did more good to the Catholic cause than any thing within my remembrance. A proclamation was immediately posted on the doors that none of the answers should be read or kept, though they had been squeezed out by a direct challenge. Every thinking man could see plainly that the Fathers were Catholic.

"Once also I familiarly questioned Tobie Mathew, now your greatest preacher, whose learning and good disposition endeared him to me, and asked him to tell me sincerely how a man who was such an assiduous student of the Fathers could take the side which he defended as true. He answered, 'If I

* See Note S.

believed them as well as read them, you would have good reason to ask me.' This is perfectly true; and I think he must still be of the same mind."

This challenge naturally called up Tobie, who answered in a *concio apologetica*, which Wood quotes, and which Parsons describes as rather vehement and rhetorical than with any show of sincerity. Of course he denied the charge. "Who affirmed it? Edmund Campion the Jesuit. And who denies it? Tobie Mathew the Christian. I avouch that neither sleeping or waking, standing or sitting, by day or by night, at home or abroad, in jest or in earnest, did I ever say it." However, Campion who had asserted it was dead for his faith, and Mathew was enjoying benefices and prospects which might be risked by the story being believed. And according to Parsons, Campion's friend Stanihurst declared that he had heard it from Campion at the very time of its occurrence.

Another of Campion's Christ-Church friends was reputed to be as cunning in the Scriptures as Mathew in the Fathers; this was Tarleton the governor of the young Sir Philip Sidney. He professed to prove his religion from the Bible alone, without the Fathers. Campion and he had an argument, in which "each party was to allege bare Scripture, only allowing the aid of tongues, comparison of text with text, and prayer." When Campion had produced many strong passages on the Catholic side, and had shown that they could not be evaded in Greek or Hebrew, and perceived that Tarleton could not bring any so clear for his side, and could only oppose wrangling interpretations out of his own head, Campion, says Parsons, resolved fully that, seeing both Scriptures and Fathers were wholly against the Protestant side, he would never follow it for temporal respects.

Campion had access to Leicester's ante-room whenever he pleased; here perhaps he met with Richard Cheney, the Bishop of Gloucester, a man of congenial nature, tastes, and studies. Cheney was a mild, persuasive, old man, very different from the rest of the Elizabethan Bishops, from whom he held aloof, as if he had been of a different communion. In the Convocation of 1553 he had tried to commit the Anglican body to the Lutheran doctrine of consubstantiation, but he was so far from being either Lutheran or Calvinist in other respects that in 1568 his flock complained of the "very strange, perilous, and corrupt doctrine, contrary to the Gospel,"* which he preached in his cathedral of Bristol, where his own fanatical clergy withstood him to the face.

* See Note T.

He warned his hearers that the new writers differed from each other, and were therefore not safe guides, but that the old fathers and doctors alone were to be followed; that any heretic might avouch Scripture, and that controversy would be endless without the appeal to the Fathers; that Luther wrote a very ill book against free will, which Erasmus answered well; and that the consent of the Fathers was the only test by which he would be tried.

There was one more statement with which Cheney's Puritanical accusers were scandalised, though it was addressed, not so much to the Puritans, as to those numerous loose Catholics who would not give up the old faith, but were unwilling to submit to the penalties for not going to church. There was always a large party of this sort in England; and in 1562 some of their chief men had consulted the Fathers of the Council of Trent upon the matter, and had asked whether they might not with a safe conscience attend the common prayer and preaching. A committee was appointed to reply, who firmly but kindly pronounced it quite inadmissible for any Catholic to assist at the "new service, the offspring of schism, and the badge of hatred to the Church."* But one proclamation was quite insufficient to remove the deep-rooted prejudice. The decision was confirmed by St. Pius V. in 1566, and Dr. Harding and Dr. Sanders were sent over to publish it afresh; † it was solemnly recognised in a council of priests, convened by Parsons and Campion in July 1580, again promulgated by Cardinal Toletus, June 14, 1581; enforced in a circular of Dr. Allen, written by the Pope's direction, in 1592, and finally confirmed by Paul V. in a Brief addressed to the English Catholics in September 1606. ‡ Besides all this, many books were printed, and many more circulated in manuscript, on the same question. From this we may judge how many English Catholics persisted in thinking that they might save their freedom and their goods by being present at common prayer and sermons. Cheney encouraged this idea. He would have recoiled from subverting what remained of Catholic faith. He only undermined it. He did not deny that attendance at the Protestant services was like bowing down in the house of Rimmon; but he quoted the example of Naaman to show that political motives might excuse a man's presence at a worship which his conscience abhorred.

"A question may be asked between the young maid and Naaman, whether a godly man may be at idol-service with his body, his heart being with God, without offence or sin?

* See Note U.

† See Note V.

‡ See Note W.

I say he may; and because you shall not think I am of this opinion only, I will bring you Peter Martyr, a learned man, and as famous as ever was in our time, being your own doctor [he had been Professor of Divinity at Oxford]; he says a man may be present without offence. His words are these: ‘*Non enim simpliciter et omnibus modis interdictum est hominibus ne in fanis præsentibus adsint, dum profani et execrandi ritus exercentur.*’”

This was just the doctrine that Campion wanted. The two men agreed in execrating the innovators, and yet maintaining the duty of remaining in the Establishment. Was it not the ancient national Church, founded by apostolic authority, to be the repository of the faith and sacraments? If her vineyard was now usurped by the beasts of the forests, if the wild-boar was uprooting her vines, should her children forsake her in her affliction? No; though heretical Calvinists occupied her pulpits, her children need not desert their old homes. If Naaman might attend his king to the house of Rimmon, much more might we accompany our tyrant to our own churches, though heretics for a season occupied our places, and botchers had disfigured our ancient rites. Thus was the instance of Naaman generalised into a universal dispensation for all sects to huddle together, provided it was within the stone walls built for God’s service in Catholic times. With all his patristic learning, I suppose Cheney had never lighted on the words of St. Hilary: * “It is ill that a love of walls has seized you; it is ill that your veneration for God’s Church lies in houses and buildings; it is ill that under this plea ye insinuate the name of peace. Is there any doubt that Antichrist is to sit in these? Mountains and woods and lakes and prisons are to me more safe; for in these the prophets, sojourning or sunk, still by God’s Spirit prophesy.”

The acquaintance soon ripened into affection; Campion was continually visiting Cheney at Gloucester, reading in the Bishop’s study, and borrowing books from his library, enjoying the closest familiarity, sharing the old man’s sorrows, and listening to his complaints of the calumnies that assailed him. The Bishop exhorted his young friend never for a moment to swerve from the royal road of Church Councils and Fathers, and ever to put full faith in their consent. Campion saw the inconsistency of this advice, yet he allowed himself to be persuaded. He saw that the weapons which Cheney wielded against Puritans might be better used by Catholics against Cheney; he saw, and hesitated; yet he

* See Note X.

could not make up his mind to tell Cheney his doubts, to warn him of the untenableness of his position, or to entreat him, now that he was so near the kingdom of God, to take but one more step and secure it for ever.

Indeed, so far from Campion influencing his friend, Cheney had, on the contrary, fixed his eyes upon Campion as the man to carry on his work. Cheney alone of the Elizabethan Bishops had the slightest pretensions to orthodoxy; alone confessed the living presence of Christ upon the altar, and the freedom of man's will; alone refused to persecute the Catholics of his diocese,* or to waste his episcopal property by leases, exchanges, sales of lands, of timber, or even of the lead off the church-roof. He was planting that school in the Establishment whose latest fruits are the present Tractarians. Campion was to water what he had planted. He yielded half reluctantly to the Bishop's persuasions, and suffered himself to be ordained deacon, so as to be capable of preferment, and to be able to preach; not thinking, as he afterwards said, "that the matter had been as odious and abominable as it was."

As soon as he was ordained, troubles began to beset him. Inwardly, "he took a remorse of conscience and detestation of mind." Outwardly, his familiarity with Cheney, and the reports of his opinions, made him suspected by his London friends. He still held his exhibition from the Grocers' Company, when in 1568 rumours of his heterodoxy reached the court of assistants, and they began to question him.† Their records say that "to accord and clear the suspicions conceived of Edmund Campion, one of the Company's scholars, and that he may utter his mind in favouring the religion now authorised, it is agreed that between this and Candlemas next he shall come and preach at Paul's Cross, in London, or else the Company's exhibition to cease, and be appointed to another; and that he shall have warning thereof from Mr. Warden." Campion disliked the ordeal proposed; and a subsequent entry states that he, "being one of the Company's scholars, and suspected to be of unsound judgment in religion, petitioned them to postpone" the "clearing of himself herein by preaching at Paul's Cross unto Michaelmas." This was agreed to. Afterwards Campion attended a court of the Company "to know their pleasure as to this business;" he expressed great disinclination to preach at the Cross, and entreated, at all events, to be allowed more time for preparation. The court, taking in good part that he did not absolutely refuse, offered that he should preach first "at a less

* See Note Y.

† See Note Z.

notable place than Paul's Cross," namely, St. Stephen's Church, Walbrook. Champion objected to this on the plea of being "a public person that could not do what he would, and, besides, charged with the education of divers worshipful men's children," and asked for a longer time. The Company would not consent to this, so he requested a note in writing, containing the precise demands they had to make; when finding that he could not comply with them, he resigned his exhibition, to which the Company appointed another man.

But he was soon to make a still more important resignation. Fully occupied as he must have been with his academical duties—he was Proctor in 1568-69—and with his pupils, and devoted as he was to the course of education, his duties did not occupy his whole attention, or stifle his misgivings of conscience and his distress. When he retired into himself, his thoughts were none of the pleasantest. He is reported to have declared more than once that soon after his ordination he began to feel extraordinary mental anguish: his orders appeared "disorders," whose only cure was Catholicism. The dignities he once dreamed of had lost their allurements. If his ambition had once been to continue Cheney's work, and to succeed to his bishopric, now he plainly saw how Babylonish a captivity those gilded chains disguised. He was one of those favoured men whose falls are the direct occasions of their rise, and who may truly exclaim, "O felix culpa!"

"O benefit of ill, now I find true
That evil is by evil still made better,
And ruined love, when it is built anew,
Grows fairer than at first, more strong, far greater."

The Grocers were driving him, his conscience was goading him, and his dearest friend was beckoning him away. Champion and Gregory Martin had been college companions for thirteen years, where they had their meals, their books, their ideas in common; they had studied under the same masters, had loved the same friends, were hated by the same enemies. Martin, like Champion, was a man of mark, "of extraordinary modesty and moderation," "the Hebraist, the Grecian, the poet, the honour and glory" of St. John's College. He had accepted a place in the Duke of Norfolk's family as governor to his boys; and though Philip, afterwards Earl of Arundel, did him no present credit, the young nobleman bore witness, by his holy death in 1595, to the good husbandry of his early tutor. In 1569, when the duke's troubles about the Queen of Scots began, all his house-

hold were commanded to attend common prayer and sermons;* Martin, therefore, fled over the seas, and became a Catholic. But before he left he wrote to Campion to warn him against the ambition that was leading him astray into the wide path where so many great wits had perished in those evil days. He begged him not to fear for poverty; their friendship was too pure to admit such difficulties. "If we two can but live together," he wrote, "we can live on nothing; if this is too little, I have money; if this fails, one thing is left,—'Qui seminant in lacrymis, in exultatione metent,'—they that sow in tears shall reap in joy."†

Thus driven and thus drawn, Campion left Oxford, on the feast of St. Peter in Chains, August 1, 1569, on the termination of his proctorial office, of which he rendered an account in the usual Latin oration.

* See Note A A.

† See Note B B.

CHAPTER II.

IF it had been to any authority that had the right to inquire into his theological opinions, and not to a mere company of London tradesmen, ridiculously erecting themselves into a tribunal of orthodoxy, that Campion excused himself from acknowledging his opinions, on the plea of being "a public person, charged with the education of divers worshipful men's children," it might have been inferred that he strangely inverted the values of his duty as a minister and his duty as a professor. And the inference would not have been far wrong; he was disgusted with himself for having accepted the Anglican diaconate, and wished to forget it, and to live as a simple layman. But in the cause of education and of letters his enthusiasm never for a moment slackened; he strenuously recommended his pupils to complete the whole circle of sciences; "not to deliquesce into sloth, nor to dance away their time, nor to live for rioting and pleasure; but to serve God, to bridle their passions, to give themselves up to virtue and learning, and to reckon this the one great, glorious, and royal road."* To one of his scholars, Richard Stanihurst, who two years after his matriculation at Oxford had published a commentary on Porphyry, † he was quite dithyrambic in his congratulations, and in his "triumph that their university should possess a youth of Stanihurst's rank, learning, and goodness, capable almost in his teens of competing with able men in maturity." "Proceed," he said, "with the same pains and toil, bury yourself in your books, complete your course, abjure the snares of vice, keep your mind on the stretch, give yourself to your country, strive for the prizes which you deserve." He anticipated a splendid future for such precocious attainments, when they had been matured and completed by methodic study; when "wit had been mellowed with judgment, judgment with wisdom, and wis-

* See Note 1.

† See Note 2.

dom with age." "Only persevere," he said; "do not degenerate from what you are, nor suffer the keen edge of your mind to grow dull and rusty. I speak thus warmly, not because I mistrust you, but because it is my duty to be anxious for the fame of men like you."*

When he finally left Oxford, it was not because he was weary of a university life, but because the opposition to his way of thinking was becoming too strong, and at the same time because he thought he saw an opening for a wider career in Dublin. The new religion was daily gaining ground at the English university, the whole machinery of which was in the hands of men who were both able and desirous to make it the stronghold of the rising Puritanism. But at Dublin, the old university, which had been commenced by Pope John XXI. at the prayer of Alexander Bigmore, the Archbishop, and which, as Campion tells us,† had kept its terms and commencements solemnly, and had been never disfranchised, but only through variety of time discontinued, and now, since the subversion of monasteries, utterly extinct, was to be begun anew: a motion was made in the parliamentary session of 1570 to erect it again. The chief mover in this restoration was the Recorder of Dublin and Speaker of the House of Commons, James Stanihurst, the father of Campion's pupil, and at that time a zealous Catholic.‡ Sir Henry Sidney, the Lord Deputy, was owned by Father Parsons to be "a very honourable, calm, and civil gentleman, nothing hot in the new religion, but rather a great friend to Catholics;" and Dr. Weston, the Lord Chancellor, was de-lated to the Privy Council in England by Loftus, the Protestant Archbishop, for his lack of zeal in promoting the Gospel.§ The career which the constant supervision of the Privy Council, and the puritanical zeal of such men as Horn, Bishop of Winchester, and Tobie Mathew, were fast closing against Campion at Oxford, seemed to him to be opening with better auspices at Dublin. Thither, therefore, with the approbation of the Earl of Leicester, he betook himself, in company with Richard Stanihurst; and arrived there on St. Bartholomew's day, Aug. 25, 1569, according to Parsons; or rather 1570, for his letter to Richard Stanihurst was written from St. John's College in December 1569. He was cordially received by his pupil's father, and domiciled in his house, where he is said to have lived a kind of monastic life, and to have exhibited such purity and modesty of demeanor, that the Dublin people called him "the angel." Here he employed himself partly "in exercises of learning with

* See Note 3.

† See Note 4.

‡ See Note 5.

§ See Note 6.

Richard Stanihurst, and in controversies against the heretics of that time," and partly in setting forth his ideal of what a university education should be. He wrote a discourse, *De Homine Academico*, which has not survived in its original form, but in the still more valuable shape of an oration, written when his views had been corrected by his submission to the Church, and pronounced in the presence of Dr. Allen, the founder of our Douai seminary, and of all the professors and miscellaneous students of that model institution. I shall not scruple to depart a little from the order of time, and to quote this oration in this place, where the subject leads me to speak of Campion's private views on education.

In the first place, then, his ideas on this subject were not changed by his submission to the Church; he imported into her what he had learned outside her, without any material alterations. "I will try," he says, "out of my observations made during many years, in many places, and on many minds,—out of what I have learned in a wide and varied intercourse with men,—to make a kind of pencil sketch of the university man."* This sketch was not intended merely for the lay ideal, but for that of the ecclesiastical student, whose education, "up to his twenty-third year, when he begins his theology," is placed before us in a model whose different members are all culled from real examples, and which, though perhaps as a whole unattainable by any individual, is yet the ideal towards which all should strive, according to their various powers. It is to be noticed that there is no thought of two models, one by which some select ecclesiastics should be duly prepared to cope with the great questions of the day, in a manner in which it would be difficult to suppose a seminary capable of instructing them, and another model, which should be that of the seminaries intended to fit the students for work among the poor and illiterate, on the principle that, most men being uneducated, and only the few refined, accomplished, and large-minded, the clergy in general should be trained, not on the model of the few, but so as best to meet the capacities and characteristics of the many; a principle which itself assumes that refinement unfits for rough work, that boors can best teach boors, and that "who drives fat oxen should himself be fat." On the contrary, Campion proposed one single model to the students at Douai, themselves drawn from every class of life, and earnestly exhorted all of them, without exception, to place it before their eyes as the real aim of their studies; though at the same time he bade them not be disheartened

* See Note 7.

if they failed, because almost all must fail more or less, scarcely any one could quite attain the first place: "but he that falls short of it has not therefore failed; he may still be an excellent academician though he has not gained the first prize. There are lower seats of honour, even though the consul's chair, or the prince's throne, is not reached. . . . Therefore," he says to the college students, "with great courage and great hope strive in this literary contest, that you may approach as near to the likeness of our model youth as our times and circumstances will permit." The various requirements of the priesthood were not to be met by educating the young men for their various employments, some in one way, some in another. All were to have the benefit of the best form of education, and their future course was to be determined, not by the differences of the schools where they were brought up, but by their various proficiency in the realisation of the one model of excellence proposed to all.

As it is necessary for the orator to take account of all the external circumstances which might conduce to the efficiency of his ideal youth, he begins with his social and personal advantages. He is supposed to be "rich, gently nurtured, of knightly stature, healthy, and muscular,"—according to Sir Thomas More's fancy, who always wished that any particularly handsome man he saw might be a priest, because he would make so impressive a show at the altar. Moreover, his mind is supposed to be "subtle, hot, and clear; his memory happy; his voice flexible, sweet, and sonorous; his walk and all his motions lively, gentlemanly, and subdued; and the whole man seeming a palace fit for wisdom to dwell in." He is supposed to have been born of Catholic parents, and to have learned his religion with his alphabet. To have been taught, not by a hedge schoolmaster, but by one of the great scholars of the day, whose method had become a second nature to the pupil. His pronunciation was especially cared for in his boyhood, and when he grew older he easily acquired the nice turns of eloquence. His first years at school were devoted to Latin, to the rudiments of Greek, and to a mastery over his native tongue, in which he had to write verses and epigrams. His other accomplishments were painting, playing the lute, singing at sight, writing music with facility and correctness, quickness in summing, readiness in answer, and practice in writing.

In the school of philosophy he had become a good debater, and had devoured most of the works of Cicero. He had enlarged his knowledge of Greek, and had become a finished, even an inspired, poet; "so did he poise his iambics, so lightly

did his lyrics leap." And these gifts were set off and made lovely by a simple, open, and tractable nature, and a true inclination to piety.

These studies carried him to his sixteenth year. In the next seven years he completed his course of philosophy, he finished Latin oratory, and studied the eloquence of the Greeks. He read all histories, those of his own country, then the Roman, then the Greek, and lastly the annals of other nations. Moral and political philosophy he studied, chiefly in Aristotle and Plato. He ran through mathematics, and learned all that he judged useful for his purpose out of every subject of science. This variety was so methodised that it involved no confusion or hesitation; he was at once "a perfect poet, and an orator that seemed to have digested and assimilated Cicero; a logician who could refute Chrysippus, and yet so perfect in physics as to deserve the title of oracle of nature; so deep in history, and so ready at all points, that he seemed to know every thing. And he had attained this position, not by the precocity, but by the fertility and fullness, of his talents; by the use of excellent masters, of a well-stored library, and of continual industry,—by labour in learning, method in labouring, and constancy in his method."

I am only collecting the intellectual characteristics of *Campion's* model. It must be understood that he insists on the collateral necessity of moral virtues in as great perfection as the mental attainments. But these traits I leave out, as common to all serious writers on education. The only two precepts of intellectual and literary abstinence that I find are the following: "He did not stuff himself with promiscuous reading, nor burden himself with the carcasses of books. He did not dull himself with unseasonable vigils, but allowed himself seven hours for sleep at night. He washed thoroughly, and dressed carefully, before he began his studies, at which he always stood, in his own solitary cell." In general literature there was one subject which he always avoided: he was "a poet who had never written and never read amatory compositions"—those loose and profligate writings, the object of which is, not to inform, but to excite evil passions, and of which the type is *Ovid's* "Art of Love." But he had not avoided the great masters of literature on account of the incidental allusions to this matter; and in *Campion's* days there were few emasculated editions specially for the young. He had at his fingers' ends "the majesty of *Virgil*, the festal grace of *Ovid*, the rhythm of *Horace*, and the buskined speech of *Seneca*." He was an orator who knew how to tickle, or to strike, or to astonish, or to convince; an historian who knew the matter

in detail, geographically and chronologically, and in its unity; a good Grecian; a dialectician capable of appreciating, distinguishing, and illuminating all he touched; a philosopher familiar with the deepest secrets of nature; an astronomer who could read off the solar system like a book; and in his last year he became a good Hebrew scholar.

During all this time his religious exercises had included not only the assistance at sermons and catechisms, but private conferences with theologians, and the perusal of contemporary Catholic authors, especially those who treated of the disputed doctrines in a pure and clear style. Thus he had acquired a knack of religious controversy, and an insight into the principles of heresy, that enabled him to repel with facility, knowledge, and intelligence, whatever attack was made upon his religion.

With respect to his moral attitude towards his fellow-students, Campion makes his model youth eager to bestow his friendship on any schoolfellow who was despised for his poverty or obscurity of birth, but honourable for his virtues. He was always on the watch for opportunities to do a kindness to his companions, to look after their condition, to help them in their lessons, to mend their pens, to call them to the class, to visit them in the infirmary, and to talk pleasantly to them. He was quiet and smooth in speech, nimble and abandoned at play, collected and serious at study, gentle and civil to all, and very respectful to his elders. He was severe in his judgment upon himself, lenient to others; he found somewhat to praise in every thing, and never gave a simple censure. Yet he always maintained the principle that kindness should be kept clear of flattery, and truth defecated from bitterness.

And among the motives by which Campion urges each hearer to follow this model, we find not only the good he would do to himself, to his companions, and to the Church, but the figure which he would make in his country. He invokes not only religion, but patriotism, to enforce his teaching. And it is certain that education was the great "social science" of the sixteenth century, and that schoolmasters and scholars then held the position which in these days has been occupied by the princes of physical science and discovery. The restoration of learning was felt to be the great present want of the world. The most pious Popes and prelates, and the most far-sighted politicians and princes, were unanimous in this conviction. Campion had devoted himself head and heart to the movement, in which he saw nothing bad except the attitude of hostility which in some quarters it had assumed

towards the Church. But this, he was convinced, was a mere accident, utterly inadequate to throw a doubt on the intrinsic value and excellence of learning itself. Hence, instead of disparaging it because of its abuse, he only showed himself more enthusiastic in his endeavours to convert it to its legitimate use. In one of his historical writings* he mentions with complacency the revival of the "salutary knowledge of the three tongues," and the consequent disrepute into which "the subtleties of the old theologians and grammarians" had fallen; and while lamenting the "evils which the young students had with characteristic precipitation imported into this excellent movement," and blaming those who, after turning to the best account the leisure purchased for them by the liberality of prelates and abbots, employed their attainments to ridicule their patrons, who had paid their battel-bills, he yet saw that the only remedy was to bring the race of "ignorant ecclesiastics, simple preachers, and old-fashioned monks," to a speedy end by a radical change in their education. And how radical was the change he meditated, is abundantly shown by the ideal model which he proposed to the president, professors, and students of the great seminary at Douai, when compared with the picture which Erasmus draws of the ecclesiastical education of his day.

Campion had hoped to become a pioneer of Irish "civility" in the new University at Dublin; but the scheme failed. Though contributions were laid together, Sir Henry Sidney proffering 20*l.* in lands, and 100*l.* in money, and others following after their abilities and devotions; though Master Ackworth had devised a new name for it—Plantolinum, from Plantagenet, or Bulleyne, in honour of Elizabeth's mother; "yet while they disputed of a convenient place for it, and of other circumstances, they let fall the principal." The chief cause of failure was the underhand opposition of the Chancellor and some of the Bishops, who did not wish to see such an institution founded by Sidney and Stanihurst, or intrusted to Campion, who, though not then received into the Church, was suspected to be a Papist, and only saved from arrest through the protection of Sidney, who secretly promised James Stanihurst that, while he was Governor, "no busy knave of them all should trouble him for so worthy a guest as Mr. Campion," and performed it most honourably while he remained in Ireland. Weston, the Irish Chancellor, wrote to Cecil, the Lord Treasurer, March 12th, 1570,† that the motion for founding a university was universally well liked; yet that the device, direction, and foundation of so godly a

* See Note 8.

† See Note 9.

deed was a most worthy work for so virtuous, bountiful, and careful a sovereign and prince, and would conserve to perpetual memory her Majesty's godly zeal to true religion and learning, and her merciful motherly care over her poor and rude subjects here. The work, thus taken out of the hands of the local authorities, and committed to Elizabeth, was brought to a conclusion twenty-five years afterwards by the foundation of Trinity College, Dublin.

After his educational projects were finally nipped by the departure of Sidney from Dublin, March 25, 1571, Campion had to devise some other method of accounting for his absence from England. He therefore devoted ten weeks at this time to a hasty knocking together of a History of Ireland, which, read by the light of the circumstances under which it was conceived, is almost as much a pamphlet to prove that education is the only means of taming the Irish as a serious history.

The work* is dedicated to his "singular good lord" and patron, Leicester, the chancellor of his university, to whom he says, that, in order that his travel into Ireland might seem neither causeless nor fruitless, he had thought it expedient, as one of his lordship's honourable charge, to yield him that poor book as an account of his poor voyage. He hoped it was not the last or the best gift he should offer; but he was sure that it had been "more full of unsavoury toil for the time than any plot of work he ever attempted." It was long before he could find a copy of "Gerald of Wales;" and what this writer left untouched, he had been forced to piece out by the help of foreign writers who incidentally touched upon Ireland, and by a number of brief extracts of rolls, records, and scattered papers, to handle and lay all which together he had not in all the space of ten weeks. He confesses, in his epistle to the loving reader, that, ever since his first arrival at Dublin, he, with the help of various gentlemen, had inquired out antiquities of the land. But he had no help from real Irish sources; though the native chronicles were "full fraught of lewd examples, idle tales, and genealogies, *et quicquid Græcia mendax audet in historia,*" yet he was persuaded he might have sucked thence good store of matter, had he found an interpreter, or understood their tongue, which is so hard that it would have required a study of more years than he could spare months. He intended his book to be only a contribution to the subject, and desired the Irish antiquaries "hereafter at good leisure to supply the want of this foundation, and polish the stone rough-hewed to

* See Note 10.

their hand," which, rough as it was, would have been much worse proportioned if the author had not been helped with the familiar society and daily table-talk of James Stanihurst, who, "beside all courtesies of hospitality, and a thousand loving turns not here to be recited, both by word and written monuments, and by the benefit of his own library, nourished most effectually" the writer's endeavour.

To the ordinary reader, the most interesting parts of the work will always be those which consist of the writer's own observations upon the soil and the inhabitants of Ireland, which "lieth aloof in the West Ocean, in proportion like an egg, blunt and plain at the sides, not reaching forth to sea in nooks and elbows of land as Britain doth." From these chapters I will give some extracts, since the book is scarce, as specimens of Campion's English style, in his own day greatly admired :

"The soil is low and waterish, and includeth divers little islands, environed with bogs and marishes : highest hills have standing pools in their top. The air is wholesome, not altogether so clear and subtle as ours of England. Of bees good store ; no vineyards, contrary to the opinion of some writers, who both in this and other errors touching the land may easily be excused, as those who wrote of hearsay. Cambrensis in his time complaineth that Ireland had excess of wood, and very little champagne ground ; but now the English pale is too naked. Turf and sea-coals is their most fuel. It is stored of kine ; of excellent horses and hawks ; of fish and fowl. They are not without wolves, and grey-hounds to hunt them, bigger of bone and limb than a colt. Their kine, as also their cattle, and commonly what else soever the country engendereth (except man), is much less in quantity than ours of England. Sheep few, and those bearing coarse fleeces, whereof they spin notable rug mantle. The country is very fruitful both of corn and grass ; the grass, for default of husbandry, not for the cause alleged in Polychronicon, groweth so rank in the north parts that oftentimes it rotteth their kine. Eagles are well known to breed here, but neither so big nor so many as books tell. . . . Horses they have, of pace easy, in running wonderful swift. Therefore they make of them great store, as wherein at times of need they repose a great piece of safety. . . . I heard it verified by honourable to honourable that a nobleman offered, and was refused, for one such horse an hundred kine, five pounds lands, and an cyrie of hawks yearly during seven years. . . . Only because a frog was found living in the meadows of Waterford somewhat before the conquest, they construed it to import their overthrow. . . . Generally it is observed, the further west, the less annoyance of pestilent creatures ; the want whereof is to Ireland so peculiar, that whereas it lay long in question to whether realm, Britain or Ireland, the Isle of Man should pertain, the said controversy was decided, that forasmuch

as venomous beasts were known to breed therein, it could not be counted a natural piece of Ireland. Neither is this property to be ascribed to St. Patrick's blessing, as they commouly hold, but to the original blessing of God, who gave such nature to the situation and soil from the beginning. And though I doubt not but it fared the better in many respects for that holy man's prayer, yet had it this condition notified hundreds of years before he was born.*

With regard to the dispositions of the people, whom he divides into those of English descent and the mere Irish, he writes as follows :

“The people are thus inclued : religious, frank, amorous, ireful, sufferable, of pains infinite, very glorious, many sorcerers, excellent horsemen, delighted with wars, great alms-givers, passing in hospitality. The lewder sort, both clerks and laymen, are sensual and loose to letchery above measure. The same, being virtuously bred up and reformed, are such mirrors of holiness and austerity, that other nations retain but a show or shadow of devotion in comparison of them. As for abstinence and fasting, which these days make so dangerous, this is to them a familiar kind of chastisement ; in which virtue and divers others how far the best excel, so far in gluttony and other hateful crimes the vicious they are worse than too bad. They follow the dead corpses to the grave with howlings and barbarous outcries, pitiful in appearance, whereof grew, as I suppose, the proverb *to weep Irish*. The uplandish are lightly abused to believe and avouch idle miracles and revelations vain and childish. Greedy of praise they be, and fearful of dishonour : and to this end they esteem their poets who write Irish learnedly, and pen their sonnets heroical, for the which they are bountifully rewarded : but if they send out libels in dispraise, thereof the gentlemen, especially the mere Irish, stand in great awe. They love tenderly their foster-children, and bequeath to them a child's portion, whereby they nourish sure friendship, so beneficial every way that commonly five hundred kine and better are given in reward to win a nobleman's child to foster. They are sharp-witted, lovers of learning, capable of any study whereto they beud themselves, constant in travail, adventurous, intractable, kind-hearted, secret in displeasure.

Hitherto the Irish of both sorts, mere and English, are affected much indifferently, saving that in these, by good order and breaking, the same virtues are far more pregnant : in those others, by licentious and evil custom, the same faults are more extreme and odious. I say, by licentious and evil custom, for that there is daily trial, of good natures among them, how soon they be reclaimed, and to what rare gifts of grace and wisdom they do and have aspired. Again, the very English of birth, conversant with the brutish sort of that people, become degenerate in short space, and are quite altered into

* See Note 11.

the worst rank of Irish rogues ; such a force hath education to make or mar.*

The mere Irish are quite another people from the Anglo-Irish ; not that it must be supposed that their manners are now the same as Cambrensis describes ; indeed, Campion wishes it to be observed “how much Ireland is beholden to God for suffering them to be conquered, whereby many of these enormities were cured, and more might be, would themselves be pliable.” He first notices the damnable superstition of leaving the right arm of male infants unchristened (as they say), that it might give a more ungracious and deadly blow ; and tells a story of a monk demanding of a grave gentleman who was confessing to him whether he were faultless in the sin of homicide. “He answered that he never wist the matter to be heinous before ; but being instructed thereof, he confessed the murder of five—the rest he left wounded, so as he knew not whether they lived or no.” He cites Strabo, who asserts that they ate human flesh, counted it honourable for parents deceased to be eaten by their children, and lived together promiscuously without regard to kindred. Though, since St. Patrick’s days, Christianity has never ceased, yet it had but a lax hold before the conquest, especially in matrimonial matters. And this was a fault not corrected even in Campion’s time :

“Yea, even at this day, where the clergy is faint, they can be content to marry for a year and a day of probation, and at the year’s end to return her home upon any light quarrels, if the gentlewoman’s friends be weak and unable to avenge the injury. Never heard I of so many dispensations for marriage as these men show. I pray God grant they be all authentic, and builded upon sufficient warrant.”†

The writer then continues the list of their old customs, their faithlessness and perjury, their oaths upon St. Patrick’s staff, and the barbarous ceremonies of crowning the king of Ulster. Then he turns to “their trade at this present :”

“Clear men they are of skin and hue, but of themselves careless and bestial. Their women are well favoured, clear coloured, fair-handed, big and large, suffered from their infancy to grow at will, nothing curious of their feature and proportion of body. Their infants of the meaner sort are neither swaddled nor lapped in linen, but folded up stark naked into a blanket till they can go, and then if they get a piece of rug to cover them they are well sped. Linen shirts the rich do wear for wantonness and bravery, with wide hanging sleeves pleated—thirty yards are little enough for one of them. They have now left their saffron, and learn to wash their shirts—four or five times in a year. Proud they are of long crisped glibbes, and

* See Note 12.

† See Note 13.

do nourish the same with all their cunning: to crop the front thereof they take it for a notable piece of villany.*

Shamrocks, water-cresses, roots, and other herbs they feed upon. Oatmeal and butter they cram together. They drink whey, milk, and beef-broth. Flesh they devour without bread; corn, such as they have, they keep for their horses. In haste and hunger they squeeze out the blood of raw flesh, and ask no more dressing thereto; the rest boileth in their stomachs with aqua vitæ, which they swill in after such a surfeit by quarts and pottles. Their kine they let blood, which, grown to a jelly, they bake and overspread with butter, and so eat it in lumps.

One office in the house of great men is a tale-teller, who bringeth his lord on sleep with tales vain and frivolous, whereunto the number giveth sooth and credence. So light are they in believing whatsoever is with any countenance of gravity affirmed by their superiors, whom they esteem and honour, that a lewd prelate within these few years, needy of money, was able to persuade his parish that St. Patrick in striving with St. Peter to let an Irish Gallowglas into heaven had his head broken with the keys; for whose relief he obtained a collection.

Without either precepts or observation of congruity they speak Latin like a vulgar tongue learned in their common schools of leechcraft and law, whereat they begin children, and hold on sixteen or twenty years, conning by rote the aphorisms of Hippocrates and the Civil Institutions, and a few other parings of these two faculties. I have seen them where they kept school, ten in some one chamber, grovelling upon couches of straw, their books at their noses, themselves lying flat prostrate, and so to chant out their lessons by piecemeal, being for the most part lusty fellows of twenty-five years and upwards.

Other lawyers they have liable to certain families, which after the custom of the country determine and judge causes. These consider of wrongs offered and received among their neighbours, be it murder, or felony, or trespass. All is redeemed by composition, except the grudge of parties seeking revenge; and the time they have to spare from spoiling and proyning, they lightly bestow in parleying about such matters. The Breighoon, so they call this kind of lawyer, sitteth him down on a bank, the lords and gentlemen at variance round about him, and then they proceed. They honour devout friars and pilgrims, suffer them to pass quietly, spare them and their mansions, whatsoever outrage they show to the country beside them. To rob and prey their enemies they deem it none offence, nor seek any means to recover their loss, but ever to watch them the like turn. But if neighbours and friends send their cators to purloin one another, such actions are judged by the Breighoons aforesaid. Toward the living they are noisome and malicious; the same being dead, they labour to avenge eagerly and fiercely. They love and trust their foster-brethren more than their own."†

* See Note 14.

† See Note 15.

Campion next descants on what was then a national vice, now happily supplanted very generally by the contrary virtue,—the vice of impurity. He concludes his sketch with the truly Irish sentence: “One man I heard named which hath (as he calleth them) more than ten wives in twenty places.”

“There is among them a brotherhood of Carrows, that profess to play at cards all the year long, and make it their only occupation. They play away mantle and all to the bare skin, and then truss themselves in straw or in leaves; they wait for passengers in the high way, invite them to a game upon the green, and ask no more but companions to hold them sport. For default of other stuff they pawn portions of their glybbe, the nails of their fingers and toes, . . . which they lose or redeem at the courtesy of the winner.

When they fancy and favour they are wonderful kind. They exchange by commutation of wares for the most part, and have utterly no coin stirring in any great lords’ houses. Some of them be richly plated. Their ladies are trimmed rather with massy jewels than with garish apparel. It is counted a beauty in them to be tall, round, and fat. The inheritance descendeth not to the son, but to the brother, nephew, or cousin german, eldest and most valiant. For the child being oftentimes left in nonage, or otherwise young and unskilful, were never able to defend his patrimony, being his no longer than he can hold it by force of arms. But by the time he grow to a competent age, and have buried an uncle or two, he also taketh his turn, and leaveth it in like order to his posterity. This custom breedeth among them continual wars and treasons.”*

Campion’s History, hardly longer than a pamphlet, and scarcely pretending to greater dignity than that of mere annals, is more interesting for the light that it throws upon the writer’s own opinions and powers than as a contribution to general science. With much of the credulity of his day he combined a clear insight into the main principles of historical criticism; and he summarily explodes many a fable by a comparison of dates, or by showing that the various testimony on which it rests reduces itself to a multiplied echo of a single authority. But the most striking thing about the book is the vast dramatic power of the speeches which he introduces, according to the custom of the historians of his day. The taste which we have here is sufficient to make us regret both that the tragedies which he afterwards produced at Prague were written in Latin, and that they are lost. Some of his orations only want metre to be comparable with those of his great dramatic contemporaries. Take the following for specimens. The first is a speech of Roderic, a chief of Scythian redshanks, blown with a few refugees upon the coast of Ireland, of whose king he demands hospitality:

* See Note 16.

“Not as degenerate from the courage of our ancestors, but inclining ourselves to the bent and sway of fortune, we are become supplicants to Ireland that never before have humbled ourselves to any. Look, sir king : eye us well ; it is not light prowess that has caused these valiant bodies to stoop. Scythians we are, and the Picts of Scythia—great substance of glory lodgeth in these two names. What shall I tell of the civil tumult that hath made us leave our home ? or rip up old histories to make strangers bemoan us ? Let our vassals and children discourse it at large and leisure—if perhaps you vouchsafe us any leisure in the land, to which effect and purpose our infinite necessities pray your favours—a king of a king, men of men. Princes can consider how near it concerneth their honour and surety to prop up the state of a king defaced by treason, and men will remember, nothing better beseemeth the nature of man than to feel by compassion the griefs of men. Admit, we beseech you, these scattered relics of Scythia. If your realms be narrow, we are not many. If the soil be barren, we are born to hardness. If you live in peace, we are your subjects. If you war, we are your soldiers. We ask no kingdom, no wealth, no triumph in Ireland. We have brought ourselves, and left these casualties with the enemy. Howsoever it like you to esteem of us, we shall easily learn to like it, when we call to mind not what we have been, but what we are.”*

The following is a speech of an Irish king, calling upon his countrymen to complete the overthrow of the Danish invaders, begun by the assassination of the Danish chief :

“Lordlings and friends, this case neither admitteth delay nor asketh policy. Heart and haste is all in all, while the feat is young and strong, that of our enemies some sleep, some sorrow, some curse, some consult—all dismayed. Let us anticipate their fury, dismember their force, cut off their flight, occupy their places of refuge and succour. It is no mastery to pluck their feathers, but their necks ; nor to chase them in, but to rout them out ; to weed them, not to rake them ; nor to tread them down, but to dig them up. This lesson the tyrant himself hath taught me. I once demanded him in a parable, by what good husbandry the land might be rid of certain crows that annoyed it. He advised to watch where they bred, and to fire the nests about their cars. Go we then upon these cormorants that shroud themselves in our possessions, and let us destroy them so that neither nest, nor root, nor seed, nor stalk, nor stubb may remain of this ungracious generation.”†

One more extract I must give, as being an exact reproduction in English of Campion's Latin style. It is from the Earl of Kildare's defence of himself against Wolsey, who accused him of conniving at his kinsman the Earl of Desmond's treasons :

* See Note 17.

† See Note 18.

“Cannot the Earl of Desmond shift, but I must be of counsel? Cannot he be hid, except I wink? If he be close, am I his mate? If he be friended, am I a traitor? This is a doughty kind of accusation which they urge against me, wherein they are stabled and mired at my first denial. You would not see him, say they;—who made them so familiar with mine eyesight? Or when was the Earl within my view? Or who stood by when I let him slip, or where are the tokens of my wilful hoodwinking? ‘Oh, but you sent him word to beware of you:’—who was the messenger? where are the letters? See how loosely this reason hangeth. Desmond is not taken; well; we are in fault: why? Because you are. Who proves it? Nobody. What conjectures?—so it seemeth. To whom?—to your enemies who told it them. What other ground? None. Will they swear it? They will swear it.”*

I have thought it worth while to give these specimens of an eloquence that succeeded beyond that of all contemporary rivals in transfusing the vigour and polish of Cicero into a language that was only struggling into form. Champion’s fame in England was built upon his eloquence; and it is only by the speeches of this Irish History, which his scholar Stanihurst calls “tickled-tongued,” because its author “did learn it to speak,”† and by the report of his defence at his trial, that we can estimate a power which appears to have swayed all who listened to him.

He finishes his History with two speeches, which he professes to report from his own notes, as near as he could, in the same words and sentences in which he heard them. They are the speeches of James Stanihurst, Speaker of the Commons, and of Sir Henry Sidney, the Lord-Deputy, at the prorogation of the Parliament, December 12, 1570. I must quote so much of them as refers to the project of the Dublin University, and the subsidiary schools which were to be founded in every diocese:

“Surely, says James Stanihurst, might one generation sip a little of this liquor, and so be induced to long for more, both our countrymen that live obeisant, would ensue with a courage the fruits of peace whereby good learning is supported; and our unjust neighbours would find such sweetness in the taste thereof as it should be a ready way to reclaim them. In mine experience, who have not yet seen much more than forty years, I am able to say that our realm is at this day an half deal more civil than it was, since noblemen and worshipful with others of ability have used to send their sons to England to the Law, to Universities, or to Schools. Now when the same schools shall be brought home to their doors that all that will may repair unto them, I doubt not, considering the numbers already brought up beyond the seas, and the good already done in those few

* See Note 19.

† See Note 20.

places where learning is professed, but this addition, discreetly made, will foster a young fry, likely to prove good members of this commonwealth, and desirous to train their children in the same way. Neither would it be a small help to the assurance of the crown of England, when babes from their cradles should be inured under learned schoolmasters with a fine English tongue, habit, fashion, discipline, and in time utterly forget the affinity of their unbroken borders, who possibly might be won by this example, or at the least wise lose the opportunity which now they have to infect others. And seeing our hap is not yet to plant an University here at home, . . . meseemeth it is the more expedient to enter so far forth as our commission reacheth, and to hope for the rest.”*

The portion of Sidney’s reply that related to the schools and university is as follows :

“To you belongeth the quickening of this godly statute. . . Show yourselves forward and frank in advancing the honour, wealth, ease, and credit of your counties ; envy not to your posterity the same path that yourselves have trodden. . . Had your opinions matched with mine concerning the University . . . no doubt the name and reputation thereof would have been a spur to these erections (the Schools), as nurses for babes to suck in till they might repair thither to be weaned. But I trust your consents therein are only suspended for a time, and that so much good labour shall not be utterly lost and frustrate. What though certain imperfections cannot as yet be salved ? What though a sum arise not to make a muster of colleges the first day ? What though the place be not also commodious ? What though other circumstances infer a feeble and raw foundation ? These are indeed objections of the multitude, whose backwardness breedeth an unnecessary stop in this our purpose. But your wisdoms can easily consider that time must ripen a weak beginning ; that other Universities began with less, that all experience telleth us so ; —shall we be so curious or so testy that nothing will please us but all in all, all-absolute, all-excellent, all-furnished, all-beautified, all-fortified in the frame and infancy thereof ? I remember a tale of Apuleius his ass, who being indifferently placed between two bottles of hay, because he could not reach them both at once, forbare them both. Let us not so do, but content ourselves by little and little to be fed as the case requireth.”†

But Campion was not allowed to finish his History in peace. Though not yet reconciled to the Church, he lived openly as a Catholic, and Dr. Weston, the Lord Chancellor, and the other high commissioners had therefore resolved to apprehend him ; but, as the persecution was not then very rigorous, they were stayed for a time by the authority and credit of his friends, especially of Sidney. But the years 1569 and 1570 were most disastrous both to the present and

* See Note 21.

† See Note 22.

future of the English Catholics. The ill-advised and worse-contrived rebellion of the North had failed, and Elizabeth's ministers had behaved as men usually do when recovering from a crisis of great danger and greater terror. The queen had been further exasperated by the declaratory bull of St. Pius V., which Felton had pasted up on the Bishop of London's gates on the feast of Corpus Christi, 1570. It was becoming clear to Elizabeth's advisers that her political salvation required the destruction of Mary of Scotland; and they and the queen were egging-on the Duke of Norfolk to his treason, for which he lost his life. And now the attention of the Court was especially turned to the designs of Spain upon Ireland. The French ambassador learnt in London, early in January 1571, that Philip II. had submitted to the Pope, as suzerain of the island, the tender of the Irish crown, made to him by Stukeley in the name of the people, who were anxiously looking for him; that the Pope had bidden him God-speed, on condition of his reëstablishing the Catholic religion; and that 10,000 men were to be sent over.* Before February 12th, Elizabeth had written to Sidney to stay his departure, and to order him to provide for the defence of the country, promising to send him directly all the aid he wanted.† In these circumstances, even Sidney's influence could no longer insure Campion's safety. But he did what he could; when Campion was to be seized early the next morning, Sidney warned him, by a private message at midnight, to provide for his own safety. James Stanihurst, therefore, procured him a refuge with Sir Christopher and Lady Barnewall, at Turvey, eight miles from Dublin. Richard and Walter Stanihurst conducted him through the darkness, and committed him to the hospitable care of his new hosts. This was about March 17th, a week before Sidney left Ireland, "with innumerable hearty prayers and wishes for his return," to find waiting for him at Chester the queen's letter, which ordered him, too late, to remain at his post.

From Turvey, Campion wrote to James Stanihurst, March 19th :

"Great is the fruit which I gather both from your affection and from your esteem; from your affection, that in these hard days you are as careful of me as if I had sprung, like Minerva from Jupiter, out of your head: from your esteem, because, when I was well nigh turned out from house and home, you considered me worthy not only of your hospitality, but of your love. . . . It was your generosity and goodness to receive a stranger and foreigner into your house; to keep me all these months on the fat of the land; to look after my

* See Note 23.

† See Note 24.

health as carefully as after your son Richard's, who deserves all your love ; to furnish me with all conveniences of place, time, and company, as the occasion arose ; to supply me with books ; to make such good provision for my time of study, that away from my rooms at Oxford I never read more pleasantly. After this one would think there was nothing more to come ; but there was more. As soon as I saw you heard the first rustlings of the storm which was sure to blow to a hurricane if I stayed longer in sight of the heretics at Dublin, you opened to me this secret hiding-place among your country friends. Till now, I had to thank you for conveniences ; now I have to thank you for my safety and my breath—yes ; breath is the word. For they who strive with those persecutors are commonly thrust into dismal dungeons, where they draw in filthy fogs, and are not allowed to breathe wholesome air. But now through your and your children's kindness I shall live, please God, more free from this peril, and, my mind tells me, most happily. First of all, your friend Barnewall is profuse in his promises. When he had read your letter, he was sorry for the hardness of the times, but was as glad of my coming as if I had done him a great favour. As he had to go into Dublin, he commended me to his wife, who treated me most kindly. She is surely a very religious and modest woman. I was shut up in a convenient place within an inner chamber, where I was reconciled to my books. With these companions I lie concealed in my cell.*

The letter ends with compliments to Stanihurst's sons, and with a request to have his St. Bernard sent to him ; on the same day he wrote a more familiar letter to his pupil Richard :

“It is hard that, however grateful I feel, I cannot show it. But I know you neither need nor desire repayment ; so I only give you my wishes for the present ; the rest when I get back to the land of the living. Meanwhile if these buried relics have any flavour of the old Campion, their flavour is for you ; they are at your service. I am infinitely obliged to you and your brother Walter for the pains you lately took on my behalf. You, up all night ; he, torn from his wife's arms besides ! Seriously, I owe you much. I have nothing to write about, unless you have time and inclination to laugh. Tell me—you say nothing. Listen, then. The day after I came here I sat down to read. Suddenly there broke into my chamber a poor old woman, who wanted to set the things to rights. She saw me on her left hand, and knowing nothing about me, she thought I was a ghost. Her hair stood on end, her colour fled, her jaw fell, she was struck dumb. What is the matter ? I asked. Frightened to death, she almost fainted ; she could not speak a word ; all she could do was to throw herself out of the room ; she could not rest till she had told her mistress that there was some hideous thing, she thought a ghost, writing in the garret. The story was told at supper time ; the old

* See Note 25. ,

woman was sent for, and made to tell her fright ; every body died of laughing, and I proved to be alive and no ghost.”*

March 19th, I find *Campion* at *Turvey* ; in *May*, at *Dublin* ; and in the beginning of *June*, at *Drogheda*. All this time he was dodging the pursuivants, whom the commissioners, exceedingly offended at being beguiled of their prey, sent to search and to lay wait over all *Ireland*. His inexhaustible hilarity carried him well through all, and in the intervals of flight he employed himself in “huddling up in haste” the materials he had collected for his *History*. The observations and descriptions which I have quoted from this work show us with what reserves to admit the assertions of his biographers that he led a kind of monastic life in *Ireland*. He says that at *Turvey* he lived “as though in a cell ;” and he asks for his *St. Bernard*. Still he was not a man like *St. Bernard*, who had never seen the ceiling of his room, nor the snowy mountains which overlooked a place where he had long lived. His sweetness of temper is shown not to have been incompatible with a spicing of satirical and caustic humour. His mind is shown to have been too solid to be unhinged by the revulsion which commonly accompanies a conversion. A book like this, so laborious, so clear, so genial, written in haste and hurry by a man homeless and hiding from pursuivants without, and in the turmoil of a religious change within,—turning his own house out of windows, looking into his own chest, and tumbling up and down what he found there, and yet composing as clearly and forcibly as if he had nothing else to think of,—is a sign of steadiness both of head and heart. Most men are hurried by the first blush of conversion into an abnegation of judgment which rejects no fiction in which the element of piety is strong. *Campion* throughout insisted upon his right of judging for himself in all matters where human judgment has course,—witness his excellent chapter on the legend of *St. Patrick’s Purgatory*,† and the very decided intimations which he gives in many places of his opinions upon the policy or the lawfulness of a rebellion founded upon a Papal excommunication, and upon the validity of the Pope’s claim to the suzerainty of *Ireland*, and the disposition of the English crown. But I shall have to return to this latter subject.

Gregory Martin, whose letter had much to do in drawing *Campion* from *Oxford*, wrote again to him in *Ireland*. “I remember,” says *Campion*, “how earnestly you called upon me to come from *Ireland* to *Douai* ; how you admonished

* See Note 26.

† See Note 27.

me; how effectual were your words.”* But Campion was again as much driven as drawn. Seeing, says Parsons, that he could hardly escape the commissioners long, and must endanger his friends, he resolved to return to England in disguise. On his flight from Dublin in March he had called himself Mr. Patrick, out of devotion to the apostle of the country. By this assumed name he passed in his various wanderings and concealments, till he finally took ship at Tredah, or Tredake, a little port twenty miles from Dublin, “apparelled in a laquey’s weed,” as servant to Melchior Hussey, the Earl of Kildare’s steward, who was then on his way to England.

As there was some suspicion that he might be on board, some officers were sent to search the ship for him. As they asked for him by name, he thought he could not escape, and his surprise was too great to allow him to take any precautions; so he stood quietly on the deck, while the officers ferreted out every nook and corner, examined the crew, tumbled the cargo up and down, with plentiful curses upon the seditious villain Campion. There he stood in his menial livery, and saw every body but himself strictly examined; while he called devoutly upon St. Patrick, whose name he had assumed, and whom, in consideration of the protection he then gave, he ever afterwards invoked in similar dangers. He escaped, but not his manuscripts. “My History of Ireland,” he afterwards wrote, “I suspect has perished; it made a good-sized and neat volume; the heretical officers seized it:”† but after this cross, says Richard Stanihurst,‡ it wandered “in mitching wise” through sundry hands, till at last it was published in vol. ii. of Holingshed’s *Chronicles*, in 1586, and in Sir James Ware’s *Ancient Irish Histories* in 1633.

But, in spite of these crosses, as he had lamented the being forced to leave England, he was now full as sorry, says Parsons, to leave Ireland, because of the new and dear friends to whom he had become attached in that country. When the officers had finished their search, the ship was allowed to sail; and, after “an indifferent prosperous voyage,” he landed in England, to miss the Irish hospitality, but not to miss that which he chiefly sought to avoid, the prying inquisitions of the queen’s officers, and of the provincial Dogberries. On the east of St. George’s Channel “he found,” says Parsons, “nothing but fears, suspicions, arrestings, condemnations, tortures, executions, for the risings of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, and of Lord Dacres, and for the publication of the Bull. The Duke of Norfolk was im-

* See Note 28.

† See Note 29.

‡ See Note 30.

prisoned, and other great men restrained to their houses, as the Earl of Pembroke and the Earl of Arundel, suspected of favouring the Queen of Scots, lately arrived in England; and a new conspiracy was just discovered in Norfolk, for which Mr. John Throgmorton and others were executed in 1570. The queen and council were so troubled that they could not tell whom to trust, and so fell to rigorous proceedings against all, but especially against Catholics, whom they most feared; so that Campion could not tell where to rest in England, all men being in fear and jealousy one of another." Therefore he resolved to fly for good over sea, as he saw that there was no longer secure living for Catholics without compromising their conscience.

If it were not that the dates attached to Campion's published works are hopelessly corrupt, I might be tempted, seeing that Campion dated his History from Drogheda, June 9th, 1571, to doubt Parsons' declaration, that he witnessed the arraignment and trial of Dr. Storey, which took place in Westminster Hall on the 26th of May in the same year. Even the correction of eleven days for the New Style will not help us. It may be, however, that he purposely post-dated his work, perhaps for the purpose of concealing from the officers the real time of his departure from Ireland. At any rate, Father Parsons can hardly be deceived in the fact that Campion was present at this celebrated trial; and we must overlook the minor difficulties of a few days' discrepancy in the dates.

Dr. Storey was a civiliau,* who had taken a prominent part in the ecclesiastical acts of the reign of Mary, and after her death had fled into the Low Countries to escape the vengeance of Elizabeth and Cecil. It was by what he had done in England, not, as Parsons supposes, by what he did in Flanders, that he had made himself obnoxious to them. "Understanding," says this writer, "that many heretical merchants who had traffic in those countries used to bring in wicked books to infect the Catholic people," he first complained, and then accepted the office of inquisitor, to search for the contraband prints. On this the English heretics conspired to capture him. Cecil and Leicester contrived the plot. The King of Spain having authorised Alva to set up an office at Antwerp for the search of all English ships entering or leaving that port, one William Parker, a wool-draper and merchant, said to be a brother of the Archbishop of Canterbury, was largely bribed by Cecil and the council to profess that he had fled from England for his faith, and to solicit Alva for

* See Note 31.

the office. The duke was well pleased to have so distinguished a dependent, and, finding him qualified, he gave him the post. As soon as he was installed, he named for his assistant Dr. Storey, then living in great poverty at Louvain, with a wife and four young children, besides nephews and nieces, dependent upon him; this led him to accept the appointment, though his friends told him it was an odious office, quite unworthy of him. As soon as this was done, three agents of Cecil in the Low Countries, named Mershe, Lee, and Saltanstall, together with Parker and one Pigot, contrived that a ship, sufficiently provided, should enter the port of Antwerp, and that Dr. Storey, when visiting her for prohibited goods, should have the hatches fastened down upon him, and be carried off to England. The plot miscarried, through the indiscretion of Pigot, and the loyalty of a sailor, who informed Parker of the design, thinking that he was to be the victim. But afterwards three merchants trading to Antwerp—Roger Ramsden, Martin Bragge, and Simon Jewkes—were bribed by the council to make another attempt, and succeeded in capturing both Parker and Storey. No one but Mershe and Cecil knew of Parker's treachery; and, to keep up appearances, both men were kept prisoners, and both arraigned together in May 1571, for having traitorously comforted Richard Norton the traitor at Antwerp. But the real reason why Storey was to be put out of the way was his conduct under Queen Mary, and in Elizabeth's first Parliament, where he had said, "I see nothing that I should be sorry for; but am rather sorry that I have done no more, and that I had not more earnestly given my advice to spare the little twigs and shoots, but to strike more boldly against the roots and great branches."* In plain terms, not to light fires to burn costermongers and cobblers, but to make examples of such tall plants as the Lady Elizabeth and Sir William Cecil.

Campion, says Parsons, heard Storey prove "that he had committed nothing treasonable or punishable in going to Flanders, and living under a prince who would allow him the exercise of his religion, which he could not have in England; and that, being there, he might accept and exercise the office of inquisition and search against all such, though they were English, as offended the common laws of the Catholic Church (whereof he was a member, and to which he owed more particular obedience than to his country or prince) or the laws of Flanders. Moreover, that any subject whatever, on so just an occasion as religion, might renounce his naturalisation, and betake himself to the subjection of another prince, as he had

* See Note 32.

betaken himself to the subjection of the Catholic King of Spain, and that consequently they could not proceed against him for it. And even if this were not allowed, yet, as the fact for which he was indicted was committed in another country, and he taken there by fraud, and brought into England by force only, he was not punishable for it in England."

He was executed June 1, 1571 (June 12, new style), with circumstances of unusual cruelty. But the trial had been enough to drive Campion from England—not to escape the danger, but to prepare himself to meet it more usefully. Being neither priest nor divine, he thought himself of little use at present, and therefore determined to go at once to Douai, and was already half across the Channel on the day of Storey's death. But in mid-channel his ship was stopped by the *Hare*, an English frigate cruising there, which despatched a boat to see that the ship's papers were regular, and that each passenger had his passport. Campion had no document of the kind, and his fellow-passengers, though they knew nothing about him, suspected he might be a Catholic. This was enough; he and his baggage were carried off to the *Hare*, and brought to Dover, where the captain took possession of all the money contributed by Campion's friends in England and Ireland, and having occasion to go to London, would needs carry his prisoner with him: "albeit," says Parsons, "by the event that ensued, it seems it was rather a show to justify the taking the money, which he wanted to keep, than from any desire to get his prisoner to London, where he might find some friend to aid him in recovering his purse, seeing in those days there was nothing so rigorous laws against leaving the realm as afterwards were devised." Campion, suspecting this, began directly to linger behind; each of them, without speaking a word, comprehended what the other wanted, and an understanding was soon established. Campion turned round, and walked off towards the east; his companion pursued him westwards. The fugitive obtained a fresh supply of money from some friends in Kent, and succeeded in getting over to Calais without molestation.

Dr. Allen's splendid foundation at Douai was now beginning to flourish. Since the first years of Elizabeth's reign the scholastic towns of Flanders, where the mercantile classes were so closely connected with England by the wool-trade, had become a second country to English refugees, a great colony of whom were established at Louvain. Richard Smith, D.D., of Oxford, was professor in that Flemish university, till he was transferred by Philip II., in 1562, to Douai, where he was made Provost of St. Peter's, and consequently

Chancellor of the University. In like manner William Allen and Thomas Stapleton, who became doctors and professors at Louvain in 1566, removed to Douai in 1568, where Allen began his college with the pecuniary assistance of Morgan Phillips, his old tutor at Oriel College; of John de Vendeville, then Professor of Law at Douai, afterwards Bishop of Tournai; of the Abbots of St. Vaast in Arras, Marchiennes, and Anchin; and of Richardot Bishop of Arras, and with the personal coöperation of Dr. Richard Bristow, student of Christ Church, Oxford; Edward Risheton or Risdon (not the journalist of the Tower, and continuator of Sanders, but one who afterwards joined the English Carthusians at Bruges), John Marshall, John White, Jeremy (alias Simon) Collier, Philip Raycostian, a Belgian; Dr. Thomas Baily, and Dr. Lawrance Webb, both of Cambridge; and Dr. Thomas Stapleton, who, however, accepted no post in the college.* On Campion's arrival in 1571, the foundation already numbered some 150 members, of whom eight or nine were doctors or licentiates in theology. The reasons of this rapid growth will be easily understood from Cardinal Allen's own account of the "motives and accidents" which had drawn the men together.† The first thought of the founders of the college had been to attract the young English exiles who were living in Flanders from their solitary and self-guided study to a more exact method, and to collegiate obedience; and their next, to provide for the rising generation in England a succession of learned Catholics, especially of clergy, to take the place of those removed by old age, imprisonment, and persecution. Their design, then, was to draw together out of England "the best wits" from the following classes: those inclined to Catholicism; those who desired a more exact education than could be then obtained at Oxford or Cambridge, "where no art, holy or profane, was thoroughly studied, and some not touched at all;" those who were scrupulous about taking the oath of the queen's supremacy; those who disliked to be forced, as they were in some colleges of the English universities, to enter the ministry, "a calling contemptible even to their own conceit, and very damnable in the judgment of others," the dread of being forced into which had (in 1581) yielded to the new college "many, yea some scores, partly before, partly after their entrance into that trade;" and those who were doubtful which religion was the true one, and were disgusted that they were forced into one without being allowed opportunity of inquiring into the other. Besides these educated persons, grammar-schools from all parts

* See Note 33.

† See Note 34.

of the realm yielded youths, who after full training in the college became as useful as the others.

A hundred and fifty such converts, all of whom had made some sacrifices, and some of whom had sacrificed all they had for religion, were a real power, because they had fallen into the hands of a man who, with all his political blunders—to use the mildest term—had a true genius for ecclesiastical government. William Allen was not the man to let the force that was in an educated convert run to seed, or to allow him to stand all day idle in the market-place for want of employment. The ingenuity of his machinery for economising the power of which he disposed may be appreciated from the following example. Most people feel two things about a recent convert. First, that it is a pity he cannot be locked up till his exaltation is over, and till his ordinary prudence has resumed its seat; and next, that it is still worse economy to repress the energies of the first months of his conversion, and to prevent him exerting his influence over his friends till time has diminished, if not destroyed it. One of Allen's rules was, that, while those who were now forgotten in their old circles busied themselves in writing books, or in instructing the scholars, the young men, whose memories were still fresh in the affections of those they had left at home, should write letters to move them to attend to the salvation of their souls, and to beseech them not to damn themselves wilfully, under pretence of preserving their property for themselves and their children. The letters by which Gregory Martin had drawn Campion to Douai are only specimens of the practical utility of this rule. And before he left Douai, Campion obtained some results from the same practice. He wrote to certain special friends of his in England, some Catholics and some Protestants, with such fervour, that some of them were moved by his words to leave all and follow him to Douai. To this rule of Dr. Allen we are indebted for perhaps the most beautiful of all Campion's compositions,—his letter to Cheney, the Bishop of Gloucester (Nov. 1, 1571), "whom," says Parsons, "he doth so rattle up (yet with great modesty and show of reverence, and hearty good will), that it may easily appear how abundantly God had imparted His Holy Spirit unto him, for his letter is truly apostolic."

For his old friend Cheney was now in deep disgrace. While the pursuivants were hunting Campion in Ireland, they were also following Cheney in England. In April 1571 Cheney was summoned to convocation; in the third session he was excommunicated* for not appearing, by himself or by

* See Note 35.

his proctor, and his archdeacon was sent with a pursuivant to attach him. He was censured for contempt; though he was in London at the time, he would not appear, and afterwards he went out of London without the archbishop's leave. But, after a little time,* he sent his chaplain with letters of proxy to sue for absolution, which was granted. It is sufficient to look at the visitation articles of Archbishop Grindal, whereby the prelates in this convocation tried to sweep away all the lingering remnants of the old religion, to know why Cheney absented himself from it. The Communion was no longer to be put into the communicant's mouth, but into his hands; all ceremonies or gestures not prescribed in the Prayer-book were to cease; people were to communicate three times a year, not, like the Papists, at Easter or Christmas, but on Ash-Wednesday, and *one of the two Sundays before Easter*, Whitsunday, and Christmas. All altars were to be pulled down, and the altar-stones defaced, and put to some common use. All prayers for the dead, at funerals or commemorations of the dead, to cease; no person was to be allowed to wear beads, or to pray upon them in Latin or English, or to burn candles on the feast of the Purification, or to make the sign of the cross as he entered the church.†

These articles of visitation were only the logical development of the Act of Uniformity, the enforcing of which throughout the English counties stands in such startling complication with the reports of rebellion in the pages of the Calendar of State-Papers for the latter part of the year 1569. Up to 1570 Catholic practices had been allowed to linger in the Establishment; now, after the defeat of the northern rebels, the Puritans found themselves strong enough to repress by force what they had hitherto been obliged to connive at. But Cheney would not sanction by his presence, even though he was only there to protest, a convocation which was to destroy all that he loved in Anglicanism; he retired to Gloucester, and, though he took measures to remove the excommunication, which would have entailed all kinds of material disasters, he never afterwards had any thing to do with his brother-bishops. After eight years, he died as he had lived, leaving it doubtful whether he was reconciled to the Church or not. One of his successors in the see, Godfrey Goodman, said that "it was certain he died a Papist, and bred up his servants Papists, as he had been informed by one of them with whom he had spoken;"‡ but Campion wrote in 1581, two years after the Bishop's death: "A conventicle in London attempted to exclude the clause, 'He descended into hell,'

* See Note 36.

† See Note 37.

‡ See Note 38.

from the Creed, as I was told by an eye-witness, Richard Cheney, *a most miserable old man, evil-entreated by robbers without, who yet entered not his father's house.** Still, the old man might have been reconciled, but "secretly, for fear of the Jews," and a thousand accidents might have prevented the publication of the fact. Certainly, his memory was not in benediction with the Protestants; he was buried in his cathedral, but no memorial was erected to him; and, as if to avenge the Puritans, whom he had troubled, on the Papists, whom he had spared, after his death there was no county in England where more malicious cruelty was exercised on Catholics than in Gloucestershire. I will reprint Campion's letter in the Notes at the end of the volume.†

During the time that Campion spent at Douai, he completed his course of scholastic theology, took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, received minor orders, and was ordained sub-deacon.‡ He was employed also as a professor in the college, for he speaks of Cuthbert Mayne, the proto-martyr of the seminaries, as having been his pupil there. He had, moreover, not only to teach the rules, but also to set the example of eloquence; and Parsons tells us that, after an oration of his upon the angels, on St. Michael's Day, Doctor Matthæus Gallenius, the chancellor of the university, declared, *Profecto nostra patria non fert tale ingenium*—truly, our country does not produce such a wit,—“which, though an exaggeration, considering the great store of rare and eminent men that Belgium yields daily to the world, yet shows his opinion that Belgium yields daily to the world, yet shows his opinion of Master Campion, to whom he was a perfect stranger.”

We have one oration, and part of another, that were pronounced here. The first, *De Juvene Academico*, I have already discussed. Here I will only add the peroration, in which he exhorts all these Douai students to try to realise his ideal of an academic young man:

“Listen to our heavenly Father asking back His talents with usury; listen to the Church, the mother that bore us and nursed us, imploring our help; listen to the pitiful cries of our neighbours in danger of spiritual starvation; listen to the howling of the wolves that are spoiling the flock. The glory of your Father, the preservation of your mother, your own salvation, the safety of your brethren, are in jeopardy, and can you stand idle? If this house were blazing before your eyes, what would you think of the young reprobate who sang, or grinned, or snapped his fingers, or rode cock-horse on his cane in the common crisis? Behold, by the wickedness of the wicked the house of God is devoted to the flames and to destruction; numberless souls are being deceived, are being shaken, are being lost; any

* See Note 39.

† See Note 40.

‡ See Note 41.

one of which is worth more than the empire of the whole world. Do not, I pray you, regard such a tragedy as a joke ; sleep not while the enemy watches ; play not while he devours his prey ; relax not in idleness and vanity while he is dabbling in your brothers' blood. It is not wealth, or liberty, or station, but the eternal inheritance of each of us, the very life-blood of our souls, our spirits, and our lives that suffer. See, then, my dearest and most instructed youths, that you lose none of this precious time, but carry a plentiful and rich crop away from this seminary, enough to supply the public wants, and to gain for ourselves the reward of dutiful sons."

The other oration belonging to this period, *De Laudibus Scripturæ Sacræ*, is very imperfect, and what remains is not worth preserving. The speaker maintains the most rigid theory of verbal and syllabic dictation. The following simile, however, is aptly and prettily introduced :

" At Down, in the noble island of Ireland, amongst the relics of St. Brigit was found a concordance of the four Evangelists, beautified with mystical pictures in the margin, whose colours and workmanship at the first blush were dark and unpleasant, but in the view wonderful lively, and artificial. Is not this most like to the style of Scripture ? which seemeth to him, who only looketh in at the door, to speak unlearnedly and pedantically ; whereas whoso diligently studies it finds the truth of the Prophet's praise, ' Thy words are like fire, and like a hammer that breaketh the rock.' "*

After spending more than a year at Douai, Campion became dissatisfied with his position. His biographers attribute this solely to his desire of penance and perfection. His chief study was to acquire the true science of the saints, the knowledge of God and of himself. But the more his knowledge of self increased, the more unhappy he became about that miserable Anglican diaconate. From the first it had given him the most painful scruples, which only grew more painful as his self-knowledge grew deeper, his learning more extensive, and his virtue more mature. He called it " the mark of the beast ;" and the thought of being impressed with " this infamous character" and " profane mark of ministry" grew at last too burdensome to be lightened by counsel of learned friends, or by his own study. So he determined to break entirely with the world, to make a pilgrimage to SS. Peter and Paul at Rome, and, by their good help, to become a Jesuit. He heard, as his foreign biographers add, an interior voice commanding him to repair to the see of Peter, where he should be told what to do. He resolved to obey, and immediately felt such inward comfort, that he determined not to wait a day.

A diligent study of Campion's writings does not bring to

* See Note 42.

light much evidence of this effect of his Anglican orders upon his mind; but it throws light on a divergence between his views and those of Dr. Allen, which I am disposed to think had almost as much to do with his leaving Douai as his scruples or his vocation. I need not trace here the development of the weak point in Dr. Allen's character; a point in which he suffered the usual penalty of exiles,—entire ignorance of the movements and feelings of his country, and the crystallisation of his brain in those feelings with which he first left England. In Mary's reign Philip II. was king of England, and loyalty to him was a proper sentiment. Allen preserved this sentiment all his life, and not without reason, for he lived within the Spanish king's dominions, and was a dependent on his bounty; and he allowed it to lead him into his disgraceful defence of the treachery of Sir William Stanley at Deventer, and to the composition of the more disgraceful pamphlet which he intended to be distributed throughout England as soon as the Armada should have achieved its first success.* But I will not enter upon this point now, as I shall have to discuss Campion's present political views more fully in the next chapter.

But whatever divergence there might have been politically between Allen and Campion, there was no interruption to their friendship. Even the resolution of his most promising subject to leave him did not alienate the affections of the great founder of the English seminary. With a vast harvest to gather in, and only few labourers to send; with every interest of heart and mind concentrated on the conversion of England—it would have been very excusable if he had been grievously offended at Campion's desertion, and all the more at his entrance into the Society of Jesus, which as yet had taken no part in the English mission. We might perhaps have expected Allen to offer the most strenuous opposition to the step, to show himself for years afterwards a bitter enemy of the Society, and to guard himself against any future loss of his students by forbidding them to learn from its professors, to listen to its preachers, or to perform its spiritual exercises. But he was too large-hearted and far-sighted to be swayed by such petty jealousies; he counted on receiving back his loan with interest, and, though he had to wait a while, his calculations did not fail him in the end.

As soon as Campion had determined to depart from Douai to Rome, and had fixed the day for starting, his preparations did not occupy much time. He went on foot as a poor pilgrim. He allowed his friends to accompany him

* See Note 43.

one day's journey, but would receive no other assistance or protection. The rest of his journey he accomplished alone, and never afterwards spoke of its incidents. But he was met on the road by an old Oxford acquaintance, a Protestant, who had known him "in great pomp and prosperity," and who on his return from a tour to Rome came across a pilgrim in a mendicant's dress. They passed each other without recognition; but the traveller, struck with some familiar expression, rode back to see who the poor man was. He soon recognised him, dismounted, shook hands, exhibited the greatest sympathy, and asked whether he had fallen among thieves that he was in such a plight. When he heard that it was all voluntary mortification, he pooh-pooed the idea as unworthy of an Englishman, fit only for a crazy fanatic, and absurd in a man of moderate means and a frame not over robust; so he pulled out his purse, and told Campion to help himself. The pilgrim refused, and, says Parsons, "made such a speech of the contempt of this world, and the eminent dignity of serving Christ in poverty, as greatly moved the man, and us also his acquaintance that remained yet in Oxford, when the report came to our ears." Campion arrived in Rome in the autumn of 1572.

CHAPTER III.

CAMPION's biographers, Parsons, Bombinus, Bartoli, and More, who write rather to edify their readers than to trace the character and opinions of the subject of their memoirs, tell us nothing of what occurred to him at Rome beyond his conformity to the pious usages of pilgrims, his gradually-formed conviction that he was called to be a Jesuit, and his admission into the order at the end of April 1573. It appears, however, by his own statements, that he had already made up his mind about his vocation when he first arrived; so that all the stories about the interior voice which miraculously directed him in answer to his protracted devotions, and the severe trial which he made of its authenticity, are shown to be at least great exaggerations, if not pure fancies.

"On my first arrival into Rome," he said at his trial, in November 1581, "which is now about ten years past, it was my hap to have access to [Cardinal Gesualdi, of St. Cecilia], who, having some liking of me, would have been the means to prefer me to any place of service whereunto I should have most faculty; but I, being resolved what course to take, answered that I meant not to serve any man, but to enter into the Society of Jesus, thereof to vow and to be professed."

Then Gesualdi began to question him about the Bull of Pius V. against Elizabeth. Not that any hesitation was felt at Rome about its propriety, or any doubt of the ultimate success of the policy; the Cardinal simply wished to know what had been the effect of this step. If it had failed, like the Bull of Paul III. against Henry VIII., that failure was not calculated to produce discouragement. Had not the Israelites, when they marched by God's express command against the men of Benjamin, been twice overthrown before they conquered? Still, there was some wish to make its bearings on the Catholics as easy as possible. "Being demanded farther," Campion continues, "what opinion I had conceived of the Bull, I said, it procured much severity in England, and

the heavy hand of her majesty against the Catholics; whereunto the Cardinal replied, that he doubted not it should be mitigated in such sort as the Catholics should acknowledge her highness as their queen without danger of excommunication." This, Campion urged, could not be construed as an offence, much less as treason. But it was objected to him, that he had only asked for a mitigation of the Bull in favour of the Catholics, leaving the excommunication of the queen still in force and undetected; and his privity thereto was treason. "My privity thereto," he replied, "enforceth not my consenting, nay, rather it proved my disagreement, in that I said it procured much severity: and therefore, being here published before I could detect it (for who knew not that the Queen of England was excommunicated?), it excused my privity and exempted me from treason."*

Campion urges that his conduct rather implied dissent from than agreement with the Bull. That this disagreement was a fact, not a mere plea, he might have proved from his *History of Ireland*, had the book been forthcoming. Just as the writers of the sixteenth century show that Otho of Freising disagreed with the temporal policy which had been pursued by Gregory VII., because he persisted in calling the risings against the excommunicated emperor by the name of "rebellion," so Campion might have produced the strong terms of condemnation in which he had spoken of those Irishmen who had risen against Elizabeth and Henry VIII. Shane O'Neil is a "wretched man," who "quenched the sparks of grace that appeared in him with arrogancy and contempt against his prince."† Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, Deputy of Ireland, who, upon the receipt of false intelligence that his father had been put to death in England, had risen in arms, is represented by Campion as saying: "If all the hearts of England and Ireland that have cause thereto would join in this quarrel,—as I trust they will,—then should he (Henry) be a by-word—as I trust he shall—for his heresy, lechery, and tyranny, wherein the age to come may score him among the ancient princes of most abominable and hateful memory." This is language quite in conformity with that of the Bull of Paul III.; yet Campion's comment on it is, "With that he rendered up the sword (of state), and flung away like a bedlam, adding to his shameful oration many other slanderous and foul terms, which, for regard of the king's posterity, I have no mind to utter."‡ Can we doubt how the man who spoke in these terms of the risings in Ireland would have qualified the rebellion of the

* See Note 44.

† See Note 45.

‡ See Note 40.

North in 1569, if it had been necessary for him to mention it in his history? Or can we doubt why, in his history of the divorce, he simply mentions the excommunication of Henry without a word about the sentence of deposition, which was the real focus of the controversy?

It is not to be supposed that Campion had shut his mind against the great Roman question of the day. His History of Ireland proves that he was fully instructed in the claims of the Popes to the temporal supremacy of all Christian kingdoms. He not only narrates but he believes, that "when Ireland first received Christendom, they gave themselves into the jurisdiction, both spiritual and temporal, of the See of Rome;"* and he tells how Adrian IV. conferred the temporal lordship upon Henry II.; how that Pope, "an Englishman born, who, having in his youth taken a painful pilgrimage into Norway, and reduced the whole land unto Christianity, learned distinctly the state of Ireland" from the Norsemen who repaired thither, through whose intercourse with the wild and furious natives religion ran great danger of being defaced; "for though Christ were believed and taught, yet the multitude eft-soon grew to a shameless kind of liberty, making no more of necessary points of doctrine than served their loose humour." Moreover, "Henry II., building upon the Pope's favour, his born subject, had sent ambassadors to Rome in the first year of his reign, asking leave to attempt the conquest of Ireland." Adrian had such trust in the king, that he not only gave him leave to conquer the island, but conferred on him a kind of legatine power of correcting its religious abuses. Accordingly, the invasion took place; the reformation was enacted in the eight articles of the synod of Cashel; and the Irish clergy, in obedience to the papal Bulls, "denounced curse and excommunication to any that would maliciously gainsay or frustrate" the temporal right over Ireland that the Popes had given to Henry.†

In the authentic documents connected with this transaction, we do not find a word about the self-donation of the Irish to the Pope; the right that he claimed over Ireland he derived from the alleged fact that "all the islands which are enlightened by Christ, and have submitted to the doctrine of Christianity, are unquestionably St. Peter's right, and belong to the jurisdiction of the Holy Roman Church."‡ But John of Salisbury, who was Henry's envoy, tells us the ground of this "unquestionable" right. "At my prayer," he says, "Adrian IV. granted Ireland to Henry II., to be held by right of inheritance. . . . For by ancient right all islands

* See Note 47.

† See Note 48.

‡ See Note 49.

are said to belong to the Roman Church *by the donation of Constantine.*”*

All that we find expressed in the Bull is, that the Popes had an unquestionable right over all Christian islands; the grounds on which this right was rested varied with the variations of public opinion. At one time the pretended donation of Constantine was alleged; but when there was a growing disposition to question the right of Constantine to give, if he ever had given, a right which he had never possessed, and which perhaps he could not transmit to his successors if he had possessed it, the claim was grounded on the vote by which the people had once for all exercised their right of electing their lord, and then abdicated it for ever. But the Popes themselves seem to have founded their right, first on the feudal law, then on the ground of divine right, because they were Vicars of Christ in His temporal as well as in His spiritual power; and then on the ground of the necessity of this right for the government of the Church, after controversialists had shown that they were Vicars of Christ in those powers only which He had exercised while upon earth.†

If the Pope could give Ireland to Henry because “all islands belonged to the Roman See,” the same reason was equally applicable to England. But Campion was far from allowing this. He mentions the fact that King John “made a personal surrender of both his realms in way of submission” to the Pope; “and after his assailing received them again. Some add,” he continues, “that he gave away his kingdom to the see of Rome for him and his successors, recognising to hold the same of the Popes in fee, paying yearly therefore a thousand marks. . . . Sir Thomas More, a man in that calling and office likely to sound the matter to the depth, writeth precisely, that neither any such writing the Pope can show, nor were it effectual if he could.”‡ Sir Thomas More was clearly a favourite of Campion. In his history of Henry’s divorce he talks of the “incredible experience in affairs and penetration of intellect” which the chancellor displayed, and of his “sublime and almost divine wisdom;”§ and this appeal to his authority on the subject of the Pope’s rights over England is decisive of the appellant’s opinion.

The Bull of Paul III. against Henry VIII. was not published in More’s lifetime; indeed, Paul was not yet Pope. Still, More knew of the right of the Pope to settle the legitimacy of marriages and of their issue, and his claim to adjudicate upon the succession of the crown. Nevertheless, both More and

* See Note 50. † See Note 51. ‡ See Note 52. § See Note 53.

Fisher were willing enough to bind themselves to obedience to the law of succession defined by the statute, which gave the crown to the issue of the union of Henry with Anne Boleyn, though they refused to swear that the marriage of Catherine had been null and void from the first; and More, after his condemnation, avowed his belief that Parliament had gone beyond its province in the two questions of the supremacy and the divorce. That is to say, they recognised the right of the three estates to give the crown of England to whom they chose, legitimate or not, but did not recognise the right to define the spiritual questions of the sacrament of marriage, and of the ecclesiastical supremacy. They must have held the opinion that the Church had power only over spiritual things, and not over civil and temporal matters.

That this opinion was deeply rooted in the English laity of the day, is clear from what we read in Hall's Chronicle about the general fast ordered by Wolsey on occasion of the sack of Rome by the Constable Bourbon in 1527, that the clergy in general neglected it; while the laity, to show their grudge against the spirituality, not only refused to observe it, but said that the Pope was worthily served for being such a "ruffian" as to exceed his powers in meddling with temporal dominion.*

Accordingly, when Paul III., in 1538, deprived Henry of his realm; laid all places where he might go under an interdict; declared all his children by Anne, and the children of his supporters, to be infamous, illegitimate, and incapable of inheriting; forbade his subjects to obey him; forbade all Catholics to have any commercial dealings with him or his party; ordered all ecclesiastics to depart the realm, and the nobles to rebel; declared all treaties between him and other sovereigns null and void; and ordered that all his supporters, wherever caught, should be made slaves to the person capturing them,—his Bull found very little response in England.† Not so, however, in the parts nearer the Scottish border, where, as an eye-witness tells us,‡ even down to 1550, the name of the Pope of Rome was so venerated by the people, that whatsoever they were told he had said or done was to them as good as an oracle, or a dispensation of Providence. But in other parts of the country the Bull was entirely disregarded.

When Elizabeth succeeded to the throne, she took good care to profit by the experience of her father. She took the line of comprehension, not of exclusion, and required obedience only, not a conscientious conviction of the purity of her

* See Note 54.

† See Note 55.

‡ See Note 56.

origin. She founded her rights to the crown solely on the authority of Parliament, which had confirmed her father's testament. In the act of February 9, 1559, for recognising the queen's just title to the crown, there was no clause to assert the validity of her mother's marriage, which had been declared null in 1553; she contented herself with her parliamentary title: thus leaving liberty of conscience to those who, like More and Fisher, maintained the Pope's supreme right in spiritual matters, but at the same time acknowledged the supreme right of the civil government in all temporal matters, to the extent of bestowing the crown even on persons of base birth, though there were legitimate candidates for the throne. On a similar principle, Elizabeth claimed her ecclesiastical supremacy, not as a right inherent in the crown, but as a grant expressly made by the authority of the Legislature.* Here Fisher and More would have stopped; they could never concede the right of Parliament to make such a grant, though they might possibly have come round to Margaret Roper's distinction, and admitted the king's supremacy over all ecclesiastical persons, so far as "the Word of God permitted," in opposition to the extravagant claims of the canonists.

But neither Paul IV. nor St. Pius V. were disposed to admit any compromise; they both joined issue with Elizabeth in maintaining that as illegitimate she could only succeed to the throne through their dispensation; and they were both ready to make all sacrifices to maintain the theory of the indefinite supremacy of the Pope, not only over spiritual affairs, but (directly or indirectly) over temporal matters also. Paul died in 1559; and his successor, Pius IV., tried to open communications with Elizabeth, and sent two ambassadors, first, Parpalia, in May 1560, bearing a letter, in which the Pope exhorted her to obedience, and promised her "whatsoever she might desire for the establishing and confirming her princely dignity, according to the authority, place, and office committed to him by God."† But neither Parpalia nor his successor, Martinego, in May 1561, was allowed to enter England, chiefly on the ground that it was "manifest that, allowing the authority of the Pope according to such jurisdiction as he claimeth, there will follow a great peril to the security and truth of her majesty's undoubted title to the crown," and that, though Martinego swore that he would do nothing prejudicial to the crown or state, yet the thing was already done. "The Pope hath, even at this instant time in Ireland, a legate who is publicly joined already with certain

* See Note 57.

† See Note 58.

traitors, and is occupied in stirring a rebellion, having already, by open acts, deprived the queen of her right and title there;" and it was believed that the envoy was to try to "stir up a rebellion in the realm by colour of religion."

While the Pope thus encroached on Elizabeth's political rights, she and her council were more than even with him in encroaching on the spiritual liberties of her subjects. There was no moderation; in the midst of the blind passions of the moment, it appeared necessary to force men to renounce the Mass, in order to demonstrate to the Pope how little authority he had over the succession of the English crown; and the establishment of heresy by civil violence seemed the natural answer to the attempt to control the civil succession of the crown by ecclesiastical power. The passions of both parties were excited, and there was no room for moderate counsels to gain a hearing. To disapprove of the Pope's civil proceedings, was to approve of Elizabeth's ecclesiastical alterations; to take up a moderate line insured persecution from both parties.

Among those who were driven from England by the ecclesiastical violence of the first years of Elizabeth, by far the greatest theologian was Thomas Stapleton, who attempted to introduce some moderation at least into the theory of the relations between the papal authority and civil governments. He denounced the two extremes,—the opinions both of those who claimed for the Pope authority over princes, because all temporal power was derived from him, and of those who derived this papal authority from the gift of the emperors. He disclaimed any temporal suzerainty of the Pope over princes, and he denied that the Pope had any right to dethrone them for any merely civil cause. The Pope could not justly interfere with temporal governments, except when they were hostile or detrimental to the Catholic religion; and in this case he had precisely the same right of interference as one state has in respect to another state whose internal condition is such as to be a serious danger to its neighbours. He may intervene either against the people, when they are about to elect a prince who will probably tamper with their religion, or against such a prince when he is on the throne. And he has two methods of interfering against the prince; first indirectly, through the people or parliament, whom he may excite to throw off the authority of their prince, and to dethrone him; and secondly, in case this does not succeed, through want of power or want of will on the part of the people, then he must take a more direct method, and give

the realm to some Catholic prince, or proclaim that the first man who can conquer it shall have it.*

Stapleton did not adapt his theory to the beginning of the quarrel with Elizabeth, but to the situation, as he found it existing after the lapse of a few years; and at Rome his theory, though it was not based on the broad ground occupied by the Popes of that age, yet served quite as well as theirs for the course they were following. It did not signify whether a theologian declared them to have a direct, or only an indirect, right of interfering in the temporal affairs of other states, provided interference was defended;† and Stapleton was as acceptable as a Bozius would have been, when his practical conclusion tallied so exactly with that of the most fervid adherents of the direct right of the Pope in temporal matters. His programme was carried out to the letter; and, indeed, he is mentioned by subsequent writers as one of those English divines on whose information Pius V. chiefly relied—Harding, Stapleton, Morton, and Webbe.‡

Pius V. then, knowing how his predecessor's attempts to send an agent to Elizabeth had failed, changed his plan, and began to address himself to the people; so, after having declared the queen a heretic in the Bull *Regnans in excelsis*, which was dated in February 1569, but not promulgated till the next year, he sent in 1569 Dr. Nicolas Morton into England, "to declare by Apostolic authority to certain illustrious and Catholic men, that Elizabeth, who then wore the crown, was a heretic, and therefore had lost all right to the dominion and power which she exercised upon the Catholics, and might be properly treated by them as a heathen and publican; and that they henceforth owed no obedience to her laws or commands. By this declaration many of the higher classes were led not only to consult their own interest, but to consider by what means they could deliver their brethren from the tyranny of the heretics. And they hoped that all the Catholics would join them with all their forces in this pious design. But though the affair turned out contrary to their hopes, either because all the Catholics did not yet properly know that Elizabeth was legally declared a heretic, or because God had determined to punish still more heavily the revolt of England, yet their design was a praiseworthy one, and was by no means without a certain success."§

The success attained was the rebellion of the great earls of the North, in 1569. Its failure did not discourage the English advisers of Pius V. They soon picked up a new

* See Note 59. † See Note 60. ‡ See Note 61. § See Note 62.

leader, the Duke of Norfolk, whom they assumed to be a sound Catholic, and to whose standard they fondly expected the whole realm to rally; it only required that the Pope's pleasure and censure should be once authentically known to the Catholics, and there would be no place for resistance; and afterwards the whole difficulty might be settled by a marriage between the Duke of Norfolk and Queen Mary of Scotland.*

Persuaded by these representations, which had more weight with the Pope than the prayers of Maximilian† and other princes, who were likely at least to know something of the probable issues of the course, Pius V. publicly launched his Bull against Elizabeth, in which were reasserted in the strongest terms all the papal claims which had ever found their strongest antagonists in England. The Pope alone is appointed "prince over all nations and all realms, to pluck up, to destroy, to dissipate, to crush, to plant, and to build." The conduct of Elizabeth, the "pretended queen," is contrasted with that of her sister Mary, the "legitimate queen," of England, whose policy had made all foreign connection hateful even to the Catholics. Elizabeth is declared a heretic, and therefore excommunicate, and "deprived of her pretended right to the said kingdom, and all and every dominion, dignity, and privilege;" all her subjects are for ever absolved from all allegiance to her; all are commanded "not to dare to obey her, and her monitions, commands, and laws;" all who do so are anathematised with her.‡

This Bull, says Sanders, was obeyed by one or two Catholics (*unus et alter*), who sacrificed their lives in publishing or asserting it. The rest, either because they did not acknowledge the legality of its publication, and observed that the neighbouring princes and commonwealths made no difference in their relations with the queen; or because, when Pius V. died, they did not know that his successor had renewed and confirmed the Bull; or, at least, through fear (though they alleged the former excuses),—remained in their obedience; and their opponents braved the whole thing as a bugbear to fright babes with.§

A very able Catholic lawyer of the period will add to Sanders' list of reasons. "I have been often told," says William Barclay, "by noblemen and men of good life, that the divine precept of honouring kings had struck such deep root in their minds, that no Bulls or indulgences to the contrary could alleviate the scruples they felt, or give them a feeling of internal security in violating so clear and plain a

* See Note 63. † See Note 64. ‡ See Note 65. § See Note 66.

precept of natural and divine right as the allegiance they owed and had sworn to their prince.”* And he represents the people telling the Pope, that as he is not the superior of the king in temporals, he cannot forbid their temporal obedience to the king. He is but the interpreter, not the enactor, of the Divine law, and therefore his interposition is only requisite when something obscure has to be cleared up, not in cases which need no explanation. Therefore, when the command is “to render to Cæsar what is Cæsar’s, and to God what is God’s,” and “to be subject and obedient to princes and powers,” it is the Pope’s business to define what is Cæsar’s and what is God’s, but not to forbid subjects to give any thing whatever to Cæsar, for this is not to interpret but to abrogate the law. To define that our obligation of obedience to the prince is comprised within the limits of temporal matters, while all spiritual affairs are reserved to the jurisdiction of the Vicar of Christ, or that no king is to be obeyed when he commands things contrary to the law of nature or of God, or to good manners, is the Pope’s right; but when he merely commands men “in no way to obey their prince, or his monitions, commands, and laws,” he cannot be obeyed, because this is not interpreting but annulling the divine precept, and beyond the papal power, as determined by the canons. The same reasoning applies still more strongly to the abrogation of allegiance. When men are commanded to withdraw their allegiance from a prince, because obedience to him may hinder their spiritual good, they may reply, that this evil is merely an accident, which may be lamentable, but cannot be hindered. God’s command is to obey the prince “with patience in well-doing.” If he misuses his power, God will punish him; his subjects may not transgress God’s plain command for any presumed advantage. Again, the Pope’s absolution from the oath of allegiance only breeds a scruple about his power; for it is known that he cannot dispense with the Divine law. God commands obedience to the Pope in spiritual matters, to the king in temporal affairs. This obedience will still be paid in spite of the denunciations of the Bull, which are fearful enough; but the fear of an unjust excommunication will never force people to do that which they know to be against the law of God.† Sanders (whom Camden follows, p. 186) and Barclay are sufficient witnesses of the reasons which induced the Catholics of England to treat the Bull as a dead letter. That Campion shared the common opinions of his brethren I have, I think, made evident. Like them, he at least hesitated

* See Note 67.

† See Note 68.

about the Bull; he doubted whether it justified Catholics in throwing off their allegiance; it put him into the same sceptical attitude which precluded any kind of decisive political partisanship.

Its effect on Elizabeth and her government was, on the other hand, most decisive. That persecution which drove Campion first from Ireland and then from England was the immediate result; and within two years it had produced a crop of penal laws, the first instalment of that sanguinary code which in process of time nearly effaced the Catholic Church from this island.* No wonder that Campion, when asked his opinion about the Bull, declared that it procured much severity in England, and the heavy hand of her majesty against the Catholics. But no representation that Campion could make was likely to procure the reversal of a policy that was carried out in spite of the most earnest remonstrances of the emperors and kings on whom the Popes chiefly depended.

I do not know whether Campion went so far as to think, with most thinking persons of the period,† that Paul III. and St. Pius V. sacrificed the Church of this country to their desire of maintaining in their integrity all the temporal prerogatives exercised or claimed by their predecessors, and that if they had frankly relinquished that temporal suzerainty which was the chief ground of the hesitations of their adherents, they would have given confidence to their friends, and disarmed their merely political foes. As affairs were managed, they rendered simply impossible the coexistence of the government of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth with the obedience of their subjects to the supreme authority of the Pope; and those princes had no choice but either to abdicate, with the hope of receiving back their crowns, like King John, from the papal legate, or to hold their own in spite of the Popes, and in direct and avowed hostility to them. After the indications which those princes had already given, it must have been a singular view of human nature which could lead St. Pius V. to expect Elizabeth to take the first course, as he did, even so late as 1571.‡

This expectation of success, founded on the enthusiasm of the English exiles at Rome, is the real answer to the charge, that in this business the Popes showed themselves equally ignorant of the teachings of history, and forgetful of the principles which the canon law lays down, after St. Augustine, for the excommunication of mighty delinquents: "Censures do no good, except when the person censured has

* See Note 69.

† See Note 70.

‡ See Note 71.

few followers. When the disease has seized multitudes, the good have no remedy but grief and groans; . . . otherwise in plucking up the tares they may chance to pull up the wheat also; . . . indeed, when the contagion of sin has infected a whole multitude, the severe discipline of Divine mercy is necessary; for counsels of separation are both futile and hurtful, and sacrilegious; for they become impious and proud, and cause more disturbance to the weak good than correction to the determined bad.”*

But the evil had spread too far, and so in endeavouring to preserve a temporal prerogative that had always been disputed, and had more often failed than succeeded in practice, while in theory it was open to grave objections, those Popes lost England to the faith, and were so far from securing the prerogative for which they contended, that in the controversy with France in the next century it was resigned, not without debate, but without any great struggle. If Henry VIII. and Elizabeth had been treated with the same delicacy and circumspection that Lewis XIV. experienced, the end might have been very different to what it was; and if Lewis had been treated like Henry VIII., the most Christian king, would probably have proved as bad a churchman as the Defender of the Faith.

The long sojourn of Campion in Rome before he attempted to carry out his resolve of entering the Society of Jesus, is accounted for by the Society being then without a head, while its third great congregation was assembled to elect a successor to St. Francis Borgia, the third general, who had died October 1, 1572, very soon after Campion's arrival in the city, and exactly five months after the death of St. Pius V. The choice fell upon Everardus Mercurianus, of Liege, April 23, 1573; and a few days afterwards Campion presented himself as the new general's first postulant. No further trial of his vocation was required than the probation he had imposed upon himself; he was forthwith accepted; but as there was then no English "nation" in the Society, the various provincials disputed who should have him, and he was at last allotted to Lawrence Maggi, or Magius, of the Austrian province. "He was incredibly comforted," says Parsons, "with this battle of the provincials for the possession of his body, because he saw that he was no more his own man, but in the hands of others, who, under God, would dispose of him better than he could do for himself; he was perfectly indifferent to all functions, and all countries; but as his own inclination was for a country

* See Note 72.

where he might strive against heresy, he was glad that Bohemia had been allotted to him. He thought that England owed some reparation to a country which had been first infected by the disciples of Wicliffe."

Campion was a man of common opinions, which he could urge and adorn with all the resources of rhetoric and the wealth of eloquence, and was consequently more dependent on authority for his ideas than upon any depth of research or originality of thought, and must have hailed the new obedience he had undertaken as a happy deliverance from himself. In England he had held, as we have seen, the popular opinions upon the papal sovereignty which had been inherited by the English Catholics, through Sir Thomas More, from generations of politicians. At Douai he must have found these opinions treated as nearly heretical, and the contrary doctrines energetically preached; still we find him at Rome with his old opinions, refusing any political place that Cardinal Gesualdi had to offer, and taking refuge from the storms of debate in a society where all his energies might be devoted to his own religious perfection, and to those scholastic employments which he ever cultivated, even in the midst of his greatest religious difficulties. In this I trace the same character which so long drowned scruples at Oxford in various pursuits, good in themselves, but not so when used to put off that important inquiry which ever loomed threateningly upon his horizon. So now by his entrance into the Society of Jesus he adjourned, but he did not solve, the question of the temporal supremacy of the papal sovereignty, which was once again to confront him, and to claim a decision which he could not give though he was to die for refusing it.

The congregation of the Society came to an end in the middle of June 1573. Soon afterwards Magius, the Austrian provincial, with certain Spanish and German fathers, and Campion, left Rome for Vienna, where they arrived in August; Campion was immediately sent on to Prague, where the novitiate then was, in the company of Father James Avellanedo, the newly-appointed confessor to the empress. This father was afterwards known to Parsons at Madrid, and often told him "how exceedingly he was edified in all that journey with the modesty, humility, sweet behaviour, and angelical conversation of F. Campion," for whose sake "he remained ever after much affectioned to our whole nation."

It would take me too far out of my way to trace the importation of the half political heresy of Wicliffe into Prague; its adoption and propagation there by John Huss; the tumults to which it led; the overthrow of the famous univer-

sity, which, indeed, was a natural result of a doctrine which taught that "universities, studies, degrees, colleges, and professorships are pagan vanities, and of no more use to the Church than the devil;"* and at last the persecution in which a remedy was sought for these evils, and which Campion thus defends: "Huss would not have been punished except the pestilent liar had been captured in the act of running away, which the Emperor Sigismund had forbidden him to do on peril of his life, and except he had violated the conditions which he had accepted from the Emperor, and had thus nullified his passport. Huss's malice was too hasty, and he was caught. He was commanded to present himself at Constance to answer for the barbarous tragedies he had enacted in his own land of Bohemia; he despised the prerogative of the council, he sought security from Cæsar; Cæsar signed the agreement, the Christian world, greater than Cæsar, rescinded it; the heresiarch would not repent; he perished. Jerome of Prague stole to Constance with nobody's protection. He was taken, he made his appearance, he spoke, he was treated with great kindness, he went freely wherever he liked, he was healed, he abjured his heresy; he relapsed, he was burnt."†

Cochlæus, in the first quarter of the next century, had still to deplore the fall of the University of Prague, which had once been the boast of Bohemia, and also that of the Catholic religion, which was so low that it would be difficult for it ever to recover its ancient state.‡ Still half a century passed, and in 1570 religion had made no advance; men doubted whether it ever could. The Bohemian Catholics were few, and all of the poorest classes; the only wealthy persons of that religion at Prague were the Italian merchants, who united in a confraternity to assist the priests.§ The emperor also was Catholic, and had sent the Jesuits to the town, bidding them rely on his assistance in case of any tumults. But the influence of the new order was only gradually felt. The toil of all the labourers only produced a harvest of seventy souls in 1573, in 1574, of fifty; in 1575 a few apostate priests were reconciled, one or two Hussite ministers, and forty-three laymen; and so on till 1580, when the whole influence of the court was lent to them, and 584 converts responded to their call. That was the first year of any distinct significance. A few years before Campion had exclaimed, "Surely this commouwealth will either return, through God's mercy and the help of the saints, to the unity of the Roman Church, or else, through the wrath of God,

* See Note 73. † See Note 74. ‡ See Note 75. § See Note 76.

Satan will triumph, and it will be overwhelmed in the thick and horrible darkness of new sects, and will perish.”* So evenly did the balance seem to hold itself. But within another fifty years the restoration of religion was carried out in such a rough-and-ready way as probably sowed the seeds of calamities still to come; for minds forced into acquiescence will always hand down the tradition of the original wrong, and future generations will avenge the persecution of their fathers.† “In 1620,” says Cardinal Carafa, “the delegates began to restore religion in Bohemia, first at Prague, where they were not entirely without success, though it fell short of their hopes; yet the people could not complain of want of instruction; every one might converse with a monk or a priest as long as he chose. But the people did not seem to want him; they were more impressed when some of the chief inhabitants were exiled: it was hard to leave their property, harder to leave their friends, hardest of all to be sent to live in an unknown place. Several of the higher classes were converted in this manner, and many of the stiffer religionists followed in their wake; but the rest, though forced to close their shops and to forego all trading, only sought to gain time, though every now and then some few became Catholic. The Archbishop’s toil was strangely unproductive; many laid the blame on the Calvinists; but the Hussites and Lutherans were as slow: the real truth was, they were waiting to see which side would prevail, when Tilly’s victory at the White Mountain put an end to their doubts.” The Cardinal afterwards records how much easier it was found to convert the fanatical Calvinists and Lutherans of the Rhenish provinces than the indifferent people of Bohemia, Moravia, and Austria.‡ For “it is easier to pass from one extreme to another than to move from the middle point of equilibrium. A conceited Calvinist or stiff Lutheran will sooner become Catholic than a lukewarm and easy Lutheran, who always promises well, but never seriously inquires for the truth, for which he does not care.”

Campion’s first residence at Prague was of very short duration; within two months of his arrival there the novitiate, into which he had not yet made his formal entrance, was removed to Brünn in Moravia, a city where the prospects of Catholicism were even more gloomy than at Prague. The very names of Pope and Catholic were in execration; magistrates and people were alike Protestant, the latter riotous and unruly. The clergy of one of the great churches was Catholic, that of the other alternated between the two reli-

* See Note 77.

† See Note 78.

‡ See Note 79.

gions : in 1570 a single energetic Jesuit had been sent there, who continued to preach in spite of the tumults that his presence excited. But the Bishop of Olmütz, the diocesan, saw that one father was not sufficient for the work, and had therefore procured the removal of the novitiate from Prague to Brünn, in hopes of being able to utilise the exercises of the novices and the spare time of the fathers.

Accordingly, Oct. 10, 1573, John Paul Campanus, Master of Novices, and John Vivarius, his socius, conveyed Campion and five other novices from Prague to Brünn, where they were soon joined by six more from Vienna. But in the following January the Bishop died, and for ten years the establishment was in continual peril : its goods were seized, its funds confiscated, its members accused before the tribunals, and its suppression decreed by the emperor, though the commissioners would not promulgate the edict.* But after much inconvenience and continual changes of residence, the foundation was gradually consolidated, and in process of time was able to erect an enormous college with seven quadrangles, now turned into a barrack.

Here Campion spent the year of his probation. One of the first acts required of him was to inscribe in the album or blank book of the novitiate certain particulars about himself, his family, and his education, as prescribed in the third and fifth chapters of the Constitutions of the Society. I have already extracted most of the details, so I shall only print here that which I have omitted.† “I have a deliberate intention,” he says, “of living and dying in this Society of Jesus. And this is my present determination, even although I had not determined it before, by no man’s advice, but of my own proper motion. . . . I have a tolerably happy memory, an understanding sufficiently penetrating, and a mind inclined to study. For this purpose, as also for the other duties of the Society, I am tolerably robust.” The rules of the Society were such as to make the novitiate an institution of great power and influence in a town like Brünn. The “six experiments” can mostly be turned to missionary purposes. According to the rule, the novice was to spend one month in complete retirement, during which he was to perform St. Ignatius’s spiritual exercises ; another month was devoted to the hospitals, where he had to make himself a slave to the sick inmates ; for another month he had to beg alms for the novitiate from door to door, and to learn to bear the insults and the practical jokes of vagabonds ; for another month he had to take his turn in all the most

* See Note 80.

† See Note 81.

menial employments of the house ; and at least a month was to be spent in catechising children and ignorant persons, either publicly or privately. This was precisely that for which the Bishop of Olmütz wished to have the novitiate at Brünn ; this exercise therefore superseded many of the others, and the novices were scarcely settled before their master began to send them round into all the neighbouring villages to teach the Catechism. All had great success, but Campion was ever noticed to be the most successful, and the villages around Brünn contained many converts that he had led to the Church.

To show with what hearty fervour Campion entered into these exercises, and how utterly he gave himself body and soul to the new life he had undertaken, I need only quote the two following letters, which he subsequently wrote to the novices at Brünn, after he had taken his vows, and had returned to the college at Prague.

“ How much I love you in the bowels of Jesus Christ, my dearest brethren, you may conclude from this, that in spite of my daily occupations, which scarce leave me time to breathe, I have managed to steal time from the midst of my functions and cares to write to you. How could I do otherwise, directly I heard of a sure messenger to Brünn ? How could I help firing up with the remembrance of that house, where there are so many burning souls, fire in their mind, fire in their body, fire in their words—the fire which God came to send upon the earth, that it might always burn there ? O dear walls, that once shut me up in your company ! Pleasant recreation-room, where we talked so holily ! Glorious kitchen, where the best friends—John and Charles, the two Stephens, Sallitzi, Finnit and George, Tobias and Gaspar—fight for the saucepans in holy humility and charity unfeigned ! How often do I picture to myself one returning with his load from the farm, another from the market ; one sweating stalwartly and merrily under a sack of rubbish, another under some other toil ! Believe me, my dearest brethren, that your dust, your brooms, your chaff, your loads, are beheld by angels with joy, and that through them they obtain more for you from God than if they saw in your hands sceptres, jewels, and purses of gold. Would that I knew not what I say ; but yet, as I do know it, I will say it ; in the wealth, honours, pleasures, pomps of the world, there is nothing but thorns and dirt. The poverty of Christ has less pinching parsimouy, less meanness, than the emperor’s palace. But if we speak of the spiritual food, who can doubt that one hour of this familiar intercourse with God and with good spirits, is better than all the years of kings and princes ? I have been about a year in religion, in the world thirty-five ; what a happy change, if I could say I had been a year in the world, in religion thirty-five ! If I had never known any father but the fathers of the Society ; no brothers but you and my other brothers ; no business but the business of obedience ; no knowledge

but Christ crucified ! Would that at least I had been as happy as you, who have entered the vineyard of Christ in the morning of your lives ! I almost envy Cantensis and Charles, who have been brought in so young that they can spend their childhood with the child Jesus, and can grow up with Him, and increase to the perfect strength of the fulness of Christ. Rejoice therefore, my brethren, at the good you enjoy, and at the greatness of the honour God has done you. Let the remembrance of this be ever present to you, to resist the devil, the world, the flesh, and the difficulties and storms of all temptations. If we are not very stupid and senseless, let us say from our hearts, ‘ It is no great thing that I should serve God ; but it is really a great thing that God should have willed to have me for a servant.’ I thank you all most heartily for the extraordinary charity which I experienced when with you, and when away from you, by your letters and remembrances, and at my departure as I was setting off ; especially I thank Melchior—and who else is it that I named before ?—my dearest brother, my friendly rival, my compeer in the society, but how high above me in merits ! His letters gave me and will give me the greatest pleasure ; so did the things he spoke about in his two epistles. I will join with the Father Rector in drawing up a plan, and after the affair is set in order, I will write out the whole for him, before the feast of the Annunciation, I hope. Stephen the Hungarian said that he would write, but has never written a word. With my whole heart I congratulate George and Charles, who have lately made their vows. These are strong chains, my brethren, and most strongly do they bind you to our Lord. Who shall tear you from His hands ? Shall this triple cord be broken by that miserable devil who is so impotent that he could not even drown the swine without leave ? Who, then, is he that he should be able to overthrow the image of God ? Never can he do so, unless we ourselves blot out the image, and conspire with him to our own mischief. I have spent a long time in writing to you—is that the first hell for schools ? I must leave off ; and to-morrow is the feast, when I shall be fully occupied, so I don’t think I shall be able to write more ; however, I will take the next opportunity. I thank my dearest brother Cantensis, whose letter gave me the greatest pleasure, and I thank my God who has given him so good a mind at his age. I received from him the pictures, the Agnus Dei, and the relics of our holy father Ignatius—a great treasure, for which I return great thanks. I salute you all in Christ Jesus from the bottom of my soul. My last request is, that you would humbly beg F. Rector and F. Aquensis to pardon my long silence ; they must ascribe it to my fault, and not to my forgetfulness of their kindness to me. I commend myself to the prayers of you all. Farewell.

Prague, Feb. 26, 1575.*

“ Although the words of men, my dearest brethren, ought to

* See Note 82.

have much less weight and influence with you than that Spirit who without sound of words whispers in your ears, yet since this work of love is not altogether useless or unnecessary, your charity will cause you to receive this fraternal letter, the witness of my love and duty, with your usual kindness. I write not to you as though you required the spur, for wherever you go your hearts are ever set upon every virtue; but that I, while I employ my time in writing to you may spur myself, and may enjoy the perfume of the remembrance of your affection, and may testify my affection towards you. And I would that as I speak, and as you perform, so you might speak and I perform. For I know what liberty there is in obedience, what pleasure in labour, what sweetness in prayer, what dignity in humility, what peace in conflicts, what nobleness in patience, what perfection in infirmity. But the difficulty is to reduce these virtues to practice. And this is your work, to run over a portion of your earthly course in the chariot of Paradise. I, as the poet says, will follow as I can, *non passibus equis*. My dearest brethren, our life is not long enough to thank Christ for revealing these mysteries to us. Which of us would have believed, unless He had called him and instructed him in this school, that such thorns, such filth, such misery, such tragedies, were concealed in the world under the feigned names of goods and pleasures? Which of us would have thought your kitchen better than a royal palace? your crusts better than any banquet? your troubles than others' contentment? your conflicts than their quiet? your crumbs than their abundance? your vileness than their triumphs and victories? For I ask you whether, if you could all your lives, as they would like, feed your eyes on spectacles, and changes of scene and of company, your eyes would be the stronger? If you fed your ears with news, would they be the fuller? If you gave your mind its lusts, would it be richer? If you fed your body with dainties, could you make it immortal? This is their blunder who are deceived by vanities, and know not what a happy life means. For while they hope and expect great things, they fancy they are making vast progress, and not one in a hundred obtains what he dreamed; and if perchance one obtains it, yet after making allowance for his pains, and his loads of care, the slipperiness of fortune, his disgraceful servility, his fears, plots, troubles, annoyances, quarrels, crimes, which must always accompany and vex the lovers of the world, he will doubtless find himself to be a very base and needy slave. One sigh of yours for heaven is better than all their clamours for this dirt; one colloquy of yours, where the angels are present, is better than all their parties and debauched drinking-bouts, where the devils fill the bowls. One day of yours consecrated to God is worth more than all their life, which they spend in luxury. My brethren, run as you have begun; acknowledge God's goodness to you, and the dignity of your state. Can any pomp of kings or emperors, any grandeur, any pleasure, I will not say equal, but even shadow forth your honour and consolation? They (I speak of the good among them) fight under Christ their king, with their baggage

on their back ; you are eased of your burdens, and are called with the beloved disciple to be familiar followers of your Lord. They are admitted to the palace, you to the presence chamber ; they to the common pasture, you to the choicest banquets ; they to friendship, you to love ; they to the treasury, you to the special rewards. Think what difficulties they have who even live as they ought in this naughty world ; then you will more easily see what you owe to His mercy in calling you out of infinite dangers into His society. How hard it is for them to follow Christ when He marches forth in haste against His enemies, who have wives in their bosoms, children on their shoulders, lands on their backs, cares on their heads, whose feet are bound with cords, whose spirits are well-nigh smothered. Is not your happiness great, whom the King marshals by His side, covers with His cloak, clothes and honours with His own livery ? What great thing is it for me to have left friends for Him who left heaven for me ? What great thing for me to be a servant to my brethren, when He washed the feet of the traitor Judas ? What wonder if I obey my fathers, when He honoured Pilate ? What mighty thing for me to bear labours for Him who bore His cross for me ? What disgrace if I a sinner bear to be rebuked, when He an Innocent was cursed, spit upon, scourged, wounded, and put to death ? Whenever we look into the glass, my brethren, we see clearly that the temptation of no pleasure, the fear of no pain, should pluck us from the arms of such a Master. You see I have nearly filled my paper, though I have plenty to do ; it is time to check myself, and to remit you to that Teacher who by His sacred influences can impress these things much more strongly than I can on your minds. Hear Him, for He hath the words of eternal life.

For my part, I kiss not you only, but the prints of your footsteps, and I beg you to give a poor needy wretch an alms of the crumbs that fall from your table.

Prague, Feb. 19th 1577.*

Such was the spirit in which he performed these services, "poor in seeming, rich in fruit, and in discipline for minds elated with success ; they break the assaults of pride, they dispel the fanciful clouds of vanity, and remind poor unstable humanity of its worthlessness and mortality. To visit the hospitals, to attend to the sick, to follow them to their graves ; to endure the peevishness of the sufferers, their dirt, their groans, their stink ; and to learn to feel horror and disgust at no poison, no filth, no corruption but the filth of sin." In these exercises the political difficulties of Campion were not solved, but overshadowed for the time by the overwhelming importance of the business of religion. For grace does not supplant nature, nor dispense with the necessity of worldly prudence and common sense.

* See Note 83.

CHAPTER IV.

THE unchequered life of Campion at Brünn and Prague has been chronicled with greater minuteness by his Bohemian brethren than his short agony in England by his own countrymen.⁸⁴ The historians of the Society in Bohemia reckon the one great glory of the novitiate of Prague and Brünn to have been the preparation of Edmund Campion for his martyrdom. They tell us, that before he left Brünn he was warned of the death he was to die. This fact, unmentioned by his English biographers, is partly confirmed by his own letters, which show that he went to England fully impressed with the certainty of his fate. This presentiment was unreasonable, if Campion only considered what had taken place in England, where, among the bishops and priests and laymen who had died in prison or beneath the gallows, not more than one or two had as yet suffered for religion alone. The murder of Dr. Storey was to satisfy an old grudge; Felton was hanged for pasting up Pius the Fifth's Bull on the Bishop of London's gates; Thomas Woodhouse, hanged in 1573, was so forward in anathematising the Queen's supremacy that Burghley considered him mad, and only had him hanged to be rid of his importunity; Cuthbert Maine, Campion's pupil at Douai, was murdered, ostensibly for being in possession of a document which the English judges chose to call a Bull, but really in order to enable them to convict in a *premunire* certain gentlemen who had harboured him, and to enrich one of the Queen's cousins with the estates of Mr. Tregian.⁸⁵ Nelson was hanged in 1578 for saying that the Queen was a heretic and schismatic—expressions which had a terrible meaning to princes with insecure titles in days when it was almost of faith that no schismatic or heretic had any civil rights at all, much less the right to rule over Catholics. The case of Sherwood was similar; and though these executions evinced a firm determination in the English government to treat as a traitor any one who used of the usurping head of

the Anglican Church terms which implied that she had no right to the place she claimed, yet they could not have given solid grounds for anticipating the persecution which was to follow in the teeth of the repeated declarations of the government, that freedom of conscience in all purely spiritual matters was and ever would be respected. Schmidl, however, tells us that Campion's presentiment of martyrdom was grounded upon a vision he saw in the garden at Brünn, where the Blessed Virgin, in likeness as she is painted in the picture at Santa Maria Maggiore at Rome, attributed to St. Luke,—copies of which had been distributed by St. Francis Borgia to the various novitiates,—appeared to him in an old mulberry-tree, and exhibited to him a purple cloth, which he understood to be a sign that he was to shed his blood for religion.

Sept. 7, 1574, John Paul Campanus, the novice-master of Brünn, was appointed Rector of the House at Prague; after waiting a month to complete his year, he carried off with him Campion and two other novices, "in the coach of Chancellor Pernstein;" for these progresses of the humble fathers in the trappings of civil state are dwelt upon with a complacency which reminds one of the Jewish chronicles of the royal procession of Mordecai through the streets of Suza.

October 18, the studies were solemnly commenced at Prague. Campion was made Professor of Rhetoric, and opened the schools with a "glorious panegyric," which Schmidl, in 1747, was able to read at Prague. And now began a series of routine labours, which are rather tedious even to describe. He was loaded with offices; besides being Professor of Rhetoric, he was *matutinus excitator*, and *nocturnus visitator*, and worked in the kitchen for recreation. He went to bed half an hour before the other fathers; but he had to rise and ring for the nightly examination of conscience, and after the lapse of a quarter of an hour to ring again for the lights to be put out. After another quarter of an hour, he looked into each cell to see that all were in bed, and all candles extinguished. In the morning he rose half an hour before the rest; he rang the bell to rouse them, and went to each cell to awaken the inmate and light his candle. After fifteen minutes he repeated his visits, to see that all were dressing; then he rang for prayers, and again for ending them. It was his place to see that all were decently covered in bed, and to report all habitual defaulters. After his prayers, meditation, mass, and private study, he went down to the class-room to teach rhetoric, and to form the minds of the rising aristocracy of Bohemia. His method was rigidly

prescribed to him : the object of his lessons was to teach the use of language, and to cultivate the faculty of expression in prose and verse ; the art of speaking, the style of writing, and the store of rhetorical materials and commonplaces were to be his care. In speaking and style, Cicero was to be almost the only model ; for matter, his storehouses were to be history, the manners and customs of various nations, the Scriptures, and a moderate stock of illustrations from arts and sciences.

In class, he first made his scholars repeat a passage they had learned out of school-hours ; then the monitors collected the written exercises, which he looked over and corrected. While he was thus occupied, the boys were trying to imitate a passage of a poet or an orator which he had set them, or to write a brief account of a garden, a church, a storm, or any other visible object ; to vary a sentence in all possible ways ; to translate it from one language into another ; to write Greek or Latin verses ; to convert verses from one metre into another ; to write epigrams, inscriptions, epitaphs ; to collect phrases from good authors ; to apply the figures of rhetoric to a given subject ; or to collect all the topics or commonplaces that are applicable to it. After this came a summary of the former day's lesson, and then the lecture of the day, on one of Cicero's speeches, was read, and the boys were examined upon it. The composition of the lecture was to be on a given pattern. First, he was to explain his text, and to discriminate the various interpretations of it. Next, he was to elucidate the writer's art, and to display his tricks of composition, invention, disposition, and style ; the reasons of his dignity, his persuasiveness, or his power, and the rules of verisimilitude and illustration which he followed. Thirdly, the professor had to produce parallel or illustrative passages from other authors. Fourthly, he was to confirm the author's facts or sentiments by other testimony, or by the saws of the wise. Fifthly, he was to illustrate the passage in any other way he could think of. Each lecture did not necessarily include all these points ; but such was the range and the order prescribed for the points that were adopted.

After two hours thus spent in school, the scholars retired to play, and the professor to the kitchen to wash the dishes. Then came his dinner, followed by his hour of recreation—that innocent hour of guileless wit and harmless fun, which always leaves so pleasing an impression on the remembrance of the visitor to any convent who has been privileged to witness the inner life of its inmates. After this, the professor spent two more hours with his class. First his scholars re-

peated the heads of the morning lecture ; then he gave them a lesson on one of Cicero's rules of rhetoric. The rule was first explained ; then the similar rules of other authors were discussed and compared ; then the reason of the rule was investigated ; next it was illustrated by passages from the best authors in prose or verse ; then any passages or curious facts that served to illustrate it were adduced ; and lastly, the professor explained how the rule was to be applied in the various circumstances of modern life and society. All this was to be done in the choicest language and most picked phrases, so that the master's example might profit, as well as his precepts.

According to the rule, the second afternoon-hour was occupied with Greek. Campion was not Greek Professor, not because he was unacquainted with the language, but perhaps because he knew less of it than the Ruthenians and other Eastern Europeans who were to be found in the college. The familiar way in which he quotes it in his letters, and the easy fluency of his Greek calligraphy, are sufficient evidence of his scholarship. It was, perhaps, fortunate that in this language no one had obtained a Ciceronian monopoly. Demosthenes, Thucydides, Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Nazianzen, Basil, and Chrysostom occupied the throne in common.

On holidays, the exercises were more exciting : they were either historical lectures, disputes on questions of scholarship, or brief dramatic scenes. Every Saturday there was a repetition of the week's lectures. The chief aim was to give facility of speech and eloquence of style. All great days were celebrated with epigrams, inscriptions, or copies of verses ; every month an oration was pronounced, and a play acted, in the chapel and hall. The boys' minds were always on the alert ; and the life and soul of the whole method was the Professor of Rhetoric, who was at once the rule, the model, and the moderator of the exercises, and who had to keep the hall, the refectory, and the chapel alive with daily, weekly, and monthly exhibitions of his pupils.

I suppose that the three great levers of the Jesuit education were, excitement of interest, concentration of attention, and application of principles to present controversies. They saw that they had to do battle for the intellectual and moral supremacy of the world with the new spirit of inquiry, which had its roots in the religious innovations of Luther and Calvin, the assertion of political liberties, the literary enthusiasm of the Humanists, and the scientific school, which culminated in Bacon. The science and boldness of the leaders in this fight extorted the admiration of their most determined opponents.

“Behold also the Jesuits,” writes Sir Edwin Sandys in 1599, after a tour through Europe, “the great clerks, politicians, and orators of the world, who vaunt that the Church is the soul of the world, the clergy of the Church, and they of the clergy; do stoop also to this burden (of education), and require it to be charged wholly upon their necks and shoulders. In all places wherever they can plant their nests, they open free schools for all studies of humanity. To these flock the best wits and principal men’s sons in so great abundance, that wherever they settle other colleges become desolate, or frequented only by the baser sort, and of heavier metal; and in truth, such is their diligence and dexterity in instructing, that even the Protestants in some places send their sons unto their schools, upon desire to have them prove excellent in those arts they teach.” But this, he continues, is only a bait; their real object is “to plant in their scholars with great exactness and skill the roots of their religion, and nourish them with an extreme hatred and detestation of the adverse party.” “Presuming, perhaps, of the truth beforehand, and labouring for no other thing than the advancing of their party, they endeavour by all means to imbreed such fierceness and obstinacy in their scholars as to make them hot prosecutors of their own opinions, impatient and intractable of any contrary considerations, as having their eyes fixed upon nothing save only victory in arguing. For which cause, to strengthen in them those passions by exercise, I have seen them in their bare grammatical disputations inflame their scholars with such earnestness and fierceness, as to seem to be at the point of flying each in the other’s faces, to the amazement of those strangers which had never seen the like before, but to their own great content and glory, as it appeared.”⁸⁶

It was Campion’s business to excite and direct this literary enthusiasm. For the first he was well fitted by his own sanguine and disputatious temperament, and for the second by his extensive knowledge, his exquisite taste, and his rare oratorical power.⁸⁷ A portion of his rhetorical course has been preserved, and from it I will collect a few of his remarks. The two first parts of rhetoric, he says, the invention of arguments, and their arrangement, may be learned from any good writer—indeed, the more authorities we have the better; but for style we must follow one man only. It must be learned by imitation, for it does not come by nature; but we cannot imitate all good writers at once. He is nowhere who is every where; if you chase two hares at once, you catch neither. Cicero, then, is not to be our chief, but our only model; not that we are to copy him unreasonably, like some would-be

Ciceronians who mimic him like monkeys, but do not take after him like children—who quote whole pages, and lug in his words where they are least wanted; the proper way is, if we like his sentiment, to clothe it in our own words; if we like his words, to use them naturally, not as if the words were every thing and the meaning nothing, and as if all we had to say could only be expressed in a certain circle of pretty and plausible phrases. On the contrary, we should first think about the thing, then about the words. Beginners may write letters in direct imitation of one of Cicero's, or a speech like one of his; to continue the practice betrays either poverty of invention, or slavish imitation. It is foolish also to suppose that we may use no words but those authorised by Cicero, as if he had written on every conceivable subject, or as if we had all that he had written. Even now every fresh fragment of his that we discover adds to the list of his words. We must not copy his works, but himself; we must try to enter into his taste, to hear with his ear, and to speak as he spoke. It is absurd to reject all words that have not his authority. If he uses *perpassio* and not *passio*, and *resipiscentia* instead of *pœnitentia*, we need not innovate on our theological terms, nor need we restore the words *sacrament* and *testament* to their classical meanings. Campion's Ciceronian propensities were under the sway of common sense.

Among the other employments of Campion were those of the president and legislator of the "Confraternity of the Immaculate Conception," which he founded in January 1575. These confraternities, which were established in every college of the Jesuits, served many purposes. They were the means of introducing a more thorough conformity to Roman customs: thus at Prague, one of Campion's rules was that every member of his society should forego the Bohemian liberty of communicating in both kinds. They also gave the opportunity of a more thorough supervision of the best scholars, to whom it was a special honour and privilege to be admitted into these select associations. Campion's foundation flourished wonderfully, and afterwards branched into three great sodalities. Its name, however, was changed when it was incorporated into the Archconfraternity of the Salutation at the Roman College.

Besides these various duties, Campion had to compose a Latin oration or a play for almost every important occasion. It may be supposed that with this he was *literarum parcissimus*, most stingy in his correspondence; but what letters he wrote he composed with some care, as is proved by the foul copies of several that are preserved amongst the Stonyhurst Mann-

scripts. "In these most godly and Christian exercises," says Parsons, "he passed his time, doing good to as many as he could, and omitting no occasion or labour to increase his merit for life everlasting. He preached publicly, made exhortations in private, read in the schools, taught the Christian doctrine unto children, heard confessions, visited prisons and hospitals of sick men, and at the death of sundry great persons made such excellent funeral orations as astonished the hearers." "Whatever had to be done," says Balbinus, "was laid upon him. His companions thought it a miracle that one man could bear so many loads; but whenever a new task was laid upon him, he used to go to the superior, and ask whether he really thought him strong enough to bear it. If the answer was affirmative, Campion made no delay or excuses, but immediately did what he was told, because, even when the question was about his own physical strength, he had more confidence in the rector's judgment than in his own." And his labours did him no harm; he was never better in health. "Why should I not be well, dearest Parsons?" he wrote; "I have no time to be ill." "The greatest and only difficulty that the fathers at Prague had with him for a time," says the same friend, "was to appease his conscience about the scruple of the Protestant diaconate, the memory of which profane degree and schismatical order tormented him every time he thought of it, and bred an affliction which could not be cured by telling him (what he also knew right well himself) that it was no order, degree, nor character at all, seeing that the man who laid his hands upon him was no true bishop, and consequently had no authority to give any such order more than a mere layman, but acted only in a pish imitation of the Catholic Church, for a show to the people as though they had holy orders among them. But indeed themselves do not so esteem thereof that any character was given, as in Catholic ordination, by imposition of hands; for amongst them a man may be a priest or minister for a time, and then a soldier or craftsman again; whilst the Puritans flatly deny all spiritual authority of bishops. Therefore, though the sin was great for a Catholic man, especially such as Campion then was, to receive any ordination at the hands of any such heretical, schismatical, or excommunicate persons, yet he must believe that this sin was now fully forgiven, so that he should trouble himself no more with the memory of it, but put it wholly out of his mind, and proceed cheerfully in God's service." These arguments would cheer him for a time, yet ever and anon the "mark of the English beast" would sadden him again; nor was he wholly cured till the absolute command of the General came from

Rome to trouble himself no more about the scruple, and until he was made both deacon and priest by the Archbishop of Prague, for by receiving this true character the imaginary one was blotted out from his memory.

After this general summary of Campion's life at Prague, I will give a chronicle of his chief actions there. In October 1574, he opened the School of Rhetoric; in January 1575, he founded the Confraternity of our Lady; in 1575 and 1576, he heard of several of his old Oxford friends entering the Society at Rome—Robert Parsons of Balliol, William Weston of All Souls', Lane of Corpus Christi, Henry Garnet and Giles Wallop of New College, and Thomas Stephens. "Of all these our being in Rome," says Parsons, "and entering together into the Society, when I written to good Father Campion, he wrote to me again of his wonderful joy, and hope that God would one day use mercy towards our country, and restore the Catholic faith again, as also vouchsafe to serve Himself of some of our labours to that happy end, seeing He had so wonderfully drawn so many together in one purpose and place for His holy service. And withal he insinuated again his own desire to be employed that way when God pleased; though in the mean time he were contented where he was; and not unprofitable altogether for England, for that now and then there passed that way, by reason of the Emperor's court, certain English gentlemen, who, finding him there, were content to deal with him in matters of religion, and departed commonly far better instructed and persuaded than when they came thither."

In 1576 Campion was transferred to the Convictor's College, where he added the duties of *Præfectus morum* and *Præfectus cubiculi* to his former functions. At the opening of the autumn scholastic term he made a panegyric of St. Wenceslaus, the patron of Bohemia, whose feast it was. The oration, which was much admired, may be found among his opuscula.⁸⁸ This year also brought him into contact with the celebrated Sir Philip Sidney, who had been sent by Elizabeth to Prague to congratulate the new Emperor Rudolph on his accession. Sir Philip, who was only one-and-twenty, had been in Venice during the year 1574, and his familiarity with Catholics there, especially with his cousin Shelly, the English prior of Malta, had excited the misgivings of his friends to such an extent that his tutor, Hubert Languet, then agent for the Duke of Saxony at the imperial court, wrote to warn him about it,—“I see that your friends have begun to suspect you on the score of religion, because at Venice you were so intimate with those who profess a differ-

ent creed from your own. I will write to Master Walsingham on the subject, and if he has entertained such a thought about you, I will do what I can to remove it; and I hope that my letter will have sufficient weight with him not only to make him believe what I shall say of you, but also endeavour to convince others of the same. Meanwhile, I advise you to make acquaintance where you now are (Vienna) with the French ministers, who are learned and sensible men; invite them to visit you, and hear their sermons, and do the same at Heidelberg and Strasburg."⁸⁹ This was written from Prague, March 10, 1575. At that time Maximilian, who was very lukewarm in his Catholicism, was hesitating whether to grant the Bohemians the religious liberties they required. As long as he demurred, his subjects were earnest in the cause; but when they triumphed, in September, they thought they had gained enough, and the new Emperor Rudolph found them easily contented. "The Bohemians," Sidney wrote to Walsingham from Heidelberg, on his way to Prague, March 22, 1576,⁹⁰ "which were earnest in Maximilian's time to have churches of the true religion granted them, do now grow cold, only being content to have the freedom in their houses." When Sidney reached Prague, he wished much to see Campion, whom he had known at Oxford, and whom his father had protected in Ireland. Their meeting, says Parsons, was difficult, for Sir Philip was afraid of so many spies set and sent about him by the English Council; but he managed to have divers large and secret conferences with his old friend. After much argument, he professed himself convinced, but said that it was necessary for him to hold on the course which he had hitherto followed; yet he promised never to hurt or injure any Catholic, which for the most part he performed; and for Father Campion himself he assured him that where-insoever he could stand him in stead, he should find him a trusty friend, which he performed not, for afterwards, Campion being condemned to death, and the other in most high favour, when he might have done him favour he denied to do it, for fear not to offend. Politically, Sidney always took the side contrary to what were then supposed to be Catholic interests. He hated the Spaniards, whom he considered "horn slaves," and took a very strong national line in preventing Elizabeth's marriage with the Duke of Anjou in 1581; he was even on the Parliamentary Committee of that year for framing the penal laws against Catholics. One thing, however, is clear, that after his embassy to Prague, in spite of his marriage with Walsingham's daughter, he made no advance in his public career for several years, and held no trust or

office except the nominal one of royal cupbearer. According to a letter of Father Thomas Fitzherbert, of Feb. 1, 1628, Sidney had the courage to confess in England that one of the most memorable things he had witnessed abroad was a sermon by Campion, at which he had assisted with the Emperor in Prague. Probably the reports sent home by the spies caused him to be looked upon as wavering in religion. He ever afterwards had a strong party in the Council against him. Campion's own account of his conversations with Sidney will be found farther on, at the end of a letter to Bavand. On Sidney's part, one curious memorial of their meeting may be discovered by a critical eye in the ambassador's official letter to Walsingham from Prague. After describing his reception by the Emperor, he says, "the rest of the days that I lay there, I informed myself as well as I could of such particularities as I received in my instructions." He promises a *viva voce* report upon most of the questions, and only sets down the following brief character of Rudolph, which is evidently from the hand of the author of the History of Ireland. "The Emperor is wholly by his inclination given to the wars, few of words, sullen of disposition, very secret and resolute, nothing the manners his father had in winning men in his behaviour, but yet constant in keeping them; and such a one as, though he promise not much outwardly, but, as the Latins say, *aliquid in recessu*." I cannot find much further trace of Campion's influence. Sidney complains that the Emperor and his brother Ernest are "extremely spaniolated," and that the former is most governed by a professed supporter of the Spanish "inquisitor's government;" and on his way from Prague he persuaded the Elector of the Rhine at Heidelberg to tolerate the Calvinists, and not to force them to become Lutherans. But his letters to Languet from Venice show that his alienation from Rome was not dogmatical, but political, founded on national hatred of Spaniard and Italian, and fear of the overwhelming power of Philip II. His religious allusions and banter savour of Catholic, not of Protestant, sentiment; he refers to Saints, Sacraments, and Purgatory, not like a man who hates them and spurns them, but like one who believes in them, yet without trembling. The habit of mind most affected by him was "that seemly play of humour," which would not let "our own More" lose his jest even in the hour of death.

The next year, 1577, Campion wrote a tragedy on the subject of King Saul, which was exhibited at the expense of the town, with great magnificence, during Prague fair, in honour of Elizabeth, the widow of Charles IX. of France, who

had then returned to her family at Prague. The play lasted six hours, and was repeated the next day, by command of the Emperor.

Several letters written by Campion this year have been preserved; one, written to the novices at Brünn, I inserted in the last chapter; another, to Gregory Martin, is published among his opuscula;⁹¹ and the rough copies of six more, in Campion's own hand, are preserved in the archives at Stonyhurst. I subjoin translations of all of them; for the man is best known by his familiar correspondence. The two first relate to the manuscripts of his History of Ireland; his library had been left in England, and Gregory Martin wrote to him Feb. 8, 1575, about the books "which Holland had in custody being transferred by Stock to the library of Cox, his sister's husband, in Gloucester," where they were afterwards burnt.

Edmund Campion to Francis Coster, at Cologne.

"I was troubled about a parcel of manuscripts which is due to me from France, when F. Anthony Possevin, who passed through this place on his way from Rome into Sweden, told me that it was possible that you, as having the charge of the next province, could lend me your aid in the business. I was glad to hear the name of Coster, whose friendship I had cultivated at Douai; and I confidently undertook to ask you for any favour, as your former scholar and spiritual child. Gregory Martin, who is living with Allen at Rheims, writes to me that he wishes to send me a volume which I had intrusted to him, but he has no one to give it to, and does not know how so large a packet can be sent so long a distance. I have ventured to ask you, relying on our old acquaintance, and on the relationship in Christ which we have contracted in the Society, to do what you can for me in this matter, as I am far away, and know nothing about either places or persons. If Martin manages to convey the book to you, do you, my father, manage to have it sent to me at Prague, not by the shortest, but by the safest way. I will say no more, for I am sure that you will do whatever you conveniently can. In anticipation, I profess myself much in your debt; for the book is a production of mine, not wholesome because prematurely born; and if I am to lose it, I would rather it were altogether destroyed than fall into other hands. So I am trying to get it to you soon, and then it may creep to me as slowly as you please. Farewell.

Prague, January 1577."

Edmund Campion to Francis Coster, Provincial of the Rhine.

"Although, Reverend Father, I fully expected the assistance which you promised me in your kind letter,—for I knew by what spirit you were led,—yet it was in truth great pleasure to me to renew the taste of your goodness and charity from their impressions in your writing. I am bound to you, not now for the first time, but

by old kindnesses, which I will never forget, for they are eternal. This kind office of yours gives me a double pleasure, both because you are going to do something for me, and because you love me so well as to do it willingly. And see what impudence your kindness has inspired me with. I enclose you a letter for Martin; if you can send to him into France I hope that he will do his part. I beg of you also, as Martin tells me that he knows no way of conveying the papers to me, that if you know any trusty person to employ, you will take the whole business upon your own shoulders, and manage to have them sent from Rheims to Cologne, and from Cologne to Prague. But if this cannot be done, let me know, and I will try some other plan, and give you no further trouble. The place where I sojourn compels me not to be too modest in my requests. Farewell.

July 12, 1577."

The third letter is to Father Parsons; in the first part he enters heartily into the "conspiracy" to catch Gregory Martin and make him a Jesuit: the share that he took in this nearly successful attempt will be seen from another letter further on; in the second part he congratulates Parsons and the rest who had entered into the Society, and vaguely refers to some old Oxford events which Parsons had recalled to his mind, and at the same time professes his agreement with Parsons' "philosophical reflections" upon the state of England. These clearly were, that a good wind, or rather storm of persecution, was the best way to reduce England to the faith, when the instability of mind, mundane attachment, cowardice, and want of logic that had allowed Elizabeth's government to deprive England of its religion, would be the best guarantee for the success of a forcible reaction under such masters as Philip II. or the Duke of Alva.

Edmund Campion to Robert Parsons, at Rome, greeting.

"I have received your letter, my brother, teeming not only with discretion and weight, but also, what is the chief thing, with love and piety. I readily take your advice, and consent to do my duty, in which I confess I have been for some time rather lax, somewhat more lengthily and liberally than you; but I had written in that time to Martin, and my letter, I suppose, is still in Flanders, where it must have arrived after his departure. Do let us conspire to deliver that good soul; it is good fishing. I love him on many accounts; I can say nothing ἐμφαιτικώτερον, I love him; I congratulate him with all my heart upon making the acquaintance of so many of you; my part shall not be wanting. At the end of his last letter to me there was something that showed that this miserable and slippery world was not altogether to his taste—'I am in peril in the world; let your prayers preserve me.' Let us pray God; if he is

needed, he will be granted to us. About myself I would only have you know that from the day I arrived here, I have been extremely well,—in a perpetual bloom of health, and that I was never at any age less upset by literary work than now, when I work hardest. We know the reason. But, indeed, I have no time to be sick, if any illness wanted to take me. So you may unhesitatingly contradict those reports.

About yourself and Lane, whom you must greet heartily from me, I feel proud and happy; I can more reasonably rejoice in this than in the memory of my proctorship. You are seven: I congratulate you; I wish you were seventy times seven. Considering the goodness of the cause, the number is small; but considering the iniquity of the times it is not little, especially since you have all come within two years. If my memory is good, I remember all the names, and your somewhat tall person.

Your reflections on the tears of our orthodox countrymen are quite true; wavering minds, mischievous attachments, cowardly tempers, illogical intellects. But these things will carry them into port when our Lord gives a good wind. I have used up my paper, so I will end. But I will give you a commission, since you have offered yourself to me. When I was at Rome, I owed every thing to the Rev. Father Ursnar. Tell him I have not forgotten him, and greet him most heartily in my name. Farewell.

Prague, St. John Baptist's day (June 25), 1577."

In the fourth letter, to Robert Arden⁹² of Warwickshire, another father of the Society, he speaks of none of those violent measures, to which his gentle spirit was only excited by contact with the fiery temper of Parsons, but only of reducing England by prayers and tears.

Edmund Campion to Robert Arden, Priest S.J., greeting.

"Father Francis, our common and dear friend, has told me the gratifying intelligence contained in your letter from Lucerne of May 3d. He asked me to write to you in reply, and I am doing so; for it seemed to me an excellent opportunity of greeting a fellow-countryman and—nobler bond!—a brother in the Society. If you are the Arden I fancy, this is not our first acquaintance; for we were members of neighbouring colleges in Oxford, I of St. John's, you of Trinity. If you are not the man, you need no more be ashamed of being taken for him than of being yourself. But if you had been not only my familiar friend but mine own brother to boot, even then our relationship could not have been dearer, or firmer, or nearer than the union by which we are now united in Christ. For this at least we are indebted to those by whose heresy and persecution we have been driven forth and cast gently on a pleasant and blessed shore. [A sentence follows, illegible through most of the words having been destroyed by worms.] One thing remains; we must rejoice at our deliverance from the hands of the Egyptians, and we must strive to save them, and to catch them by the prayers and tears at which they

laugh. We will do them this favour against their wills, and so return them the benefit that they have unwillingly done to us. But to return to you, my father, and to finish my letter. You must know that I have had no greater pleasure for many a day than the perusal of your letter, which gives us good hope of restoring and tilling that vineyard. If you go on so, you shall gather a most abundant harvest.

We here, by God's mercy, can only do penance and pray, dignified by the honour of the college, the numbers of our scholars, the favour of the people, and the gain of souls. That these things may become more abundant, help us by your prayers and sacrifices. Farewell.

Prague, the morrow of Our Lady *ad Nives* (i.e. Aug. 6), 1577."

The fifth letter, to John Bavand, his old tutor, contains some pleasant recollections of his youth, and his account of his dealings with Sir Philip Sidney.

Edmund Campion to John Bavand, his master, greeting.

"Thanks to our good Martin, who in his last letter to me enlarged upon your goodness and kindness to him, I am reminded, not by his precept, but his example, not to shirk my duty, or to loosen any of those old links by which your undying care of both of us has bound us to you. I must own that, if I had thought frequent letter-writing the sum of fidelity and gratitude, I had been too neglectful of what my respect for you, and your fatherly care and provision for me, required. But there are other tokens of love and friendship beside letters, and my sentiments from my earliest childhood have been so well known to you that they can never be clouded over either by my epistolary neglect, or by our separation in place. I should be a mere knave, and unworthy of the liberal education which you gave me, if, while I have any memory at all, I forgot you, instead of bearing witness, by all sorts of observance, to the care, the prudence, the sympathy, and the purity which you displayed in teaching and educating me. To these I must add the clear proofs of your favour and affection since bestowed upon me,—and they the more pleasant, because they so plainly manifested an uncommon benevolence. For though in my youth I was but an indifferent subject, yet, since I was intrusted to you and clung to your side, hung upon your looks and lived in your society, I do not much wonder that a good man like you, so diligent in your duties, took such care of me. But that in after years, you undertook to feed me and to polish me, as it was all from your free choice, so does it more redound to the credit of your virtue and kindness. And what is your last favour? When I was in Rome, did you not altogether spend yourself upon me? Did you not give me introductions, help, and money? And that to one who, as you knew, not only would never repay you, but who was on the point of leaving the world, and so to speak, of death. One of the greatest works of mercy is to bury the dead, for they help those towards whom neither flesh, blood, nor goods, nor hope, nor favour,

nor any thought of earthly convenience attracts them. You were munificent to me when I was going to enter the sepulchral rest of religion. Add one further kindness, my dear father ; pray for me, that in this seclusion, far from the noise of all vanity, I may be buried really and meritoriously. For it was the Apostle's declaration, 'You are dead, and your life is hidden with Christ in God.' I remember how, on the eve of your leaving England, you bade me farewell with the words, 'I go to die.' For you had determined to let death overtake you any where rather than in Egypt. We must seek to die once for all, and happily, but we must seek it also daily and faithfully. But whither have I wandered ?

Now listen to my news. The Emperor Rudolph, a prudent, brave, and good youth, and a sincere son of the Church, has fixed upon himself the eyes and the hearts of the Germans and Bohemians. If he lives, great things are expected of him. The Empress Dowager, Maximilian's widow, and sister of Philip of Spain, is living at Prague. A few months ago Philip Sidney came from England to Prague as ambassador, magnificently provided. He had much conversation with me,—I hope not in vain, for to all appearance he was most eager. I commend him to your sacrifices, for he asked the prayers of all good men, and at the same time put into my hands some alms to be distributed to the poor for him, which I have done. Tell this to Dr. Nicholas Sanders, because if any one of the labourers sent into the vineyard from the Douai seminary has an opportunity of watering this plant, he may watch the occasion for helping a poor wavering soul. If this young man, so wonderfully beloved and admired by his countrymen, chances to be converted, he will astonish his noble father, the Deputy of Ireland, his uncles the Dudleys, and all the young courtiers, and Cecil himself. Let it be kept secret.

Do you want to know about Bohemia ? *σύμμιξις καὶ κοινανία τῶν αἰρεσέων*, a mixen and hotch-pot of heresies. But all the chief people are Catholics. The lower orders promiscuous. A pleasant and diversified harvest. For my part, I labour in it with more pleasure since an Englishman, Wicliffe, infected the people.

In conclusion, I must ask you to excuse me if I have been remiss in writing. Greet in my name Sanders, Cope, Stoneley, and the priests and fellows of your Hospice. Finally, be merry, and mind your health ; love me, and write to me. Farewell. When you have opportunity, reverently kiss the hand of the Bishop of St. Asaph for me."

The next letter, to one of his Bohemian pupils, is a specimen of the affectionate terms on which he and his scholars stood.

Edmund Campion to Sebastian Pastler, at Passau, greeting.

"Your letter was grateful to me, because I saw by it how grateful you were. For if while you were here we hoped much of you from your rare advance in learning and piety, what must we think of you

now you are gone for persevering so constantly in the course which you pursued here! I wish that my services to you had been worth as much as you value them at; any how, whatever they were worth, they were given with a real good-will, which I will take care to preserve, so as not to let a young man so good and so devoted to us slip from my memory. I read some paragraphs of your letter to the Confraternity at our meeting yesterday, and exhorted them to remember you; I have no doubt they will. This is written in the evening twilight, and the failing light forces me to finish. Farewell.

Prague, July 14, 1577."

The last letter belonging to this year is that written to Gregory Martin, to try and induce him to become a Jesuit; the adroitness which insinuates and implies without indicating, and which stirs up desires without too plainly showing how they may be gratified, is a model of subtle rhetoric. Martin was at this time in circumstances that facilitated his capture. His position with Allen was uncertain; the English seminary was on the point of being driven from Douai by popular tumults, which Allen attributed to the intrigues of Elizabeth, and by which he partly justified his perpetual intrigues against her. The Cardinal of Guise had not yet offered him a retreat at Rheims, and Martin had been sent to Rome to see what could be obtained there. For at this time Allen probably thought with Sanders, who wrote to him a few months later (November 1577), "We shall have no steady comfort but from God, in the Pope, not in the King of Spain. Therefore I beseech you to take hold of the Pope, for the King is as fearful of war as a child of fire, and all his endeavour is to avoid all such occasions. The Pope will give two thousand [men] when you shall be content with them. If they do not serve to go to England, at the least they will serve to go into Ireland. The state of Christendom dependeth upon the stout assailing of England."⁹³ Martin had gone to Rome in 1566, and had written to Campion in Feb. 1577,— "After the first letter which you wrote from Brünn, you received two of mine together, a long while after date. In answer you at once wrote most kindly, in every way corresponding to my hopes, except in your brevity. You called your letter only a precursor; this expression of yours authorised me to look for another and a longer letter, as I have done and still do. I am not at Douai, but at Rome." And then he proceeded (but the letter is lost) to describe the popular risings at Douai against the English. To these "accusations" Campion replied:

Edmund Campion to Gregory Martin.

“Such accusations as those wherewith you accuse me trouble me not ; for they coax you out of a letter full of endearing complaints, and let me see, to my joy, how lovingly you look for my reply. It may perhaps be stale to excuse myself on the plea of business, but I do, and ever will, steal time enough for the religious rites of our friendship, which is always in my heart. I lately sent a parcel to you at Douai ; in it there was a long letter to you ; and because you did not receive it, you wrangle with me about the postmen. But don't irritate me, though you are tall, and I short. The next sentence in your letter gives me sad news, which nips my jokes in the bud. Are there indeed such troubles in Flanders ? Has the peril reached to the English College ? How far ? Are they to be driven out ? Let them be driven any where but into their own country. What is it to us, to whom England is imprisonment, the rest of the world transportation ! Be of good cheer ; this storm will drive you into smooth water. Make the most of Rome. Do you see the dead corpse of that Imperial City ? What in this life can be glorious, if such wealth, such beauty, has come to nothing ? But what men have stood firm in these miserable changes,—what things ? The relics of the Saints, and the chair of the Fisherman. O prudence ! Why is heaven neglected for worldly glory, when we see with our own eyes that even in this world the kings of this world could not preserve these monuments of their vanity, these trophies of their folly ! What will this smoke seem in the ether of heaven, when it so soon blows away in the atmosphere of earth ? How will angels laugh, when even men mock ? But *γλαυκὰς εἰς Ἀθήνας*, what is this to you ? For your whole letter breathes a noble spirit. Your story, your hopes, and your requests set me in a blaze at all points. Nor is this the first time ; all your letters show with what prudence, with what a Christian spirit you love me, when you so heartily congratulate me on the state of life which I have embraced, though it places so strong a barrier to our union. This is real friendship. I remember too how earnestly you called me from Ireland to Douai, how you admonished me, and how effective were you words. Before that, I remember how from the Duke of Norfolk's house you dealt with me to keep me from the ecclesiastical dignity, which, as a friend, you feared might betray me into serving these wretched times. In these words, as I consider, you were even prompted by the Holy Ghost,—‘ If we two can live together, we can live for nothing ; if this is too little, I have money ; but if this also fails, one thing remains,—they that sow in tears shall reap in joy.’ What you foretold is fulfilled. I live in affluence, and yet I have nothing ; and I would not exchange the sorrows of my Institute for the realm of England. If our tears are worth all this, what are our consolations worth ? And they are quite numberless, and above all measure. So as you rejoice with me, you may always go on rejoicing, for what I have found is indeed most joyful. As for your praises, I pray you,

my dear father, to commend my soul to God in your sacrifices, that it may become less unworthy of your praise. This is the sum—since for so many years we had in common our college, our meals, our studies, our opinions, our fortune, our degrees, our tutors, our friends, and our enemies, let us for the rest of our lives make a more close and binding union, that we may have the fruit of our friendship in heaven. There also I will, if I can, sit at your feet. Though I have many greetings for John Bavand, our old tutor, of whom it would be too long to write all I might and ought to say, yet, as I am writing to him, I will send him a very brief message. If he receives this letter, he will have three on his conscience (supposing the others have come to hand), and yet not a word from him. There was some reason, which, though I know it not, I fully admit and approve, in entire confidence of his kindness and friendship. Farewell.

Prague, from the College of the Society of Jesus, July 3, 1577."⁹⁴

The next year Campion returned from the Convictors' College to that of the Society, and was ordained deacon and priest by Anthony, Archbishop of Prague, who told him on the occasion that "as from one Englishman, Wicliffe, all the evils of Bohemia had sprung, so God had provided another Englishman to heal those wounds." The new priest said his first Mass on the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, September 8. This year he also exhibited a drama, which was celebrated among his contemporaries, on St. Ambrose and the Emperor Theodosius. It was repeated by command of the empress and the French queen. In after times some German admirer of the author prefixed a title to it: "Ambrosiana Tragædia, authore Beato Edmundo Campiano, Græco, Latino, Poeta, Oratore, Philosopho, Theologo, Virgine et Martyre." Epigrams were written, complimenting the author on his mellifluous mouth, and on the nectar and ambrosia which distilled from it. It is a pity that no trace of it can now be found among the Mss. at Prague. This year he was appointed Latin preacher, and in that office made an "admirable sermon" before the Archbishop during the feet-washing on Holy Thursday; August 14, he preached at the funeral of the Nuncio; he also wrote orations for his scholars to deliver; one of these, "De laudibus B. Mariæ Virginis," is printed among his opuscula. Among his other productions of this year, Schmidl enumerates a Latin poem in honour of the Archbishop. This year, too, he obtained an evil reputation amongst Protestants as a proselyte-maker. A Protestant youth, Martin Schultes, of Frankfort, who had been sent to the college because of its superiority, had been converted by Campion. In the vacation the lad's parents

became aware of the fact, and were furious ; but he ran away from them, and returned to the college.

In October this year, having finished his course of rhetoric, Campion was made Professor of Philosophy ; here he was bound down by the same minute rules. Philosophy was to be the vestibule of theology ; Aristotle was to be the professor's great authority, in every point in which the philosopher was not contradicted by the schoolmen or the creed. The infidel commentators, like Averrhoes, were not to be used in such a way as to give the pupils a taste for them. St. Thomas was always to be mentioned with honour, and when not followed to be reverently and respectfully treated. Logic, physics, and metaphysics were each to occupy one year ; the chief object was to be a right understanding of Aristotle's text, particularly of the trite passages. As in rhetoric, there were to be monthly and quarterly disputations in public, in which the scholars were to be made ashamed of all faults in formal arguing, to be taught to adhere rigidly to rules, and never to speak but in their turn.

Nothing is more notable in most of Campion's letters than the entire want of any political allusions ; religion and literature were the only spheres which he recognised, except with one passing exception, in a letter to Parsons. Parsons, however, observed no such reticence, but gave to Campion intelligence about Elizabeth's enemies, to know which, without discovering it, by the laws of those days, rendered a man a traitor.

“ PAX CH.

Having read this letter, almost a month ago, from Mr. Marten, I deferred to send it until this time, to th'end I might accompany it with some news touching our English matters. You shall understand, therefore, that Sir Thos. Stewkly, who was made here Marquis before his departure, is now dead in Africa with the K. of Portugal ; the particulars of his death I have not received. He took here away with him at midnight out of their beds all the Irishmen in Rome, and one English gentleman named Mr. Minors, nephew to Cardinal Pole, who had good entertainment here of the Pope before,—that is to say, xx crowns in gold a month. This Mynhurst, with one Sedgrave, an Irishman, which once had been of our company, Sir Thomas, being on the sea, upon what cause I know not, would have hanged them, and being prohibited to do it, by the earnest request of certain Italian captains that went with him, he deferred the work until he came to Portugal ; and there arriving, condemned both of them to the galleys for term of life, and so led them slaves with him into Africa : but since his death they are delivered by the new King of Portugal, which is the Car-

dinal : and this much Minors hath written hither himself. And other provision that went with Sir Thomas, all is dispersed; and so this enterprize is come to nothing. Here, in Rome, the English seminary goeth forth well; for there be almost 40 persons under the government of iij of our Society. We are here at Rome now 24 Englishmen of the Society, whereof five hath entered withiu this month. One named Mr. Holt, which was once of Oriel College, Master of Arts, and the other four came hither from Paris; all excellent towardly youths, and all have ended the courses of philosophia: ij of them are your countrymen, born in Paternoster Row; one named Harwood and the other Smith, little Dr. Smith the physician's nephew. One Inglis, of good learning, is presently now herehence sent towards Japponia. I hope, e'er it be long, we shall [find] a vent another way. Father Darbishire is come hither from Paris, and it may be that I shall go, e'er it be long, in his place thither. Mr. Lane, as I wrote to you before, is gone to Aleala in Spain, and arrived thither, hath wrote your commendations in a letter to me. And this is as much [as] I have to write to you at this time. Mr. Marten was called away herehence by Mr. Dr. Allen his letters. I think they were half afraid of him, what might become of him; but Mr. Horltus, entering of late, hath much amazed them. I pray you, good Mr. Campian, pray for me; for I have great need of it. All our countrymen here doth commend themselves heartily to you.

Your servant in Christ,

ROB. PERSONS.

From Rome, this xxviii of November 1578."

As early as 1571, the English government had known of the design of this Stukely (who had been at the head of a rebellion in Ireland in 1569) to land in Ireland with a large Spanish force; and the enterprize described in Parsons's letter, though diverted for a time to Africa, was ultimately meant for Ireland. Castelnau, the French ambassador, was well informed when he wrote from London, July 4, 1578: "Stukely, who had given here so hot an alarm of a descent on Ireland, cannot do any thing this year, because he has gone with the King of Portugal into Africa. But people still think that when the king disbands his army Stukely will be able to have more men and more ships, if only the people favour his designs upon Ireland." Ships had been in commission to oppose him, and the queen intended to increase her navy for the next year. Any communication with such a man, any knowledge of his doings without detecting them, was sufficient to constitute treason. Campion was of much too sweet a temper to rebuke Parsons for intruding upon his notice things of which he wished to hold himself quite clear. Probably, too, he had then no idea of ever

being sent on the English mission; otherwise he must have felt what Donne describes, when listening to compromising conversation—

“I felt myself
Becoming traitor, and methought I saw
One of our giant statutes ope his jaw
To suck me in for hearing him.”

Of the year 1579, we have a letter of Campion to Gregory Martin, still on the subject of his books and the troubles of the seminary, and upon the martyrdom of Cuthbert Maine, November 29, 1577, which Campion seems to have heard of for the first time a year after the event.

Edmund Campion to Gregory Martin.

“Father Parsons has sent me your letter from Rome; I see the devil is furious with your seminary, and will not allow banished men a place of banishment. Well, he may burst with envy; but these blasts of his will never blow away the Spirit of Christ. Do you daily torture our envious foe with your good deeds. I am indeed angry sometimes when I remember what Allen—himself a little angry, I think—wrote in the beginning of Bristow’s book, that so good a cause was dashed by men so evil, so ignorant, so few, and so much at variance with each other. We all thank you much for your account of Cuthbert’s [Maine] martyrdom; it gave many of us a real religious joy. Wretch that I am, how has that novice distanced me! May he be favourable to his old friend and tutor! I shall now boast of these titles more than ever. I have answered your two letters, the latter first. I have left something for the end, that you may know how much I have it at heart. I had written to F. Francis Coster, our provincial of the Rhenish province, asking him if you sent him those writings of mine about Irish history which you have, to find some way of sending them to Prague in perfect safety. He promised. So now I ask you to get them to Cologne; our people will manage the rest. Tell me or them what you can do,—what you would do I already know; write either to Father Coster, the Provincial of the Rhine, or to your namesake, who is Rector at Cologne; for he is called F. Martin. You shall be either Father Martin or Father Gregory, as you choose. Is there aught else? I had well-nigh forgotten. About the burning of the books I congratulate both of us, and thank Holland. I wish he had not spared Erasmus and the Scholiasts, whose prefaces, corrections, antidotes, and triflings have deformed the works of the fathers. I am truly glad that the bill has been honoured, and I acknowledge Sheldon’s kindness, whose family we have reason to love. I remember them when I say Mass; to your sacrifices also I commend the patrons, companions, entertainers, and scholars that we have almost always had in common. You ask what I am doing: I have finished the Organon of Aristotle; now I go to the Physics. I shall

soon confer the Bachelors' degrees, and after finishing this course the Masters' of Prague. Six days we quarrel with the philosophers, the seventh we are friends. I am foolishly supposed to be an accomplished Sophist. What does it signify? Salute my honoured friend Allen, and Bristow, and the whole seminary.

Prague, August 1579."⁹³

Two other letters, concerning Melchior Newhyre, a pupil and convert of his, show with what affectionate care he watched over the fortunes and progress of his scholars.

Edmund Campion to George Ware, at Olmutz, greeting.

"Melchior Newhyre, my pupil, an honest and well-instructed youth, and very dear to me, is migrating to you for the sake of his studies. There are many and weighty reasons why I wish his progress and fortune to be well cared for. Wherefore, I beseech you, let me lighten my anxiety by your friendship, and by the certainty that you will spend all your love for me in care, favour, help, and any thing else that the youth may require. Whatever kind office you do him, you may put to my account; and as I am already your debtor to an amount which I cannot repay, I have determined to increase the debt daily. Farewell.

Prague, January 22, 1579."

Edmund Campion to Melchior Newhyre, at Olmutz, greeting.

"I recognise in your letter the old polish and the old affection, and I return praise for the one and affection for the other. In giving me such abundant thanks, you kindly and dutifully preserve the memory of my love towards you; while in speaking so piously about the light of faith, which God's mercy called you out of darkness to behold, you faithfully and religiously offer to God the soul which you owe Him. So I sincerely hope that our divine Redeemer may reward your recollection of His favours by a daily increase of grace. You have me not only as a friend, whom you reckon far above his value, but also as a debtor, because you proceed in such a way as not only to increase but to honour the flock of my Master. For the rest, I earnestly exhort and beseech you to temper your good disposition with all liberal learning, to endure whatever comes upon you in this short span, till you can reap with honour and profit that which you now sow with labour and cost. Farewell.

Prague, May 6, 1579."

This year also he preached a celebrated funeral sermon at the burial of Mary Requesens, the wife of Antonio Cardona, Viceroy of Sardinia, published amongst his opuscula.

This was the last year of Campion's quiet life at Prague. In the autumn, Doctor Allen went to Rome to organise the English College, and to obtain the assistance of the Jesuits in

the English mission; after mature deliberation, the chief points of which I will give in my next chapter, it was determined that two fathers, Parsons and Campion, should be sent. As soon as Allen had secured his object, he wrote to Campion in an exulting strain to announce the fact—

“My father, brother, son, Edmund Campion, for to you I must use every expression of the tenderest ties of love,—Since the General of your Order, who to you is Christ Himself, calls you from Prague to Rome, and thence to our own England; since your brethren after the flesh call upon you (for though you hear not their words, God has heard their prayers),—I, who am so closely connected with them, with you, and with our common country both in the world and in the Lord, must not be the only one to keep silence, when I should be first to desire you, to call you, to cry to you. Make all haste and come, my dearest Campion; you have done enough at Prague towards remedying the evils that our countrymen inflicted upon Bohemia. It will be dutiful, religious, and Christian in you to devote the rest of your life and some part of your extraordinary gifts to our beloved country, which has the greatest need of your labours in Christ. I do not stay to inquire what your own wish and inclination may be, since it is your happiness to live, not by your own will, but by others'; and you would not shrink from the greatest perils or the furthest Indies if your superiors bade you go. Our harvest is already great in England: ordinary labourers are not enough; more practised men are wanted, but chiefly you and others of your order. The General has yielded to all our prayers; the Pope, the true father of our country, has consented; and God, in whose hands are the issues, has at last granted that our own Campion, with his extraordinary gifts of wisdom and grace, should be restored to us. Prepare yourself then for a journey, for a work, for a trial. You will have an excellent colleague, and though they still live who sought the Child's life, yet for some time past a door has been open for you in the Lord. It is not I that am preparing for you and your order the place in England that your soul presaged, but it is you, I hope, who will procure for me and mine the power of returning. We will talk over the rest, my dear Edmund; and I hope you will be here as soon as may be, for I know not how long I can stay in Rome; and as soon as the winter is past I mean to go to Rheims or Douai, where our common friends Bristow and Martin now live. You will be astonished to see our Belgian and Roman Colleges, and will easily understand why we have at last such hopes of our country. In the mean time let us pray the Lord of the harvest to make us worthy of His mercy and visitation, and do you, by your prayers and sacrifices, wash away my sins before Jesus Christ. May He send you to us as soon as may be.

Entirely thine,

WILLIAM ALLEN.

Rome, the English College, 9th Dec. 1579.”

Campion, though surprised at this intelligence, was on the

whole glad; if there had been any fears—and he confesses to a lack of constitutional courage—he had conquered them. He wrote to Allen that he was ready to go when the order should arrive; the honour of the cause made him willing, but the command of his superiors made him anxious to go. At their bidding he was willing to fight to the death for his country. In March 1580, two letters from the General came to Prague, one to Campanus the rector, the other to Campion, who was to go to Rome as soon as might be. The rector immediately communicated the command to Campion, who heard it in silence, blushed, and said, “Indeed the fathers seem to suspect something about me. I hope their suspicions may be true. God’s will be done, not mine.” The suspicions to which Campion referred had already found vent; the night before, a simple father, James Gall, a Silesian, reputed to have ecstasies, wrote over Campion’s cell, “P. Edmundus Campianus, Martyr.” The writer, when discovered, was punished for his infringement of discipline; but he declared that he felt obliged to do it. Another father had previously painted a garland of roses and lilies on the wall of Campion’s room, just above where his head usually rested. When he left Prague, Campanus the rector changed habits with him,—a common mode in those days of leaving a keepsake with a friend.

Campion left Prague March 25, 1580; he went as far as Munich with Ferdinand, second son of Albert, Duke of Bavaria, lately dead. On the feast of St. Thomas Aquinas he was induced to give the students a specimen of his eloquence. He preached in their hall on the text, *Vos estis sal terræ*, and explained the office of a Christian doctor; intending to describe St. Thomas, his hearers said that he described himself. The duke and his brother were so pleased, that they insisted on conveying the preacher to Innsbruck, from which place he set out on foot for Padua, where he was commanded to take horse; and so he arrived in Rome on Holy Saturday, April 5, 1580.

CHAPTER V.

WHEN the English College at Rome was founded, in 1579, a Welshman, Maurice Clenock, was appointed president. His partiality to his countrymen excited factions which led to "mischief and almost murder," and maddened the students to that pitch that they were ready to forswear Allen and forsake "whom and what else soever," rather than continue under the Welsh rector.⁹⁶ The tumults were not entirely calmed by the appointment of two Jesuits for the moral and literary superintendence of the scholars, for this only angered the Welsh faction against the society, which they accused of having stirred up these tumults underhand, in order that the fathers might gain possession of the college; not that they wished to send the English students to the mission, but rather to keep them at Rome and make them Jesuits. This party thought the fathers had "no skill nor experience" of the state of England, or of the nature of Englishmen, and that their "trade of syllogising" was quite alien from the intellectual habits of this country. Allen wrote from Paris, May 12, 1579, that he feared, if these broils continued, "our nation would be forsaken both of the Jesuits and ourselves, and all superiors else;" and wished to God that he might go for a month to Rome, and either make up these extreme alienations of mind, or else end his life.

Allen accordingly went to Rome, and found that the best way of reconciling the factions was for the Jesuits to take part in the English mission. The cause was debated between him and Mercurianus, the general of the society, his four assistants, Claudius Acquaviva, the Roman Provincial, afterwards General, and Father Parsons. The arguments for the mission were founded upon several considerations,—the piety, the necessity, and the importance of the work; the desire of the English Catholics; the notable encouragement and help it would be to the seminary priests if they had Jesuits, not only to assist them abroad in their studies, but at home in their con-

flicts ; the increasing intensity of the war, which now required more men ; the comfort it would be to the English Catholics to see religious men begin to return thither again after so long an exile, and especially such religious as could not pretend to recover any of the alienated property of the orders ; the propriety of the Jesuits engaging in the mission, since the object of their foundation was to oppose the heresies of the day. It was urged also that Englishmen were more neighbours than Indians, and had greater claims for spiritual help ; for it was more obligatory to preserve than to gain ; and a token that the Jesuits were called to accept the mission was to be found in the fact that there were more Englishmen in the society than in all the other orders together. Moreover, the Jesuits had been the professors and the directors of the seminary priests, and had exhorted them to undertake their perilous enterprise. It was not seemly for those who were sending men at the risk of their lives to bear the burden of the day and the heat, themselves to stand aloof. And how could the fathers expect to be acceptable to the English nation after the restoration of religion, if they refused to bear their share of the toil and the danger of restoring it? Lastly, as the Order of St. Benedict at first converted England, the society of Jesus might fairly hope for the glory of reconverting it.

In reply to these arguments, it was urged that so grave a matter must not be too hastily settled ; that it was a hard thing to send men to so dangerous a place as England, where the adversaries, though Christians in name, were more hostile, more eager, more vigilant, and much more cruel than the infidels of the Indies were then, or than the heathen Saxons formerly were when St. Augustine went over ; that the superiors, who would have no difficulty in persuading the English Jesuits to face the risk of martyrdom, had great difficulty in deciding whether the loss of such men did not far outweigh the hope of gain by their labours. Again, the English Government would at once publish a proclamation declaring that the Jesuits had not come over for religious, but only for political purposes, and would thus make the missionaries odious, and their actions doubtful. It would require more wisdom than could be expected in the mass of men to unravel the web and detect the fallacy. The charge would either be believed, or men would remain in suspense till the event was seen. Again, the method of life which priests were obliged to practise in England was totally incompatible with the constitutions of the society. Whilst the external danger was a recommendation, the spiritual perils must give them pause. They would be obliged to go about

in disguise, and hide their priesthood and their religious profession under the garb and swagger of soldiers; they must live apart from one another, and consort with men of doubtful character; they would be sent back to the world to escape from which they had sacrificed themselves. They would be overwhelmed with business, and there would be no facilities, as in India, for renewing their relaxing fervour by frequent retreats. They would have no rest, no silence; they would be in everlasting hurly-burly. And then they would be accused of treason, and hunted about as traitors. And on occasion of disputes with the other priests, there were no bishops in England to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and it seemed difficult to believe that so many priests and religious could live together in one realm without jars and discords.

It was long before any decision was made. Allen went to the Pope, who removed the last difficulty by sending Dr. Goldwell, who had been Bishop of St. Asaph in Mary's reign, to be the ordinary of all England.⁹⁷ The other objections were overruled, chiefly through the arguments of Claudius Acquaviva, who asked to be sent on the mission, and of Oliverius Manareus, the assistant from Germany, who, as a Belgian, knew the state of England through the English exiles who swarmed in his country. It was determined that the society should take part in the English mission, and a paper of instructions was drawn up for the guidance of those who should be first sent.⁹⁸ The missionaries were reminded of the virtue and piety, and of the prudence, required for dwelling safely in a nation of shrewd, experienced, and unscrupulous enemies: to preserve the first, they were to keep the rules of the society as far as circumstances would allow; for the second, they were to study with whom, when, how, and about what things they were to speak, and to be especially careful never to commit themselves, either amid the temptations of good fellowship, or by hasty and immoderate zeal and heat. Their dress, though secular, was to be grave, and the habit of the society was only to be worn when they were quite safe, and then only for sacred functions. If they could not live together, they were at least to visit one another frequently. With regard to their intercourse with strangers, they were to associate with men of the higher ranks, and rather with reconciled Catholics than with those who were still in schism. They were to have no personal dealings with heretics, but were to employ laymen to manage all the preliminaries of conversion, to which they were themselves only to put the finishing stroke. They were not to be over-ready to engage in controversy, and then were to abstain from all sarcasm,

preferring solid answers to sharp repartees, and always putting first the very best and strongest arguments. They were to avoid familiar conversation with women and boys, to take especial care never to deserve the reputation of chatter-boxes, or of alms or legacy hunters; "they must so behave that all may see that the only gain they covet is that of souls." They must not carry about any thing forbidden by the penal laws, or any thing that might compromise them, as letters; except for the strongest reasons, they must never let it be publicly known that they were Jesuits, or even priests. "They must not mix themselves up with affairs of state, nor write to Rome about political matters, nor speak, nor allow others to speak in their presence, against the queen,—except perhaps in the company of those whose fidelity has been long and steadfast, and even then not without strong reasons."

It would have been too much to expect that the English Jesuits should have no political opinion at all, or that what they had should be favourable to Queen Elizabeth. But short of proscribing all political action whatever, the instructions given to the first Jesuits certainly shut up such action within the narrowest possible limits; they were to do nothing, and only to speak out their opinions in the most select company. The only political action that was to be allowed them was one for which the government of Elizabeth ought to have been thankful to them. They were "to ask the Pope for an explanation of the declaration of Pius V. against Elizabeth, which the Catholics desired to have thus explained: That it should always bind her and the heretics; but that it should in no way bind the Catholics, while things remain as they are; but only then when public execution of the said bull shall be possible." My readers will remember that St. Pius V. excommunicated not only Elizabeth and her abettors, but also all who obeyed her and her laws. So that the unfortunate Catholics were placed between two fires, hanged if they did not obey, cursed if they did. Campion, on his first arrival at Rome, had been consulted about the practical effect of this Bull, and had declared that it procured great evils to the Catholics; Cardinal Gesualdi had told him that it might without doubt be so mitigated as to allow the Catholics to acknowledge the queen without censure; and now, before going to England he asked for and obtained only this mitigation, not probably because it was all he thought useful, but because it was all he could hope to get. The proviso, "*rebus sic stantibus*," "whilst things remain as they are," was, I suppose, inserted by some one who knew what hopes the Roman court just then entertained of the subversion of the

government of Elizabeth, and the substitution of a Catholic sovereign on the throne of England.

With regard to the use that was to be made of lay instructors for the preliminaries of conversion, to begin the building which the fathers were to finish, we have the following notice: "Since sundry persons, priests and others, in England have determined to imitate the life of the Apostles, and to devote themselves wholly to the salvation of souls and the conversion of heretics; and the better to do this, have determined to be content with food and clothing, and the bare necessities of their state, bestowing all the rest of their goods for the common needs of the Catholics, to collect alms for this common fund, and to promote the conversion of England in other ways;" the Pope was asked to approve and bless this association, and to give sundry indulgences to those members who promised to practise the rules as well as they could, whether in prison or out of prison. These, and sundry other indulgences and faculties, were granted by the Pope to Father Parsons and Father Campion, the two Jesuits first sent on the mission, April 14, 1580; and by a brief dated two days later they were enabled to communicate all their privileges to the secular priests employed on the missions of England, Ireland, and Scotland.⁹⁹

In spite, however, of the extraordinary privileges which the Jesuits enjoyed, they were but a small part of the force which Dr. Allen had persuaded the Pope to send into England at this time. The army of missionaries was led by Dr. Goldwell, the Bishop of St. Asaph; with him were Dr. Morton the Penitentiary of St. Peter's, and four old priests of the English hospital, Dr. Brumberg, William Giblet, Thomas Crane, and William Kemp; Lawrence Vaux, the old prior of Manchester, was drawn from his cell at Louvain, and several young priests from Rheims joined in the company. The Catholic association had already been organised in England by William Gilbert, a young man of property, who had been converted by Father Parsons in Rome early in 1579, and had been sent back to England to prepare for the enterprise which was already on the anvil; three young priests from the English College, and two laymen, who thought to take a leading part in the association, accompanied the fathers from Rome. Finally, there were the two fathers, with Ralph Emerson, a lay brother; and thus all ranks in the Church—priests, both secular and regular, and laymen—had their share in this great spiritual enterprise.

It would have been well for English Catholicism if there had not been another enterprise in hand, of a very different

character, but aiming at the same object,—the reduction of the British islands to the obedience of the Pope. Unfortunately there is a perfectly overwhelming mass of evidence to show that the proviso "*rebus sic stantibus*" in the mitigation of the Bull was introduced with an intention too plain to be misconstrued. I have already quoted a letter from Dr. Sanders to Dr. Allen, in which he tells of the Pope being ready to give 2000 men for an expedition into Ireland.¹⁰⁰ While Allen was at Rome, the Roman government organised this force, and the expedition must have sailed soon after the missionaries started from Rome, since it reached Ireland about the same time that Parsons and Campion were entering England. The expedition, and the part that the Roman government took in it, was no secret to the diplomatic body of Europe; Corrado, the Venetian ambassador at Rome, related to his government on his return in 1581¹⁰¹ how the Pope spent 230,000 scudi upon it, and an account of an Irish agent of the Vatican, announcing the safe arrival of the "five great ships full of soldiers and munitions of war, sent by the Holy See," has been published by Theiner.¹⁰² Further, a brief of Gregory XIII., dated May 13, 1580, and doubtless intended to be distributed in Ireland by Dr. Sanders and the leaders of the expedition, gives plenary indulgence, such as was given to Crusaders, to all who join John Geraldine or his brother James, or help them "with counsel, favour, supplies, arms, or in any other way," as may be seen in O'Sullivan's History, chap. 17. The English government was as well informed as any other, as is evident from the French ambassador's despatches from London, giving an account of the whole expedition, and of its disgraceful failure. It was commanded by an Italian, San Giuseppe, and Dr. Sanders was attached to it; and afterwards, whenever a priest was captured in England, he was asked what he thought of the conduct of the Pope and Sanders, and generally condemned to die if he refused to qualify it; and at the time of Campion's trial the attorney-general cynically observed that the Jesuits had arrived here "as it seemeth of purpose to answer the doings of those rebels there" in Ireland.

The policy of combining these two expeditions is hard either to be justified or to be understood. But I will venture a few remarks on the subject. First, the distinction between the temporal sovereignty of the Pope over his own states, his temporal supremacy over other princes, and his spiritual power over the whole Church, was not in those days accurately drawn; law had not yet altogether superseded force, and divines like Stapleton still held that it was part of the

Pope's duty to put down heretical princes by the same violent methods that one prince might employ against another. Next, the distinction that was made between the Papal treatment of Ireland and that of England corresponded to the difference of the Papal rights to the two islands respectively. The Pope had been the acknowledged donor of Ireland to the English crown; his suzerain rights had always been more or less acknowledged, whereas his feudal superiority over England, though admitted by King John, had been always indignantly denied by the people and the other kings. He, therefore, had a right to interfere in Ireland with higher hand than he could use in England. It must be remembered that the Pope had long since committed himself in Ireland by the aid and encouragement he had given to James Geraldine, the father of the leaders of the Irish insurgents in 1580, who had lost his life in the Papal cause. Such forcible attempts had been made in England, and had failed, and there was no present prospect of renewing them. England then could only be assailed by spiritual weapons. And it was hoped that the Pope would for the present be considered as only a spiritual person in his relations with England, though he was behaving as a temporal belligerent in Ireland,—much as the Emperor of China was lately at peace with us at Peking, and at war in Canton. Perhaps also the Italians thought they could conceal the intricacies of their policy from the blear eyes of the Northern barbarians.

It is strange to see how often the acute and subtle countrymen of Machiavelli fail through not giving credit to others for equal acuteness, and through believing that others will be caught in a web of sophistry that Italians can disentangle with ease. It is not difficult to understand into what a false position the Jesuits and the other missionaries were thrown by the Irish expedition, and how entirely they were compromised; imposed upon themselves, it was their mission to impose upon others likewise, and to make believe that the Bull was so modified as to render the relations between Pope and Queen compatible with the continual allegiance of Catholics. Yet, after all, the famous mitigation amounted in reality to no more than an ill-conceived attempt to pretend to be at peace with the queen in England, while open war was being made upon her in Ireland. And yet there can be no doubt that this double dealing was a strictly logical result of the attempt to guarantee the Pope's spiritual power through his temporal power, or that the persevering attempt to preserve the temporal rights over Ireland which the Popes held in trust most materially interfered

with the independence of their spiritual power in England, and disappointed the well-founded hopes of reducing our country to the faith. It is scarcely possible to say this in stronger words than it is said by Parsons himself in his *Ms. life of Campion*. He thus describes the dismay with which he first heard of the expedition from Dr. Allen at Rheims, just before he and Campion crossed over into England :

“Dr. Allen also told us that he had heard from Spain that Dr. Sanders was just gone into Ireland, by the Nuncio Mgr. Segar’s orders, to comfort and assist the Earl of Desmond, Viscount Balinglas, and others that had taken arms in defence of their religion, and had asked the Pope’s help, counsel, and comfort in that cause. Though it belonged not to us to dislike this journey of Dr. Sanders, because it was made by order of his superiors, yet were we heartily sorry, partly because we feared that which really happened, the destruction of so rare and worthy a man, and partly because we plainly foresaw that this would be laid against us and other priests, if we should be taken in England, as though we had been privy or partakers thereof, as in very truth we were not, nor ever heard or suspected the same until this day. But as we could not remedy the matter, and as our consciences were clear, we resolved through evil report or good report to go on with the purely spiritual action we had in hand ; and if God destined any of us to suffer under a wrong title, it was only what He had done, and would be no loss to us, hut rather gain, in His eyes who knew the truth, and for whose sake alone we had undertaken this enterprise.”

The papers that relate to the mission of 1580 reveal another difficulty that was occasioned by the intimate union between the temporal and spiritual grandeur of the Church, and by the feudal state with which it was considered necessary to surround her prelates. I have already related how Bishop Goldwell was at the head of the mission ; he failed to penetrate into England, and no other Bishop was sent in his place. After nearly thirty years the ordinary jurisdiction over England was conferred on an archpriest, and in the lamentable disorders that followed, the Jesuits, and especially Father Parsons, were accused of having by their intrigues prevented the appointment of Bishops, in order to keep the management of affairs in their own hands. This accusation is scarcely fair ; we have seen that one of the objections to sending the Jesuits at all was the absence of episcopal authority in England, and that they were not sent till a Bishop was sent with them. It was not their fault that Goldwell was taken ill at Rheims, and that “before he recovered, the persecution in England had grown to be so rigorous that it seemed not good to the Pope to adventure a man

of that age and dignity to so turbulent a time, and so called him back to Rome, where he lived in the love of all men and in universal opinion of sanctity till his death in 1584."¹⁰³ It was not the Jesuits' fault that Watson, the Bishop of Lincoln, was kept so close in Wisbeach Castle, till his death in 1584, that he could perform no episcopal duties. The Jesuits had no sooner arrived in England than they began to beg for Bishops. In September 1580, Parsons wrote, "There is immense want of a Bishop to consecrate the holy oils, for want of which we are brought to the greatest straits, and unless his Holiness makes haste to help us in this matter we shall be at our wit's end."¹⁰⁴ Again, in 1591 he renewed his request, and got Sarmientos, the Bishop of Jaen, to promise him a competent support for two or three Bishops.¹⁰⁵ In 1597 he again presented a memorial to the Pope and Cardinals, praying for the appointment of two Bishops *in partibus*;¹⁰⁶ but soon afterwards, finding the objections at Rome insurmountable, he changed his plan, and asked for the appointment of an archpriest.

The real reason why no substitute was provided for Goldwell was, as Parsons says, because the Pope did not like to adventure the episcopal dignity in such turbulent times. That this was the received theory at Rome is proved by the pamphlet of "Franciscus Romulus" (supposed to be Bellarmine) on the Papal duty of dethroning evil princes, published at Rome in 1588. The writer feels it necessary to apologise for the primitive Bishops not dethroning princes; "for those were times," he says, "when it behoved Bishops rather to be ready for martyrdom than for coercing kings." This announcement drew down a storm of reproaches; "what then, are these times when Bishops must be men of war and not martyrs? Is it not the strength of the Reformation that our Bishops are more ready to kill than to be killed, that they think heresy can be better exterminated with the bodies of heretics than wiped out of their minds by argument and good example? Is not the rebellion more against the wealth, the secular power, the pride of the clergy, than against the doctrines of the Church?" Bellarmine knew all this, and did not intend to deny it, but his opponents took occasion by his words to argue against an idea that was supposed to be powerful at the Vatican.

And that this supposition was not unfounded is clear from the following letter, written from Rheims to the Pope by Goldwell, July 13, 1580, who had been "a month cured of his fever, and yet not well either in mind or body, but waiting for the decision of his Holiness."

“*BEATISSIMO PADRE*,—If I could have crossed over into England before my coming was known there, as I hoped to do, I think that my going thither would have been a comfort to the Catholics, and a satisfaction to your Holiness; whereas now I fear the contrary, for there are so many spies in this kingdom, and my long tarrying here has made my going to England so bruited there, that now I doubt it will be difficult for me to enter that kingdom without some danger. Nevertheless, if your Holiness thinks differently, I will make the trial, though it should cost me my life. Still it would be impossible for me alone to supply the wants of the Catholics, who are more by many thousands than I thought, and scattered over the whole kingdom. The most that I can hope to do is to supply for the city of London and some miles round. And therefore, in my ignorance, I cannot but marvel how it is that, after God has given your Holiness grace, as it were, to plant anew and support the Catholic faith in that kingdom, you make so many difficulties about creating three or four titular Bishops to preserve and propagate it,—a thing that might be done with as little expense as your Holiness pleases; for God has so inclined the minds of the priests to spend their lives in promoting the reduction of that kingdom to the Catholic faith, that, after being made Bishops, they would be contented to live as poorly as they do now, like the Bishops of the primitive Church. God inspire your Holiness to do that which shall be most to His honour, and prosper you many years. I humbly kiss your feet.—Your Holiness’s most devoted servant, *THE BISHOP OF ST. ASAPH.*”¹⁰⁷

After this it will be impossible to doubt from what quarters the difficulties about sending Bishops to England originally proceeded. It may be that the Jesuits, after enjoying for twenty years the consequence that accrued to them through the absence of Bishops, preferred another arrangement; but they had always asked for Bishops, and their request had been refused, because feudal power and ecclesiastical authority had become so mixed up together in men’s minds, that they feared the scandal of a poor Bishop, hiding from his pursuers, disguised like a soldier, mariner, or serving-man, living in garrets, inns, woods, caves, or barns, wandering over the land, and at last dying ignominiously on the gallows. It would have been easy enough to find men contented to live in apostolic poverty, but it was impossible to get them consecrated under such conditions. Etiquette and routine prevailed, and the Church in England was left without Bishops till the factions had grown so furious among the clergy that the measure which might have been a successful preventive was not strong enough to be an adequate cure.

Father Parsons, Campion’s superior in the mission, was his junior in age and in religion; but he had talents better suited for administration and management. Inferior in elo-

quence, and in enthusiastic simplicity of purpose, he had a deeper knowledge of men and things, greater versatility, a finer and subtler policy, and as strong a will. He was also *notus Pontifici*; and the regulations of the society say, "those who are sent on missions should be exceedingly well-known to the superior." Parsons had always lived in the metropolis, Campion had been buried in a distant province. It is, perhaps, one of the inconveniences of any centralised system, that it tends to give the advantage to showy talent known at headquarters over deeper merit obscured by distance. Both Parsons and Campion were doubtless "well proved, especially in obedience," and "ready to go any where without excusing themselves," though Campion had practised the more complete abnegation of will. They were furnished with the instructions from which I have already quoted, which descended to particulars about things and persons in a way that must have given a very diplomatic air to those who implicitly followed such orders. The rule prescribed that the missionaries should be at least two, and that for a very fervent and courageous man a cooler and more circumspect companion should be chosen; in this expedition the prudence was Parsons', the zeal was Campion's. Simple as a child, he knew he was marching to his death; still he affected no more courage than he felt, but owned and made a joke of his fears. The flesh was weak, but the will was strong, and though the body trembled and the teeth chattered, in the depths of his soul he loved the danger that he contemplated so clearly, and deliberately courted the self-sacrifice. To apply his own words about St. Wenceslaus to himself, "*Quid faciat? Eat? Matrem, qualem illam cunque, matrem tamen oppugnabit. Non eat? amabit tyrannidem, prodet innocentes, Christum deseret. Vicerunt piorum lacrymæ, bonitas causæ, periculi magnitudo.*" Every thing, he thought, should be risked rather than the salvation of a single soul. Parsons was a man of more animal courage, but he did not obtain the grace of martyrdom. *Finis coronat opus*, and martyrdom is generally the seal of merit.

Campion, as I said, reached Rome April 5, 1580. There "the youth of the English College wished to have him with them for one or two days, and to hear him preach;" and five of them accompanied him to England. He remained till April 18th; on that day Robert Owen, a Welsh exile for the faith, wrote to Dr. Humphrey Ely at Rheims a letter which fell into the hands of Walsingham's agents, and conveyed the first intelligence of the mission to the English government.¹⁰⁸ "My Lord of St. Asaph and Mr. Dr. Morton are gone hence, some say to Venice, some to Flanders, and so

further, which if it be true you shall know sooner than we here. God send them well to do whithersoever they go, and specially if they be gone to the harvest. The sale that Mr. Dr. Morton made of all his things maketh many think *quod non habet animum revertendi*. This day depart hence many of our countrymen thitherward, and withal good Father Campion." Another agent furnished Walsingham with a list of the English scholars in Rome; the English gentlemen at Rome, Rheims, Paris, and Douai; and of those that departed from Rome, April 18, with Edmund Campion and John (Robert) Parsons. These were Ralph Sherwin, who had been leader of the movement of the English scholars against Maurice Clenock and the Welshmen, Luke Kirby and Edward Rishton, priests, and Thomas Bruscoe and John Pascal, lay students, the firstfruits of the recently erected English college, the four Marian priests of the hospital whom I have named above, Ralph Emerson, a Jesuit lay brother, and another not named. They were accompanied by Sir Richard Shelly, the English Prior of Malta, and almost all the Englishmen then in Rome, and by Father Oliverius Manareus and other Jesuits sent by the General, as far as the Ponte Molle, where there was a solemn and affectionate farewell, which, as described by the biographers, was not very consistent with the mystery and secrecy sought to be thrown round the mission.

Goldwell and Morton had ridden on before; our pilgrims followed on foot. Parsons managed every thing. "It was thought convenient," he writes, "that each priest should change his long apparel, both for better travelling afoot, as also not so easily to be discerned in Germany and some other places of Protestants, where priests are little favoured. And when some new apparel was offered to Campion, he would in no wise take it, but only covered himself with certain old buckram under an old cloak, and passed with that attire throughout his whole journey;" "for he said, that to him that went to be hanged in England any apparel was sufficient." "And to prove the blessed man the more, God sent continual rain for the first eight or ten days after our leaving Rome, so as from morning to night he travelled in the wet with that evil apparel, and oftentimes stuck so fast in the mire in those deep and foul ways that he was scarce able to get out again." There were a few horses among them for the use of the old and sick; but Campion never rode but once, when he was suffering from ague and diarrhœa. It was ordered also that every man should take a new name, to escape the chance spies by the way, who would discover each man in particular to the Council. They wanted to call Campion

Petre; but he, remembering how well he had escaped from Ireland under St. Patrick's patronage, would take no other name but his old one of Patrick. "Albeit," says Parsons, "when we came to St. Omer's, and were to enter into England, we persuaded him to take some other English name, lest the other, being Irish, might bring him in question; for Ireland at that time was noised to be in trouble by the arrival of Dr. Sanders with some soldiers from the Pope for the assistance of certain Catholic noblemen in arms for their religion, as they said."

It was Campion's custom on this journey to say Mass very early every morning, and then, after reciting the *Itinerarium* with the rest, to push on about a mile ahead of the company, to meditate for a few hours, read his breviary, and recite the litanies of the saints, when he would lag to allow the party to catch him up, and would joke and chatter with them till it was time to push forward again for his evening meditation and prayer. At Bologna they were obliged to stay some days, by an accident to Parsons' leg. They had brought a letter from Agazzari, the Rector of the English College, to Cardinal Paleotto, the Archbishop, who received them hospitably.¹⁰⁹ This prelate enforced a monastic discipline in his palace. At dinner, after the usual reading, questions were proposed, and discussion often passed into discourse. Campion and Sherwin were both encouraged to speak. "Campion's discourse," says Parsons, "was very pithy, and fit for the place and time. He began with Cicero's quotation from Pythagoras, who, perceiving by the light of nature man's difficulty to good, and proneness to vice, said, that the way of virtue was hard and laborious, but yet not void of delectation, and much more to be embraced than the other, which was easy. Which Father Campion applying to a Christian life, showed very aptly both the labours and delights thereof, and that the saying of Pythagoras was much more verifiable in the same than in the life of any heathen philosopher, for that the labours were greater, the helps more potent, the end more high, and the reward more excellent. Whereby also in fine he came to declare the nature and quality of the journey and enterprise which his fellows had in hand, and greatly to encourage them in the same." The rest at Bologna gave Campion time to write to one of his friends at Prague. Here is a translation of his letter:

"This is an answer to your two letters, one of which I received as I was leaving Munich, the other when I had reached Rome.

What you tell me for my salvation, I accept as the command of God. Only do not think that your care of me is ended while I live. You must not wonder that when I wrote from Munich I did not say a word about your letter, for it was delivered to me after I had folded mine, and had left it with the Rector of the College. I see you had not read it even when you wrote your second letter to me; you must therefore speak to Father Ferdinand, and give him my dutiful salutation. With respect to the *Ambrosian* (his tragedy) which you ask me about in your other letter, you must know, my Father, that it was not given back to me after your return from Vienna; but that I saw it in your chamber, where I doubt not but it still lies in some corner, unless it is in somebody's hands, who borrowed it of you when you were engaged, so that you have forgotten about it. If it is acted again, I pray you let it be made more comprehensible. I submit it to the censure of a practised man, such as Father Nicholas; I remembered him in the Holy House at Loreto, and I read the poem which he hung up. I accept with joy Father Urban's bargain; I expected nothing so little as a letter from him, whom in my journey I had often recommended to God as dead; now at last I learn there was a mistake in the person, on account of his having the same name as the one who lately died at Fulda. So I am excessively glad that such a pious agreement exists between Father Ziphelin and me. I have a similar agreement with Fathers Aquensis, Gabriel, Stephen of Dalmatia, and Troger, jointly and severally. Now they can be of great service to me in the midst of my infinite perils. I am now at Bologna, on my return from Rome, and on the way to my warfare in England. Whatever becomes of me, our posterity survives. You would hardly believe me if I told you what comfort I feel when I think of them. If they were not Englishmen I would say more about them. In this expedition there are two Fathers of the Society, Robert Parsons and myself, seven other priests, and three laymen, one of whom is also of us. I see them all so prodigal of blood and life, that I am ashamed of my backwardness. I hope to be with Allen, at Rheims, in the beginning of June. We all travel at the Pope's cost. Though we should fall at the first onset, yet our army is full of fresh recruits, by whose victory our ghosts will be pacified. But let us come ὕστερον πρότερον to the journey to Rome. I drove in the carriage of Prince Ferdinand as far as Innsbruch, thence I walked to Padua. There, as I was about to bestow what money I had left, according to your directions, I was suddenly told to make haste to Rome. We mounted our horses, for I had stumbled on another Father by the way. Though I had so much money left at first, yet in a few days I should have had nothing to pay my bills, except my companion had had plenty. I made use of God's providence, and your liberality, as you told me. Indeed I was liberal enough to spend more than the whole. At Padua I was shown about by young Matthias Melchiorius, who scarcely left my side; he has the best dispositions towards the Society, and is of excellent report. Here I am reminded of my pupils, and of our companions,

whom I often think of. There are so many to whom I wished to write severally, and I was so overwhelmed with their number and with my other business, that I have hitherto written to none of them. I am tired when I reach our colleges; in the inns I can scarcely breathe. I was at Rome about eight days, cramped for time, more than during all the rest of my journey. I must ask them therefore, and especially my fathers and brothers of Prague, to pardon what I cannot help. The rest I reserve for a fourth letter. I shall be very glad if I find one from you before I pass over into England. You may send to Rheims, Paris, or Douai, for I suppose that I shall visit these places. But, anyhow, if they are sent to Allen, they will be delivered to me. In uncertainty whether we shall ever see one another again, I write my will, and I leave to you and all of them the kiss of charity and the bond of peace. Farewell. Bologna, the last of April, 1580.

Reverend Father, again and again, and for ever, farewell."¹¹⁰

Before leaving Rome, our pilgrims had doubtless originated the custom of the English missionaries going to St. Philip Neri, ere they set out for the scene of their passion, that the full zeal and love pent up in that burning breast might find a vent and flow over from him who was kept at home upon those who were to face the foe. "Therefore," says Dr. Newman, "one by one, each in his turn, those youthful soldiers came to the old man, and one by one they persevered and gained the crown and the palm—all but one, who had not gone and would not go for the salutary blessing." I don't know whether John Pascal was in this case; he, I think, was the only one of this company that fell. He was a layman, a great favourite of the Pope, an agreeable companion, and a pupil of Sherwin; after his fall it was remembered of him that he had shown great defect of character in his behaviour to the Pope, whose generosity and kindness he received with too great familiarity. Bombinus says this was pride,—“for the same arrogance which covets distinctions above one's sphere, makes light of them when gained.” Johnson, perhaps, would have called it servility, one of the basest features of which is to suffer one's liberty in the presence of great men to aggrandise him in his own esteem: a favourite may be saucy; but he is saucy only because he is servile.

They had left one Saint at Rome, they were to find another at Milan. St. Charles Borromeo received our pilgrims into his house, and kept them there for eight days. He made Sherwin preach before him, and he made Campion discourse every day after dinner. "He had," says Parsons, "sundry learned and most godly speeches with us, tending to the contempt of this world, and perfect zeal of Christ's service,

whereof we saw so rare an example in himself and his austere and laborious life; being nothing in effect but skin and bone, through continual pains, fasting, and penance; so that without saying a word, he preached to us sufficiently, and we departed from him greatly edified and exceedingly animated." St. Charles always showed a partiality for the English exiles. Owen Lewis, the Bishop of Cassano, had been his vicar-general, and William Giffard, afterwards Archbishop of Rheims, his chaplain. After our pilgrims' visit he wrote to Agazzari, the president: "I saw and willingly received those English who departed hence the other day, as their goodness deserved, and the cause for which they had undertaken that voyage. If, in future, your Reverence shall send any others to me, be assured that I will take care to receive them with all charity, and that it will be most pleasing to me to have occasion to perform the duties of hospitality, so proper for a Bishop, towards the Catholics of that nation. Milan, the last of June, 1580."¹¹¹

From Milan our party went to Turin, and entered the Alps at Mount Cenis, "all in health, and apt for travel," and after sundry long marches, arrived at St. Jean de Maurienne, in Savoy, where they encountered many troops of Spanish soldiers, who were marching from Flanders to Milan, on occasion of the truce between Don John of Austria and the States-General of Holland. Our priests were thereby somewhat distressed for necessary lodging and provision for man and horse. At Aiguebelle they met with another "rout" of the army, and learned besides that the road by Lyons was blocked up and imperilled by the insurrection of the peasants of Dauphiné; and so, after deliberation, they resolved to pass by Geneva in spite of the difficulties that might arise from the difference in religion; for it was a free city, and the laws of the Swiss cantons permitted travellers, whether Catholics or not, to pass that way, and stay for three days, which was a longer delay than they meant to make. Most of the company also desired to see Theodore Beza, of whom they had heard so much in England, where his fame was greater than in any other Calvinist country, much greater than it was then in Geneva itself. Some of them jested merrily at the suggestion that perhaps the magistrates of the city, who were in confederacy with Elizabeth, might detain them, or send them prisoners to England, by way of the Rhine, at the instance of Beza or the English residents. But they concluded, that if God would have them taken, He would find means; and to them it was all one whether they were captured in Geneva or in England.

There remained yet another little consultation, whether they should confess to the magistrates what religion they professed, and whither they were bound, or only tell them as much as they were obliged; but it was quickly resolved unanimously to declare clearly that they were Catholics, and to begin their confession in the city where the sect of Calvin was first hatched. Nevertheless, before they arrived near that "sink of heresy" every man disguised himself, and Campion "dissembled his personage in form of a poor Irishman, and waited on Mr. Pascal." The mere remembrance of how naturally he played his part was a continual source of merriment to Sherwin. Thus disfigured they came to the gates of Geneva; Campion and Sherwin were two of the first to enter; the soldiers, who were keeping great watch and ward for fear of the Spanish bands passing through the country, asked whence they were, and whither they went; after answer was made, the captain told one of his men to conduct them to be examined by the magistrates, who were in session with certain ministers in the open market-place. They were again asked whence they came, and whither they travelled, and why they passed not the ordinary way. They replied: "To avoid the Spaniards, and the 'Dolphinates' who were up in arms." Then they were asked what countrymen they were,—“Some English, some brought up in Ireland,” was the reply; and Campion was introduced as Mr. Patrick. “Are you of our religion?” “No,” said Pascal. “From the first to the last of us we are all Catholics,” said Bruscoe boldly. “So are we too,” said the magistrates. “Yea, but,” said Sherwin, who only now came up, “we are all Roman Catholics.” “Of that we marvel,” said the magistrates, “for your Queen and all her realm are of our religion.” “As for our Queen,” answered one,—Parsons does not remember whether it was Campion,—“we cannot tell whether she is of your religion or no, considering the variety of opinions that this age has brought forth; but sure we are she is not of ours. Though for the realm, you must understand that all are not of her religion, nor of yours; but many be good Christian Catholics, and do suffer both losses at home and banishment abroad for the same, of which number are we, who have lived divers years in Italy, and are going now towards the English Seminary in Rheims, but are obliged to pass by Geneva to avoid the Spanish soldiers and Dauphinese insurgents.” Then the magistrates promised them free and courteous entertainment according to the laws of the country; and seeing them all so resolute, they questioned them no more about religion, but only about the Spaniards, of whom they could give but very

small advices. So a soldier was ordered to guide them to their inn, a very fair one, bearing the sign of the city, and willed that they should be very well used for their money—as they were. This was about 11 o'clock in the forenoon. As they were being examined, they saw the long-bearded ministers of Geneva looking at them from the windows and laughing. “But if we might have had our wills,” says Sherwin, “we would have made them to have wept Irish.” As they were passing through the streets of the city, some one said, “They are all priests;” others, “They are all monks;” and one, seeing Campion dressed like a servant, thought either to discover him or to chaff him, by asking in Latin, “Cujas es?” (“Whose man are you?”) Campion had his wits about him, and answered sharply, “Signor, no!” The fellow was taken aback, and asked, “Potesne loqui latine?” no doubt mistaking the Italian for Latin; and Campion answered with “a shrink with his shoulder, and so staked off the knave.”

After dinner, forthwith, Father Parsons, Pascal, with his man Patrick dressed in an old suit of black buckram, Sherwin, Rishton, and Kirby, sallied forth to visit Beza, and, if possible, to have some speech with him, either about the Catholic religion, or about the controversy between the Protestants and Puritans, as he was reckoned one of the chief writers in it. When they knocked at the door, his wife Candida,¹¹² of whom they had read so much, and who had been the tailor's wife at Paris, came and opened the door, and let them into a little court, where she told them to stay, as Monsieur Beza was busy in his study, and would come forth to them, which it seems he did with the worse will, as he had been informed about them by the magistrates. However, when he came forth in his long black gown and round cap, with ruffs about his neck, and his fair long beard, he saluted them courteously, but did not invite them into his house, or to sit down, but remained on foot, and asked them what they would have. They told him, that being scholars, and passing by Geneva, they could do no less than come to see him, for the fame that they had heard in England of his name: he answered, that he understood it was far greater than he deserved; that he loved all Englishmen heartily, but was sorry to hear his visitors were not of the religion of their country. They answered that their country was large, and held more sorts than one; that they kept to the religion to which it was first converted from paganism, but if he could show more weighty reasons to the contrary than they had yet heard or read, they would be content to hear him. Father Parsons then asked how his

Church was governed, and he replied, "By equality in the ministry: there are nine of us, and every one rules his week." Then it was said that the English had Bishops, and that the Queen was the head without any interruption; he answered "shamefully" that he did not know it to be so, and after some shuffling declared that he did not approve of it; however, he said, the difference is one of discipline only, not of doctrine; but he could not proceed with the dispute, which would take more time than he could spare, for he was busy, having just received some packets of letters from France about the Duke of Guise and his practices against the professors of the Gospel, of which he told tales that they afterwards found quite untrue; and thus drew aside the talk from religion to other subjects, and with this would have broken off. But Campion (who in his serving-man's attire had all the while stood waiting with hat in hand "facing out the old dotting heretical fool," says Sherwin) was unwilling to let him escape thus, and broke forth: "Sir, though I perceive you are much occupied and would be gone, I pray you let me ask but this question: How do you say that the Queen of England and you be of one religion, seeing that you defend the religion of the Puritans, which she so much abhorreth and persecuteth?" Beza replied, with a slight shrug, "I know not what 'Puritan' means. The difference you speak of is none at all in fact." On this Campion offered to prove that the differences were very important, and many, and essential, even on such points as the Sacraments. Beza, fearing from this exordium a long controversy, made a sign to his wife, who interposed with another packet of letters; on which he said that he could stay no longer, and courteously took leave of them, promising to send to their inn to visit them an English scholar of his, the son and heir of Sir George Hastings, and next of kin to the Earl of Huntingdon, the Puritan president of the north. The youth, however, never came, but instead there came his governor, Mr. Brown, very fervent in the religion of Geneva, and with him Mr. Powell, a Protestant, but a very civil gentleman, a young man of good parts, son of one of the six clerks in Chancery, and M.A. of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, where he had been acquainted with Campion, and familiar with Parsons and Sherwin; there came also three or four Englishmen more. Campion was absent when they came, and as he was in such strange attire, it was thought advisable not to let them see him. So Parsons and the rest walked about the town with them, and had much familiar speech, which ended in an invitation to supper; however, Powell and the rest would not sup with them, but promised to come after-

wards. When they came, Parsons took Powell in hand, and Sherwin, Kirby, and Rishton attacked Brown, with whom they hotly disputed in the streets of Geneva almost till midnight, sending to Beza through him a challenge to a public controversy on any disputed point, with this condition, that he that was justly convicted in the opinion of indifferent judges should be burnt alive in the market-place. Brown promised to convey the message; "but God knoweth," says Sherwin, "that he durst not perform it, nor show himself to us any more." Powell, on hearing what had happened, told Parsons that he knew the place well, and was sure that if Brown told Beza or the magistrates of the challenge it might bring them into trouble; they were within the municipal jurisdiction, and a reason might easily be found for detaining them beyond the three days allowed them by law, in which case it would be hard to get any remedy. Parsons profited by this sage and friendly advice, and made peace for that night, resolving to leave the town early the next morning. Powell offered to accompany them, but he was asked not to bring the Puritan schoolmaster.

Early the next morning Powell came again and breakfasted with them, using them lovingly, and brought them out of the town on their way. All this while Campion had played the serving-man, and not wishing to be recognised by Powell, he and Bruscoe were sent forward by themselves. On the top of a hill, about a mile out of Geneva, on the road towards France, they met one of the great ministers of Geneva, who seemed to be conning a sermon without book. Campion straightway buckled with him, and asked, "How his Church was governed?" The minister, who supposed Campion, as an Englishman, to be Protestant, explained that it was governed by nine ministers in their turns. "Then who is the chief head of it?" asked Campion. "Christ," said the other. "But has it no one certain supreme head or governor upon earth under Christ?" "It needeth none." "Why, then," said Campion, "how can you hold the religion of the Queen of England to be true, when she calls herself head and supreme governor of the Church?" "She doth not call herself so," said the minister. "Yes, but she doth," said Campion; "and he that shall deny her supremacy in causes ecclesiastical in England must suffer death for it, for it is treason by statute." The minister, in a great chafe,— "almost mad"—was going to deny again, when Campion, seeing Powell and the rest approach, left him suddenly; Parsons and Sherwin came up to the man, who seemed in desperation, and told them that there was a fellow beyond

who held a strange opinion, and had mocked him about his Church; upon which the whole company "fell upon him, and shook up the poor shakerell before the soldiers in the gate." Campion looked back and saw that the dispute was renewed; so, fearing misrepresentation, he went back to tell what had been controverted, on which Parsons and Powell, who was acquainted with the minister, said that it was undeniable that the Queen was taken for head of the Church, and that the first-fruits of all benefices were paid to her, and that Parliament had transferred all the Pope's jurisdiction in England to her. The preacher then suggested: "It may be she calleth herself supreme head of the Church *quia Regina est Christiana*." "Ergo," said Campion, "much more is the King of France head of the Church, because he is called *Rex Christianissimus*." "Nay," said the minister, "I mean *Catholica Christiana*." "Ergo," quoth Campion, "much more the King of Spain, whose title is *Rex Catholicus*." The minister was furious, and declared that Campion was no Englishman but a very Papist. But Powell, who had recognised Campion, and saluted him with much affection, quieted the preacher and sent him off, and walked on a mile or more with them, promising to study Catholic books and to visit Rome, and then returned; but they looked back from the top of a hill upon the miserable city, and said a *Te Deum* for their escape from it; and for penance for their curiosity the whole company made a pilgrimage to St. Clodoveus, in France, about eight or nine miles off, over difficult paths, and afterwards went stoutly on their journey till Whit Monday, when eight of them fell sick in one night; so they had to travel to Rheims by short stages, and all but Kemp reached that city the last day of May, having spent nearly six weeks on the journey.

CHAPTER VI.

WHEN our pilgrims came to Rheims, they were received with the greatest joy by all those confessors and servants of God that lived there. Campion was specially welcomed by Allen and the rest, for old acquaintance' sake : they had not seen him for eight years or more, so there was no end to their embracing and welcoming the good man ; and besides, he and his companions were already looked upon as martyrs. Even from a distance, at Rome, it had seemed no easy thing to get into England without discovery ; but fresh difficulties had grown up daily, and at Rheims the missionaries were told of a new proclamation, in which Elizabeth declared that she had notice of the Pope, the King of Spain, the Duke of Florence, and other Catholic princes having made a league against her to invade her realm, at the persuasion of some of her subjects who lived beyond sea. This was easily seen to be a plain preface and introduction to the rigour of persecution which awaited all priests who should convey themselves into the country. Here also they heard of the unfortunate expedition into Ireland, to which, as we have seen, may be attributed much of the severity with which they were to be treated.

Campion, therefore, feeling that the case was somewhat altered, and that there was now less chance of success in the undertaking, went to Allen, and said, " Well, sir, here now I am ; you have desired my going to England, and I am come a long journey, as you see,—from Prague to Rome, and from Rome hither. Do you think that my labours in England will countervail all this travail, as well as my absence from Bohemia, where, though I did not much, yet I was not idle nor unemployed, and that also against heretics ?" The president answered, " My good father, your labours in Boeme-land, though I do not doubt but they were very profitable, yet do I imagine that another man of your Society may supply the same, or at least two or three. But towards Eng-

land I verily hope that Almighty God will give you strength and grace to supply for many men; and seeing that your obligation is greater towards your own country than towards any other, and the necessity of help more urgent, and the talents that God hath given you more fit and proper for that than for any other land, doubt you not but that all is Christ's holy providence for the best; and so be you of good comfort." "As for me," said Campion, "all is one; and I hope I am and shall be ever indifferent for all nations and functions whereinsoever my superiors under God shall employ me. I have made a free oblation of myself to His Divine Majesty, both for life and death, and that I hope He will give me grace and force to perform; and this is all I desire."

Campion was glad of an opportunity to preach to the students, for he had not spoken publicly in English for many years. He preached on the text, *Ignem veni mittere in terram*, and Parsons remembered one principal point which he handled,—“to compare the new religion of England to a fire, which, being once kindled in any one house of a city, obliges all men, as well friends as enemies of the owner, to run to quench it. And to show the truth of this comparison, he repeated briefly the hurts that this fire had already done in our country: how many goodly churches, monasteries, and other monuments of piety it had devoured in an instant, which our Catholic forefathers had set up in so many hundred years; how many holy orders of religious of both sexes it had dissolved; how many hearts of weak people it had inflamed to marry or live in incest, that had before served God either in virginity or chastity; what devilish division and heat of hatred it had enkindled in the hearts of Englishmen, even amongst those that by nature should be most loving: and having thus showed the fury of the fire, he exhorted his fellow-priests and all the company present to put their helping hands and endeavours to the staying or quenching of the same. And if the water of Catholic doctrine would not serve, nor milk of sweet and holy conversation, they should cast blood also of potent martyrdom, which, it might be hoped, would be accepted for the quenching thereof.” While he was describing the outbreak of the conflagration, Bombinus tells us that he cried out “fire, fire, fire,” so loud, that the passers-by were going to fetch the water-buckets to put it out. Allen, who heard him, wrote to Rome a few days afterwards,—“Whether he was inspired by his subject, or whether it was a miracle of memory, he spoke English as fluently and as correctly as if he had but yesterday come fresh out of England.”

Before the missionaries departed for England, the places of Bishop Goldwell and Dr. Morton, who were obliged to stay behind, were filled up by two priests of Rheims, Dr. Ely and Mr. John Hart. They were also joined by Father Thomas Cottam, an English Jesuit, who had been long labouring in Poland, and who was only ordered to go to his native country for the recovery of his health. They wisely determined not to risk their whole adventure in one boat, but to divide themselves into small parties, and to reach England by different roads. Dr. Bromburg and Mr. Bruscoe went by Dieppe; Sherwin led his pupil Pascal round by Rouen, where he found young Edward Throckmorton, by whom he wrote an affectionate letter to his old master at Rome, begging Father Alphonsus to accept Throckmorton in his place. It was a fair exchange. Sherwin died a martyr with Campion in England; Throckmorton died after a few years in the odour of sanctity at the English college in Rome. Giblet, Crane, and Kemp went by Abbeville and Boulogne; Dr. Ely, Rishton, Kirby, Hart, and Cottam went by Douai and Dunkirk; lastly, Campion, Parsons, and Ralph Emerson went, on the 6th of June, to St. Omer, where there was a fair college of the order. They had to travel through "a country filled with soldiers of divers sorts and conditions, but all perilous to one who should fall into their hands; but their lot was cast, and they depended on the Master and Commander of all, who led them through without hurt, stay, or trouble." When they reached the residence at St. Omer, the Flemish fathers thought their safe coming thither to be miraculous, and tried to dissuade them from carrying out their undertaking any further. It would be tempting Providence to dare such an accumulation of new dangers. The Queen and Council, they were told, had been informed divers ways of their coming, and were much exasperated. Several spies, who knew all their names, who had lived with them in Rome, and could describe their persons and habit, had given particular information to the Council, who in turn had given it to the searchers and officers of all the ports; so that it was impossible to enter without being taken. Nay, their very pictures had been taken and sent to the officers, to help in identifying them.

These rumours had been spread by the English Catholic exiles who lived at St. Omer. Among these was one wiser than the rest, Mr. George Chamberlain, a gentleman of a very worshipful house, in banishment for his conscience, who had married a Flemish lady. As a discreet and well-qualified person, he was consulted on the matter, and said that such reports had certainly come from England, and were like

enough to be true in general, though he did not believe all the particulars. He did not think that the Council could have found out so much in so little time; yet it would be wise to deliberate well before setting out on such a journey. Parsons and Campion replied that the journey itself was long ago deliberated and determined, and offered to God; so there could be no new deliberation on it, but only about the manner, way, place, and time of effecting it. On this they asked Chamberlain's advice, and begged him to declare it in the presence of the fathers of St. Omer, and to hear the reasons on the other side, so that the journey might be prosecuted with the good liking and approbation of all, without waiting for a new crop of difficulties and perils.

So Chamberlain went with them to the College, where Parsons and Campion expounded their commission and desires, and the reasons for their haste: they said that the dangers, granting them to be as great as was reported, would only grow greater daily; that it did not matter if the Council knew their names, for they had license to change them and their apparel, which they would take care to make very different from the habits in which the spies had seen them; that many men were like each other, and the informers could scarcely have so exact a knowledge of their persons as to identify them under all disguises; that the story about the pictures was impossible,—the spies had not procured them in Rome, had scarcely been able to find limners in England to paint them from description, and had not had time to make so many copies. So the Flemish fathers were asked to commend the matter to God, and let the missionaries go forward; for this, they were persuaded, was God's will, and the meaning of their superiors in Rome.

Parsons' object,—which was, I suppose, to secure the acquiescence of Chamberlain as a representative of the English laity, and of the Flemish fathers on the part of the Society, and thus to provide by anticipation an answer to probable charges of rashness and want of consideration for the interests of others,—was attained when Chamberlain and the fathers professed themselves contented with his reasons, and proceeded to advise with him on the manner of their going. The result of their consultation was, that Parsons was to go by himself through Calais to Dover, and if he succeeded was to send for Campion. Parsons was to pass for a soldier returning from the Low Countries, Campion for a merchant of jewels; and Parsons reflects on the appropriateness of the disguise, as their mission was really a warfare, and their business the merchandise of the "pearl of great

price," and the traffic in the talents which their Lord had lent them. Parsons departed the next day, having been furnished by Chamberlain with a captain's uniform of buff trimmed with gold-lace, with hat and feather to match, and another suit for a person who went with him as his man George. He went to Calais on St. Barnabas' Day, June 11, and found a ready passage to Dover, where he arrived the next morning. There the searcher examined him, and so far from misdoubting him let him pass with all favour, and procured him a horse to carry him to Gravesend. Parsons took heart at this providential courtesy of the searcher, by whom he had been treated with exceptional politeness, and told him that a friend of his, Mr. Edmunds, a merchant lying at St. Omer, would follow him shortly, to whom he begged that like favour might be shown. The searcher even undertook to forward to Edmunds—under which name my readers of course recognise *Campion*—a letter, in which Parsons told him that he had thought of certain special and urgent causes why he should make haste to London for utterance of jewels and the like,—a letter which might be shown to the searcher when he came over.

Parsons reached Gravesend at midnight, and at once got into a tilt-boat proceeding to London. He was horrified at finding himself in the midst of a quantity of gentlemen of the Inns of Court and of the Queen's household, who had been merry-making in Kent, and who kept playing and singing half through the night. Parsons, in dread of being recognised in the daylight, took the opportunity before the gentlemen were awake of jumping into a wherry, which landed him and his man in Southwark about four o'clock in the morning. But here he was in fresh difficulties; he had no horse, and so was not acceptable to the hosts of the inns, who were moreover made extraordinarily cautious by the late proclamations and rumours against suspicious people; besides, they saw that his dress was outlandish, and one and all refused to harbour him.

After spending most of the morning in his bootless search over Southwark for a lodging, he resolved to apply to some Catholic. He knew not where any lived, but was sure to find plenty of them at any of the prisons. So he went to the Marshalsea, and inquired for one Thomas Pounce, Esquire, who had lain there and in other prisons many years for his faith. Pounce took Parsons into his room, was delighted at his safe arrival, and told him that he and the other Catholic prisoners had been praying earnestly for many days for him and *Campion*, and that they must now return thanks. Par-

sons replied that they must continue their prayers some days longer, for Campion was not yet come over. Parsons then dined with the numerous Catholic prisoners, and afterwards committed himself to the guidance of one of the guests, Mr. Edward Brooksby, who led him to a Catholic house in the City, a kind of club, where he found other gentlemen and priests, and notably Mr. George Gilbert, a young gentleman of large property in Suffolk and other counties, who had succeeded young to his wealth. He had been brought up in London in the current religion; but his earnest nature inclined him rather to Puritanism, in which he had been confirmed by daily frequenting the sermons of Deering, the famous preacher. But after he came to the enjoyment of his property, he obtained leave to travel; and in Paris providentially fell into the company of Father Robert Darbyshire, the Jesuit, who opened his eyes to the Catholic religion. Father Parsons, in Rome, completed his conversion, and stood his godfather at his confirmation. From that time, though the new convert still pursued his studies, and learned the accomplishments for which Italy was then famous,—riding, fencing, vaulting, and the like, for he was of stalwart growth,—yet he secretly added all kinds of religious exercises, such as prayer, fasting, mortification, and liberal almsgiving.

Gilbert wished to expend his first fervour in a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; but Parsons persuaded him rather to return to England, and lay out his money on priests and on other means of advancing the Catholic cause. The result was, that he drew together and organised divers principal young men for this purpose, who took lodging together and sojourned in the chief pursuivant's house in Fetter or Chancery Lane. The pursuivant had great credit with the Bishop of London, Aylmer; they had also another powerful protector at Fulham, where was the focus of their peril, in the person of the Bishop's son-in-law, Dr. Adam Squire, who was in their pay. Through the connivance of these men they were able to receive priests, and to have Masses celebrated daily in their house for some years, till the Jesuits came in, when the times grew much more exasperated.

Gilbert's friends had induced him to make advances to a young heiress, and he was about to be married when he heard of the mission of Parsons and Campion to England; on this he broke it off, and resolved never to marry, and would needs have made a vow—with Parsons' approbation—as soon as he came to him in England. But Parsons would not at first permit it, though at last he allowed him to vow chastity till

the Catholic religion should be publicly professed in England.

After being introduced to this club, Parsons gave directions about Campion, who was shortly to follow him, and set out, under the guidance of Mr. Henry Orton, to visit certain gentlemen in the counties round London. After three weeks he hoped to return, and to find that his companion had arrived.

While this was going on in England, Campion was left in doubt and anxiety at St. Omer, from whence, on the 20th of June, he wrote the following letter to Everardus Mercurianus, the general.

“Father Robert, with Brother George his companion, had sailed from Calais after midnight, on the day before I began writing this; the wind was very good, so we hope that he reached Dover some time yesterday morning, the sixteenth of June. He was dressed up like a soldier,—such a peacock, such a swaggerer, that a man needs must have very sharp eyes to catch a glimpse of any holiness and modesty shrouded beneath such a garb, such a look, such a strut. Yet our minds cannot but misgive us when we hear all men, I will not say whispering, but crying, the news of our coming. It is a venture which only the wisdom of God can bring to good, and to His wisdom we lovingly resign ourselves. According to orders, I have stayed behind for a time, to try, if possible, to fish some news about Father Roberts’ success out of the carriers, or out of certain merchants who are to come to these parts, before I sail across. If I hear any thing, I will advise upon it; but in any case I will go over and take part in the fight, though I die for it. It often happens that the first rank of a conquering army is knocked over. Indeed, if our Society is to go on with this adventure, the ignorance and wickedness against which this war is declared will have to be overthrown. On the twentieth of June I mean to go to Calais: in the mean time I live in the College at St. Omer, where I am dressing up myself and my companion Ralph. You may imagine the expense, especially as none of our old things can be henceforth used. As we want to disguise our persons, and to cheat the madness of this world, we are obliged to buy several little things which seem to us altogether absurd. Our journey, these clothes, and four horses, which we must buy as soon as we reach England, may possibly square with our money; but only with the help of the Providence which multiplied the loaves in the wilderness. This, indeed, is our least difficulty, so let us have done with it. I will not yet close this letter, that I may add whatever news reaches me during these three days. For though our lot will be cast one way or other before you read this, yet I thought I ought, while I am here, to trace every particular of this great business, and the last doings, on which the rest, as yet unwritten, will hang. There is a certain English gentleman, very knowing in matters of state, who comes

often to me ; he tells me that the coming of the Bishop of St. Asaph is canvassed in letters and in conversation. Great expectations are raised by it ; for most men think that such a man, at his age, would never undertake such a task, except there was some rising on foot. I told him in the simplest manner the true cause of his coming. Still he did not cease wondering ; for the episcopal name and function is in high honour in England.

To day the wind is falling, so I will make haste to the sea. I have been thoroughly well treated in St. Omer College, and helped with all things needful. Indeed, in our whole journey we received incredible comfort in all the residences of our fathers. We also enjoyed the hospitality of two most illustrious Cardinals, Paleotto and Borromeo, and of the Archpriest Collensi. We purposely avoided Paris and Douai. I think we are safe, unless we are betrayed in these sea-side places. I have stayed a day longer than I meant, and as I hear nothing good or bad of Father Robert, I persuade myself that he has got through safely. I pray God ever to protect your reverence, and your assistants, and the whole Society. Farewell.¹¹³

Campion must have received Parsons' communication immediately after closing this letter to his general ; he at once, with full confidence of success, prepared to follow. He was very glad that the feast of his old patron, St. John the Baptist, was so near at hand—indeed, it fell out that he crossed over on the very day ; for he was obliged to wait four days at Calais for a good wind, and at last he put to sea on the evening of the 24th of June, and reached Dover before daylight. He landed on the sands, and retired behind a great rock, to fall on his knees and commend his cause and his whole coming to God, whether it might be for life or for death. Then he and Brother Ralph went to look for the searcher, whom they hoped to find in as good a humour as Parsons had left him ; but times were changed, for stricter orders had come down from the Council to look more diligently to his charge, with a reprimand to him and the mayor for having, as was supposed, allowed certain priests to pass that way into the realm.

Besides this, some spy had advertised the Council out of France that Mr. Gabriel Allen, brother to the president, was about to visit his friends in Lancashire ; and a description of Allen's person had been furnished, agreeing in the main with the stature, physiognomy, and person of Campion. Hereupon he and Ralph were seized and carried before the Mayor of Dover : he charged them with being foes of the Queen's religion, and friends of the old faith ; with sailing under false names ; with having been abroad for religion ; and with returning for the purpose of propagating popery. Cam-

pion, he declared, was Allen; but this Campion offered to swear was not the case. At last he resolved to send them up, under guard, to the Council, and ordered the horses to be prepared. Campion all the while was standing, praying in his heart to God, and begging the intercession of his patron, St. John the Baptist; then an old man came forth from the chamber whither the mayor had retired: "You are dismissed," he said; "good-bye."

He and Ralph thereupon made all the haste they could to London, where he was anxiously expected, and where much prayer was being made for his safety; for the great fear was, what he would do when he first arrived. But it happened that when the boat in which he was a passenger came to the Hythe at London, Thomas Jay, one of the Catholic Club, was watching for him: he had never seen him; but partly through Parsons' description of his person and apparel, partly through seeing him in company with the little brother Ralph, who had also been described to him, he suspected him to be the man, and so boldly stepped to the boat's side: "Mr. Edmunds, give me your hand; I stay here for you, to lead you to your friends." And he led him, nothing loth, to the house in Chancery Lane, where Gilbert and the rest clothed and armed him like a gentleman, and furnished him with a horse. This was on the morning of June 26th.

Parsons, who was still in the country, had left word that Campion should stay in London for his return, and employ his time in the best manner he could for the comfort of Catholics. Hereupon the young men entreated him to preach to them on the 29th of June, the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul. There was great difficulty in fixing upon a place, for their house would not hold all that wished to attend, and no public place was safe; so at last they chose the great hall of a house near Smithfield, which Lord Paget hired for them of Lord Norreys, where the servants and porters were for the nonce replaced by gentlemen of worship and honour; and while these trusty watchmen guarded the ways, Campion preached on the Gospel, taking for his text both St. Peter's confession, *Tu es Christus, Filius Dei vivi*; and our Lord's answer, *Et ego dico tibi quia tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram edificabo Ecclesiam meam*. From the former he animated them to the true confession of Christ in that faith and religion of His which first He sent to our nation when it was converted from Paganism; from the latter, he laid before them the indignity, danger, and folly of insulting against this invincible rock of Peter and his successors; and the effect

of his whole sermon was to draw forth many tears in consideration of the one, and to plant in all that heard him great courage and fortitude for the execution of the other.

His sermon so strongly affected those who heard him, that each of them supposed that if this loose Catholic or that sincere Protestant could be brought to speak with the preacher, the conversion of the wanderer would be secured ; hence Campion's coming was intrusted as a grand secret to half the world, and after a few days, which he well spent in conferences with all comers, the Council began to suspect what was on hand, and set on foot a diligent search for his apprehension. They at first tried the stratagem of sending false brothers to hear him, and to apprehend him at Mass or preaching ; there were spies abroad, sighing for Catholic sermons, and showing great devotion and desire of them, especially if any of the Jesuits might be heard. But Campion was advertised of this scheme by some principal persons of the court, and therefore took greater heed with whom he conversed, employing himself only in private conferences and exhortations in secret friends' houses during eight or ten days, till Parsons returned to deliberate with him what course to follow for prosecuting their affairs within the realm.

But even these quiet proceedings were known to the Queen and Council, who only abstained from violent measures in the hopes of being able to capture at one stroke not only the Jesuits, but a considerable number of the chief Catholics, at some of the conferences. The Government was exceedingly stung to hear of so many priests having entered the realm at once ; for besides the twelve who came from Rome, several had been sent from France and Flanders, not, as Parsons protests, in consequence of any previous agreement, "but by chance, or rather God's providence, divers of them not knowing the one of the other's journey."

But though the Council kept silence for the present, the searchers of London grew so eager and frequent, and the spies so many and diligent, that scarce an hour passed without some Catholic being reported as taken up on suspicion, or detected. As a specimen of the dangers which the two Jesuits were continually incurring, take this story. Henry Orton, the young gentleman who had been Parsons' conductor in his short expedition into the country, set out one morning from his lodging in Smithfield to visit Campion and Parsons. On the way, there stood Sledd, a man who had been in the English College at Rome, but had turned spy and informer, with a constable, ready to apprehend any one he might

recognise. Sledd had known Orton in Rome; and though he knew the young man was neither priest nor Jesuit, yet he guessed that he conversed with such as were; so he followed him a while in the street; and if he had followed him a little farther, he would have found the very house where the two fathers were together, and would have captured them both at once. But Sledd had not patience, and caused Orton to be apprehended in the street, whereby the fathers were warned, and so provided for themselves.

Again, there was then in London a very grave and godly priest, Mr. Robert Johnson, who had visited Rome as a pilgrim shortly before the departure of the fathers for England. He had already laboured painfully in his own country for some years, and before he returned to his work he had retired, on Parsons' recommendation, into a house of Jesuits, where he had gone through the spiritual exercises of St. Ignatius. On his way to England he was joined by Sledd the spy, who was then talking like a most enthusiastic Papist, but behaving so loosely that Johnson was obliged to reprehend him; at which Sledd was so angry that he at first meditated murdering him on the spot, but on after consideration determined to betray him to the English Government instead. He therefore went to the English ambassador at Paris, and gave all needful advertisements about Johnson and other priests both to him and to Jerome Vane, a spy attached to the embassy. One day, when Sledd was loitering about London on his treacherous mission, he saw Johnson going through Smithfield in company with Catherine, sister of Sir John Petre, and wife of John Talbot of Grafton. He followed him till he saw a constable, whom he charged in the Queen's name to arrest Johnson as a priest and traitor. The constable, at heart a Catholic, made all sorts of excuses; but on Sledd's threatening to report him to the recorder, he took up his staff, and told Sledd to show him the man who was to be arrested. Sledd did so, and was about to depart, when the constable told him he must follow to give the man in charge, and to bear the possible consequences of a false arrest and imprisonment. The true motive, however, was to expose Sledd as an informer to the mocks and jibes of the people, and to make his trade known to the world. So Sledd and the constable dogged Johnson's steps till he came to the Thames, and saw him hire a wherry to convey him over to Southwark, where Parsons and Campion were in council, with several other priests. Sledd told the constable to take another boat and row after Johnson; but the constable, guessing something of the errand on which

the priest was bound, told his companion that he could not spend all the day dodging a man in a boat, perhaps to miss him at last; so he cried out to the bystanders to stop the traitor, and arrested him then and there. And though Johnson was taken, and thrust into a prison, from which he only emerged to pass through Westminster Hall to the scaffold, yet the lesson was not lost. Sledd was at once noted, and expelled from Catholic society before he had time to do much more mischief. A report of the capture soon reached the assembled priests, who broke up in disorder.

Amid such escapes it became clear to the friends of the fathers that London was no place for them; they were therefore counselled to shorten their stay there, and to despatch with speed such things as were to be considered or determined before their departure. They therefore collected in a little house in Southwark the gravest priests then to be found in London, among whom were Edward Mettam and Blackwell, afterwards the archpriest, and also "divers principal laymen, for their better satisfaction; for that sundry points of importance were to be discussed."¹¹⁴ *Quod omnes tangit, ab omnibus tractari et approbari debet*; and it was but natural that in matters of common concern the clergy and laity should take common counsel at a time of danger, when the active coöperation of both classes was necessary in order to secure the interests of either. So far as the faith was concerned, there were no questions to discuss among the English Catholics in 1580. But questions of morals, worship, discipline, and political conduct, in which all were equally interested, urgently claimed at that moment the consideration and the agreement of all.

The first question to be discussed was the answer to be made, for the satisfaction both of Protestants and Catholics, to the rumour raised on occasion of the entrance of the Jesuits into the realm; it was said to be for treason, conspiracy, and matter of state, and not for religion. Sanders, in his book on the ecclesiastical monarchy, excuses the English Catholics for failing to support the rebellion of the great earls of the north, on the ground that they did not know of the Bull; and the English statesmen retorted that this want of information was diligently and cunningly supplied by sending the Jesuits and seminary priests into the realm.¹¹⁵ They said also that while a Bull was in existence, declaring that Elizabeth had no right or title to the crown, all who submitted, or were prepared to submit, to the authority which proclaimed it, were in their hearts secret traitors, and only waiting the occasion to declare themselves open traitors;

which occasion it was necessary to remove, by preventing the secret promulgation of the Bull by the agency of the missionary priests. Moreover, it would be argued that the famous mitigation obtained by Campion and Parsons did not in the least affect the substance of the Bull, whereby the queen still remained excommunicate and deposed, but merely allowed the English Catholics to exhibit to her a temporary and conditional fealty and obedience (*rebus sic stantibus*) as long as they could not help themselves:—but the moment they could, or thought they could, or were told by the Pope that the time was come, then their obedience and fealty were to end; the censures were to resume their full force, and the queen was to be violently assailed. The mitigation would thus be made to appear like a truce obtained upon false pretences by one belligerent party, only in order to gain time to recruit his forces for a new attack. Moreover, it would be called absurd in the Roman missionaries to expect that their master's agents would be allowed all the privileges of a friendly power in England, while he and his agents in Ireland were carrying on an open war against the queen of both realms. It was to be feared that by these considerations “all their spiritual and ecclesiastical functions might be brought into obloquy and hatred with the people, and much cruelty inflicted both on the said clergymen themselves when they should be taken, and on all other Catholics for their sake.”

But to all this the fathers said they had but one answer to give: their public and private denial of any such intentions as were imputed to them. They therefore there and then made oaths before God, and the priests and laymen assembled, that their coming was only apostolical, to treat matters of religion in truth and simplicity, and to attend to the gaining of souls, without any pretence or knowledge of matters of state. After this oath, they exhibited the instructions they had received; and they declared that they had never heard of Sanders' passage into Ireland till they were at Rheims. This oath, they supposed, would be sufficient to content Catholics and dispassionate Protestants, and to assure them of the falsehood of the reports that were being spread; for they could never think that all these priests would make so light of their souls as to cast them away by wilful and spontaneous perjury.

But as for the Queen's Council and Bishops, whose interest it was to crush the Catholic religion and to defame its ministers, the only way against them was, if any of the fathers fell into their hands, that he should not only protest on his oath, but also stand to his denial before God and man, and

challenge his adversaries to prove any single point against him,—which no man living would ever be able to do, because there never was such matter either in fact or thought. And as all this would go by unanimous verdict of a jury of twelve substantial Englishmen, they fondly hoped that a condemnation would be almost impossible, since they knew that no fact, attempt, or intention, however slight, could ever be proved.

And here one of the assembly objected, that considering the present hatred against priests, and its probable increase by the conversion of many to the faith, mere conjectures would be enough for a jury to condemn them upon. The fathers replied, that if conjectures and probabilities were to have place, it would be easy to bring conjecture against conjecture, and to refute less probabilities by greater. For instance, if foreign princes wished to send political emissaries, they would not choose mere scholars, nor send so many in so public a fashion; nor would ambassadors travel all the way from Rome afoot in servants' apparel. Again, if they were political emissaries, they must be sent to the Catholics alone; but what Catholic would ever listen to them if, after the oath they had just taken, he were to see them meddling with matters of state?

“This,” said Campion and Parsons, “is all the satisfaction we can give. And if this will not serve, we can only seal it with our blood; and if it comes to this, it will not signify whether we are believed, or whether, like our Lord and His Apostles, we are reckoned among the wicked, and put to death as the enemies of Cæsar.”

The second point was practically, and for the time, the most important that this Council had to settle,—How far could it ever be lawful to go to Protestant churches, especially if the persecution should increase? Several pleas were alleged, and it was said that a man might go if he justly feared or knew that going was the one way to save his goods or person, or to redeem himself from intolerable vexation; that he would go only for external obedience to the prince and her laws, without respect to religion, just as he would go to any other profane place if commanded by the same authority, not to pray with or among the Protestants, but to repair thither only for temporal obedience. Or, if this was unlawful or not permissible, might not certain principal men, who were not likely to be hurt or infected, go thither at certain times, with protestation at their entering the churches that they went not for the sake of religion, but only by commandment of the prince, and no otherwise? Or lastly, if none of these ways

were allowed, might not dispensation be had from the Pope to permit it, either generally in England, considering the difficulties and dangers that might beset such as refused, or at least to certain principal men who might have more urgent cause to ask such permission?

A negative answer was given to all these questions, and it was determined that nothing could ever justify a Catholic in attending Protestant worship in England. The religions, it was said, were different; the most learned foreign Catholics had been consulted; the Council of Trent had appointed a committee to deliberate, who had considered all the circumstances, and had come to this conclusion. The Pope was of the same mind, and would never grant a dispensation in so notorious a case, where men were called upon openly to confess or deny God's true religion by an evident and distinctive sign, and by the public act of attending an alien worship where the truth is impugned, and the Catholic Church defaced, calumniated, and ridiculed,—an iniquity in which no Catholic could acquiesce without damning his soul. The Catholic, therefore, however pressed to conform externally, ought to resist, at any peril or cost, and even to thank God for so honourable an occasion of confessing Him, remembering that there is no dispensation from the law, "Whoever shall deny Me before men, him will I also deny before My Father."

Both Campion and Parsons had tasted the bitter fruits of conformity contrary to conscience. We have seen in a former chapter how Campion yielded to Cheney's sophisms, and how he had been persuaded by the example of Naaman to join in a worship which he hated, and how bitterly he had repented his fault. As for Parsons, he had fled ignominiously from Balliol College after it was discovered that he was a concealed Catholic. Still, the question was surrounded with difficulties, as may be seen from the following case, as reported by Parsons.

About the time of this conference Mr. James Bosgrave was arrested; he was a Jesuit priest, of a good family in England, who had left his country when a boy, and had since worked on the mission in Germany and Poland. After a time he lost his health, and was sent back to try the effect of his native air; but he was captured on his first landing. With all his learning, he was ignorant of the state of religion in England, and so, when brought before the Bishop of London, he gave some scandal by his answers. "Whence came you?" said the Bishop. "From Germany and Poland." "What were you doing there?" "Travelling." "That is

well, and befits a gentleman. What is your religion?" "Catholic." "That is ours also; but the question is, will you go to church, or no?" "I know no cause to the contrary." At this answer the Bishop was wonderfully glad, for he hoped he had found a learned man to oppose the other Catholics in this point, which they made of so much importance. Bosgrave was therefore praised to the skies for his discretion and conformity; he was made "extreme much" of, and suffered to go at large. But the Bishop took care to publish all over London that one of the learnedest men of all the Jesuits had yielded in this point, and that those who stuck to the opposite practice were mere simpletons in comparison of him.

This news gave great scandal. Campion and Parsons had by this time left London, so that none of his order remained to treat with Bosgrave; and as the heretics confidently affirmed that he would soon be entirely theirs, the Catholics were afraid of him, and shunned him whenever he sought their company, or desired to enter their houses. He could not guess the reason of this strange conduct, which afflicted him greatly; for he had been so long abroad that he had half forgotten his native tongue, and had no friends in London, and so knew not what to do or whither to go.

But at last he met with a near kinsman, a Catholic, who told him roundly what men thought of him, and what scandal he had given by his answers to the Bishop. Bosgrave, in amazement, said that he offered to go to their churches just as in Rome or Germany he might go to the Jews' synagogue, and in Constantinople to the Turks' mosques, to hear their folly and confute it. In Germany and Poland, he said, they never made any scruple about it; but any learned man might go freely to the meetings of the Calvinists, Lutherans, Unitarians, or Anabaptists, and hear their folly and blasphemy in order to refute it. And this was all he meant when he promised the Bishop to go to church.

Then he was shown how different England was from Germany; for here the question was not whether learned men may for curiosity or controversy repair once or twice to heretical churches, but whether a learned man may bind himself to go thither ordinarily, and thereby acknowledge that religion to be true, and so give an evil example to simple people, who might be unable to refute what they heard. Here, too, the act was commanded by the legislature as a religious profession, and so very different from the isolated act of a private person: if the same law was enacted in the heretical States of Germany, no doubt it would be as great a sin

to obey it there as in England. He was told, too, how this point of discipline was now on its trial in the country, and that numbers of Catholics were at that moment suffering imprisonment and persecution for it; that all the priests, all the Jesuits, and all the learned and zealous among the laity were of one opinion: Bosgrave, therefore, could not swerve from the rest without great scandal; and, indeed, the heretics had already taken occasion from his slight complaisance to sow suspicion that he was so going to join them.

This moved him exceedingly. He was angry at their malice, and declared that, with God's grace, he would soon cure their false fancies, and satisfy the Catholics about his honest meaning. He therefore wrote an epistle to the Catholics to excuse what he had done, and another to the Bishop and the other commissioners to retract his promise of going to church, and to deliver himself up to their hands. He was therefore sent to the Marshalsea, and afterwards to the Tower; there condemned with Campion as a traitor, but reprieved and banished, after which he returned to his order in Poland.

The third point settled in the Council at Southwark was, whether the old English or the Roman rule of fasting was henceforth to prevail. In England, all Fridays were fasts, as well as several vigils that were not observed in Italy. Differences had already begun to grow in different shires, and the priests and good men could not agree about the course most proper for those days of danger. The old priests were proud of the store of national devotions and works of piety which had distinguished England above every other kingdom of the world, since St. Augustine our apostle, by command of St. Gregory, transplanted into it the flower of all the devotions that he had noted to be observed in any nation by which he passed. It was determined, therefore, that for the present nothing should be altered, in manner of fasting, from the old customs; but in the shires, wherever the different uses of York, Sarum, Hereford, or Canterbury and London used to prevail, wherever the Catholics remembered that Fridays or vigils were fasted, the same were still to be kept, and the priests were to be most forward in observing them. But where the memory had died out, no one was bound to fast, though the voluntary act was always commendable. This was not commanded, but only counselled, for direction of priests and preservation of unity, till God should open the door for an authoritative determination.

The fourth point was to determine the various districts that each priest was to frequent. It was agreed that there

were three districts that ought specially to be attended to: Wales, because it was not attended to by the Protestants, or, indeed, by the Catholics; and because the ignorant inhabitants, though they had not yet apostatised from the faith, were so little attached to it that they might be led from it by the first preachers of heresy, if they were not previously strengthened by the missionaries. Secondly, Lancashire and the North, which had shown itself so forward in the Catholic cause in 1569. And thirdly, Cambridgeshire, already sapped with Puritanism, which had deeply tainted the University. To these districts the secular priests were sent. The two Jesuits seem to have been appointed to visit the whole country, for we shall trace them from London to Lancashire, and throughout the intervening places.

The last thing to be determined in the Council was the case of Mr. Cottam. He had landed at Dover with Dr. Ely, Rishton, and Hart. But Sledd had caused a very particular description of the two last to be sent to the port, where they were stayed. Hart confessed, and was sent prisoner to London. But the mayor and searcher did not feel sure of Cottam, and so asked Dr. Ely (who under the name of Howard had passed and repassed more than once, and was not suspected) whether he would undertake to present him to Lord Cobham, the Warden of the Cinque Ports. Ely promised, and his host of Dover, who knew him as Howard, joined in giving security. But Ely thought it would be a greater offence to offer up to the persecutors an innocent priest than to break his promise to the mayor, and so let Cottam escape. But Cottam conceived some scruple about it; and so, as he still accounted himself a Jesuit, having been dismissed only for lack of health, with express promise to be again received when he was well, he sought Campion and Parsons, and told them the case. They submitted it to the Council, which, after consultation, determined that as he made no promise he was not bound to offer himself to so manifest a danger. This decision contented him for a time; but when he heard that the mayor and Dr. Ely were like to come into trouble for him, he consulted the fathers again, who this time permitted him to do as his conscience persuaded him; so with a merry countenance, and all alone, he went to the sign of the Star, in New Fish Street, and there offered himself prisoner to Mr. Andrews, a deputy of Lord Cobham, who carried him to the court, which was then at Oatlands. After three or four days he was committed to the Marshalsea, where he remained till he was arraigned and condemned for treason with Campion.

CHAPTER VII.

AND now, before we follow the Jesuits on their mission, it would be well to describe the religious condition of the people to whom they were sent.

In August 1580, the twenty-second year of Elizabeth's reign was drawing to a close. A generation had been born and grown to manhood since she had altered the religion of the land. In 1558, when she succeeded to the throne, she found three parties in the country; the Catholics and two others, now known by names which they only acquired some years afterwards,—the Puritans and the Politicians.

The Catholics were not a united party; some had accepted the severities of Mary as a moral lesson, and had brought themselves to think that the "frying" of a "stinking heretic" at the stake was a comforting lesson; others had become disgusted at Mary's continual perquisition into secret opinions; and the majority, wearied out, had come to the conclusion, that it would be quite possible to live at peace with the heretic, instead of driving him forth from society to prison or to the stake.

The Puritans,—to call them by a name which, Sir Robert Cotton says, was first pinned to their skirts by Father Sanders about 1570,—led by the English refugees who had come back as fanatical adherents of the Continental Calvinists, with all the narrow sectarianism and bloodthirstiness of that sect, were far behind in numbers, but they brought two doctrines with them which gave them great influence: the first, that it is the duty and the right of the prince to choose the religion of his subjects; and next, that the duty of obedience in the subject cannot be divided between a temporal and spiritual superior. *Cujus regio, ejus religio*, was the formula of the first; *uni et univoce* of the second. Calvin, Knox, and Beza, with the fear of the two Marys, of England and Scotland, before their eyes, had thought it best to except females from this sovereign right. But "regiment of wo-

men" ceased to be "monstrous" on the accession of Elizabeth ; though she never forgave the Calvinists for having once played false with the fundamental principle of Protestant politics.

The Politicians,—to use a name given to the party by the Guises of France in 1568,¹¹⁶ and applied by Davila¹¹⁷ to those who acknowledged no fundamental difference between one religion and another, so far as the State is concerned,—were described by Stapleton as the children whom Rachel weeps for, because they are not ; not her children at all, but "false and feigned Christians, neither Christians nor Catholics, but Politicians. Polite and civil, elegant and gentleman-like, prudent and wise, turning religion into policy, and making a mock at zeal ; telling us that in these days we must wink at many things, do any thing for a quiet life, not stir up hornets' nests ; that the heresies of the day are too strong to be forcibly put down, too deep-seated to be plucked out of men's minds ; that the points are too unimportant for such a display of energy ; at least not important enough to oblige politicians, who are not charged with the management of religion, to endanger the peace and prosperity of the country in the attempt to repress them. The prudent statesman's first business is to provide for the welfare of his countrymen, to accommodate himself to the pleasure of his prince, to avoid all superfluous bickering about religion, and to leave its care to the clergy or to God, who is strong enough to avenge Himself, if He feels insulted by the new opinions."¹¹⁸

These Politicians, when Elizabeth came to the throne, had a double problem to solve : first, to secure the crown to the queen ; and secondly, to give peace to the country, profoundly agitated by the Spanish policy of Queen Mary. The danger to the queen came from the Pope's definition of her bastardy ; to meet this, it was necessary to disable the Pope's authority. The danger to the country was in the discord of the adherents of the various religions ; the obvious remedy for this nowadays would be toleration for all ; but in 1558 such a thought was almost impossible. The unity of religion in a country was reckoned to be a State necessity. Hence, where opinions were much divided, and the national character strong and obstinate, it was not deemed possible to favour any extreme and exclusive sect, but only to enforce moderation upon all ; and this, not by allowing all to differ, but by obliging them all to meet on a common and, as it were, neutral ground. For the first of these State necessities the obvious measure was to confer once more on Elizabeth the ecclesiastical supremacy which Henry VIII. had arro-

gated, and Mary had abjured. For the second, the Politicians took advantage of the profound weariness of the Catholics, and of the Protestant principle which gives a prince supreme power to choose the religion of his country, to devise a new formula which might satisfy both Catholics and Puritans, by suppressing all that either considered to be blasphemy, and by including only the "fundamentals" on which both were agreed.

After the queen's accession, the Politicians, who surrounded her, began by repressing the zeal of each side, forbidding all preaching, and all disputes, till they were delivered from the fear of foreign intervention by the treaty of Cateau Cambresis in April 1559.¹¹⁹ Then the Parliament, in default of the Convocation, passed two measures; one for conferring on the queen the supremacy, and for imposing an oath on the subject in acknowledgment of it; and the other for abolishing the Mass, and substituting for it a form of prayer, which might be used in "common" by those who believed and those who disbelieved in Catholic doctrines. The first hope of the Politicians was that the existing Catholic hierarchy might be induced to connive at the new system, as they had done in Henry and Edward's time. With this view,—in spite of the frantic appeals which the Continental Reformers kept making to Elizabeth to play the part of Judith and Deborah, and destroy the Papists root and branch, seeing that Continental experience amply proved that the preservation of the externals of Popery always in the long-run led to its reëstablishment,—the old forms that met the eye were to be altered as little as possible; the vestments were to remain, and the hierarchical constitution, and, if possible, the same pastors. No doctrinal changes were to be made, only those portions of the old liturgy,—the adoration of the blessed Sacrament, and the worship of images and saints,—which were most offensive to the new opinions were to be dropped. The foreign Protestants were furious; they declared emphatically to their English followers, that they could not possibly take any ministerial part in a Church thus constituted. The question of vestments was declared a fundamental one.¹²⁰ But when it was seen that the queen and government were firm, the same counsellors advised their friends to dissimulate, and to "use the habits, provided they persisted in speaking and teaching against the use of them."¹²¹ For the great fear of the Puritans was, lest they should be personally excluded from all share in the new establishment. Their first speculation was, whether the Bishops would conform; and, between hope and fear, they consoled themselves that they

would rather resign, "as being ashamed, after so much tyranny and cruelty exercised under the banner of the Pope, and the obedience so lately sworn to him, to be again brought to a recantation, and convicted of manifest perjury."¹²² When this external obstacle was once removed, the internal obstacle of their own consciences gave the Puritans little trouble, and they gladly accepted the commission to govern a Church, the constitution of which they thought wrong, in hopes of being able in time to conform it to their notions of right.

The Bishops all refused to take the oath, and were mostly deprived of their sees before the end of 1559. The Puritan leaders were substituted for them. On May 23, 1559, a royal commission was issued to visitors, partly lay, partly clerical, and all Puritan, to tender the oath to the rest of the clergy.¹²³ They were ordered to proceed with such moderation, as not to exasperate the Catholics, but to bring them gradually, by fair means, to a sense of their duty.¹²⁴ The first commission was too zealous; and in October the queen had to modify it, substituting laymen for several of the clergymen.¹²⁵ But even their moderation had such serious effects that, in December, the queen had to write to the commissioners in both provinces to suspend their proceedings, and to determine such matters only as had been already begun.¹²⁶ The effect of these arrangements was, that of the multitudes of clergymen who refused to subscribe, not many were immediately deprived; some had three years given them for consideration,¹²⁷ and others seem to have been connived at. In the visitation of the province of York in August and September 1559,¹²⁸ out of 90 clergymen summoned, 21 came and took the oath, 36 came and refused to swear, 17 were absent without proctors, 16 were absent with proctors. Yet of the 36 the lists of Bridgewater and Sanders only contain 5 names; of the 17, 4; of the 16, 7. If those lists are perfect, it proves that the rest were connived at, and perhaps retained their livings till their death. In the province of Canterbury, we hear of the dean and canons of Winchester Cathedral, the warden and fellows of the College, and the master of St. Cross, all refusing the oath.¹²⁹ Yet only four of them are in Bridgewater's list. The visitors returned for the whole province the totals of 49 recusants, and 786 conformists,¹³⁰ significantly omitting the absentees. Thus, out of the 8911 parishes,¹³¹ and 9400 beneficed clergymen,¹³² we find only 806 subscribers, while all the bishops and 85 others expressly refused to subscribe, and the rest were absentees. The assertion, then, of Camden, that only 189 clergymen were deprived in this visitation proves

nothing. Archbishop Parker had orders "not to push any one to extremities on account of his oath."¹³³ But Sanders and Bridgewater give many more names; and even their lists, as Parsons owns, were imperfect. For, as Bramhall says, the writers at Rome, Rheims, and Douay were strangers to what was passing in England. It was the interest of the government to hide from the Catholics the real number of recusants, lest they should become over-bold. No wonder, then, that the priests were often tempted to complain with Elias, in Jezebel's persecution, "I only am left," when there were really seven thousand who had not bowed to Baal.

However, what with the expirations of the three years of grace, and fresh commissions sitting from time to time, the clergy, at first connived at, were gradually removed, and their places filled up with men who were required to acknowledge the queen to be supreme head of the Church of England upon earth; while no great difficulty was raised about other points of doctrine, provided they were willing to obey the laws of the realm.¹³⁴ Thus it came to pass that most of the clergy were "popish priests, consecrated to perform Mass; and the far greater part of the remainder most ignorant persons," appointed to spell through the prayers, but not allowed to preach.¹³⁵ I have said that the priests who refused the oath had far fewer scruples about the common prayer. When it was first introduced under Edward, some priests said the Latin Mass, some the English Communion; some both, some neither; some said half of the one, and half of the other. "And this mingle-mangle did every man make at his pleasure, as he thought it would be most grateful to the people. But that which was of more importance and impiety, some did consecrate bread and wine, others did not, but would tell the people beforehand plainly that they would not consecrate, but restore them the bread and wine back again as they received it from them, only adding to it the Church-benediction. And after consecration, some did hold up the Host to be adored after the old fashion, and some did not. And of those that were present, some did kneel down and adore, others did shut their eyes, others turned their faces aside, others ran out of Church blaspheming, and crying 'Idolatry!'"¹³⁶ Under Elizabeth this state of things lasted with some modification. Before the service on Sunday, 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 religious bodies was distributed by the same hands, at the same time, at the same altar-rails, to the discordant and divided flock.¹³⁷ During the Northern rebellion in 1569, the priests took occasion to restore the old service, and sang High Mass in Durham Cathedral. Among the State-Papers, there are instances of incumbents saying Mass in their houses much later; and even in 1592, we find several clergymen in one county giving large sums to a pretended pursuivant not to accuse them of Popery. It was only in 1579, in her twenty-first year, that Elizabeth felt strong enough to enforce a general obedience to the Act of Uniformity.¹³⁸

The oath of supremacy gave the queen permission to choose the religion of her subjects, and to enforce upon them the external observance of it. This, however objectionable in theory, did not seem likely to produce any immediate practical harm, as the queen was not supposed to be inclined towards the Puritans. Hence its enemies announced, that it gave power to the queen to minister at public worship, and to consecrate Bishops; this exaggeration was convenient, for it gave the Politicians an opportunity to publish injunctions, declaring that the supremacy meant nothing of the sort, but the same power which all the kings of England had claimed, "of sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born within these her realms, of what estate, either ecclesiastical or temporal, soever they may be." "No power of ministry was challenged;" the queen was ready to accept as good subjects those who took the oath in its merely historical sense.¹³⁹ Still the royal supremacy was not merely the right of the executive magistrate to see that every corporation was what it professed to be, and administered its own laws justly, and that right was done by and to every corporation, religious or secular, within its territory. For there was no freedom for corporations in those days. The prince claimed the right of authorising one, and only one, corporation, and suppressing all others. If this right had been restricted to temporal corporations, and if freedom of choice had remained for spiritual corporations, the Catholics might have been inclined to have accepted it as a compromise,¹⁴⁰ however destructive of civil liberty the law might be. Similarly, their objection was not so much to any thing contained in the Common Prayer as to its omissions; the want of papal authority,¹⁴¹ prayers to the Blessed Virgin and the Saints, prayers for the dead, the seven Sacraments, and external sacrifice; they even approved of prayers in the vulgar tongue. The one thing for which they

rejected communion with the Establishment was its "lack of unity," its schism from the rest of Christendom, and its want of homogeneity in itself, "some being therein Protestants, some Puritans, and some of the Family of Love."¹⁴²

Yet this lack of unity—of external unity with the rest of Christendom, and of internal unity with itself—was the one sacrifice which the Politicians were determined to make, in order to secure the political unity of the country, and the unity of the State with the Church. They were not going to commit the mistake of the Electors of the Palatinate, and force all Englishmen to believe alike, and to change their belief as often as the prince changed. But they insisted that no corporation apart from the State should have the power of branding Englishmen as heretics, and subjecting them to the social and political disabilities which that brand induced. Their theory was, to let every body believe as he liked, so as he came to church; to reckon all Englishmen as Churchmen, unless formally joined to some external body, and at the same time to proscribe all such external bodies, and to make adhesion to them treason.

And as the lack of religious unity was the point which the Politicians were bent on enforcing, so it was that least offensive to the pious, and least observable by the unreflecting clergyman. It was only a suspension of discipline, an authoritative stoppage of the persecution which had disgusted the people by its cruelty. In country parishes where the people were all Catholic, and where the forced communion with heretics was therefore a dead letter, there was positively no change but the not unpopular substitution of the English for the Latin service. It appeared to be only a toleration that must at times be practised by all establishments, when their evil members are too numerous and powerful to be severely dealt with.¹⁴³ Its true character only came out step by step, year by year; and its full consequences were only revealed when custom and habit, enforced by policy, and irritated by many clumsy attempts to change them, had become too strong to be conquered.

As for the people, the two things that struck them were, the cessation of the unpopular persecution, and the change of service. The latter was no great novelty to them. For thirty years they had been used to variations, some of which had been made on illegitimate authority, some, as Mary's restoration, rightfully; but all had come proximately to the people on the authority of the State, whether it was the State acting schismatically or acting in obedience to Rome. So far as appeared externally, Elizabeth's change might be as autho-

rised as Mary's; and there was little opportunity for becoming aware of its internal character. For the communication between Englishmen in those days was slow and difficult, and the Catholic portion of the people was divided geographically from the Protestant part, which was found chiefly about London and in the southern counties, especially in the sea-ports of the west. It was only among the Protestants that the full significance of the change could be at once understood. At first it appeared a boon to both parties,—the Catholics, who were tired of the Spanish persecution carried on in their name and for their behoof, and the Protestants, to whom it brought liberty, not without hopes of retaliation. This enabled Sir Robert Cotton to say, that “until the eleventh year of Elizabeth's reign (the end of 1569) a recusant's name was scarcely known.” It was scarcely known, because it was the great object of the State not to know it, not to recognise that there were any dissidents, to dissimulate differences; not because the people were converted to Protestantism, nor altogether “because the zeal begotten in the time of the Marian persecution was yet fresh in memory, and the late persecutors were so amazed with the sudden alteration of religion that they could not but say, *Digitus Dei est hic.*” Far less truth is there in the Utopian picture which Cotton proceeds to paint: “In those days there was emulation between clergy and laity, and a strife arose whether of them should show themselves most affectionate to the Gospel. Ministers haunted the houses of worthiest men, where now (1623) Jesuits build their tabernacles, and poor country churches were frequented with the best of the shire; the word of God was precious, prayer and preaching went hand in hand together, until Archbishop Grindal's disgrace” (1567): the very mention of which ought to have made Cotton ashamed of giving so false a representation of the matter.¹⁴⁴ Grindal's disgrace was in consequence of his patronage of the “liberty of prophesying,” that is, of the preaching of Puritan ranters, which was every where driving the Catholics—who had hitherto acquiesced in the State Church—to open hostility. Fearing this result, Elizabeth ordered the exercise of prophesying to be suppressed, the preachers to be reduced to a smaller number, and homilies to be read instead of sermons. It was not Grindal's disgrace, but the impudence of the Puritans whom he patronised, that first made recusancy formidable.

For the people, partly for the reasons I have given above, partly because they hoped the changes were only temporary, like so many they had seen, and partly through fear,—“not knowing,” as Cotton says,¹⁴⁵ quite inconsistently with his ac-

count quoted above, "how far severity might extend,"—had, in the first years of Elizabeth, sunk their differences, and attended the church, where, for the most part, their old pastors yet ministered. But soon scandals arose; tinkers and cobblers succeeded to the pulpits of the grave theologians who were dispossessed. Some of the priests forgot their vows of celibacy; and as early as 1562, during a tour in Essex and Suffolk, Elizabeth was offended at the slovenly way of performing the service, and at the consequences of clerical marriage; and on her return issued an order against all resort of women to the lodgings of cathedrals and colleges;¹⁴⁶ while the Catholic gentlemen were so scandalised, that they sent to consult the Council of Trent whether their attendance at the churches could be permitted. The answer was a decided negative.¹⁴⁸ I do not know whether any immediate measures were taken to publish this decision; but in 1567, St. Pius V. sent Dr. Sanders and Dr. Harding into England, with episcopal powers to grant faculties for the absolution of schismatics, but chiefly to declare that "there was no hope of exception or dispensation for any of the laity" to have their children baptised, or themselves to be "present at the communion of service now used in churches in England."¹⁴⁸ From this time large numbers of the Catholic laymen began to refuse to go to church; and the indirect measures taken against them by the government, together with the direct pressure of St. Pius V. through Dr. Morton, who was sent into England in 1568, provoked the unfortunate rebellion of the great northern earls in 1569, which rendered hopeless any peaceable restoration of Catholicism while Elizabeth lived.

The effect of these movements was gradually to divide the English Catholics into two bands,—the temporisers, or schismatics, who kept the faith, but frequented the churches, and the open Catholics, who braved fine and imprisonment, and refused to go to church. The rebellion of 1569 showed that, on the least provocation, the schismatics were ready to join the others, and to reëstablish the old religion by force. The Politicians, who had hitherto inclined rather to the Catholic side against the Puritans, were, even before that event, forced to remember that the Church which they had created hung on the single thread of the queen's life; that on her death Mary of Scotland would succeed, and would reverse all that had been accomplished in these eleven years. They therefore appealed to all the gentry, clergy, and tradesmen who wished to preserve the existing state of things, to join in a secret society for the protection of the queen, not unlike the associations of seven years later in France for the protection of the

king and the French Catholics. By the very tenor of Burghley's proposition, it is clear that the appeal was made to the Puritans, and that the Puritan members of the Government no longer put forward the comprehensive character of the Church, but its exclusiveness, as its claim to their support. "No monarchy is so established by laws in good policy to remain in freedom from the tyranny of Rome, and in constancy and conformity of true doctrine, as England is. Wherein no person, of any state, is by law admitted to profess openly the contrary without punishment provided for the same by good order of laws; and such like, for the policy to all purposes, is not to be found in Christendom."¹⁴⁹ Thus appealed to, the Puritans began a secret organisation, under the guidance of the Puritan members of the Privy Council, and were industrious in enrolling members. By 1578 the French ambassador had found it out, and wrote to his court that the Puritans were busy associating, and binding themselves by oath to extirpate the Catholic religion. This organisation ripened into the famous Society for the Preservation of the Queen, which makes a figure in the history of 1584. The religious questions at this date resolved themselves into a race for the favour of the queen.

The Catholics, apparently under the inspiration of the French ambassador, and after the example of the French societies of 1576, began in that very year to make a "combination,"¹⁵⁰ in which we find such names as the Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Oxford, Lord Henry Howard, Charles Arundel, Giffard, and Jerningham. Their object apparently was to promote the queen's marriage with the Duke of Anjou, which the Puritans as resolutely opposed. Except for the tragic end of the drama, the varieties of its progress are a complete comedy. There were the Puritans, furious against the match; there was the Spanish ambassador, striving to persuade the Catholics to oppose it likewise; there was the French ambassador, jaunty and gay, surrounded with his "combination," or chorus of Catholic courtiers, whom he exhorted to be patient, for the end would crown the labour, and the queen's new husband would secure their freedom of worship. There were the counsellors: the mysterious Burghley, in whom the world discovered a Solon, while Shakespeare more truly painted him as Polonius; the profound and Mephistophelian Walsingham; the versatile, handsome, and unprincipled Leicester; and the rest,—whom the French ambassador persuaded himself that he was persuading to be sworn slaves of his master, in direct contradiction to their own interests. Lastly, there was the audacious

queen, giving hopes to all, but satisfying none; faithful to her policy of doing little, but letting events work themselves out, and making it her main business to preserve her personal popularity. The French ambassador was blinded with the good cheer of England, where there was talk of nothing but gallantry; and with the queen's progresses in the shires, where she gained all hearts, and where the wealthy gentry worshiped her on their knees. So far was she from preferring the Puritans, that many of her prime personal favourites were as near being Catholics as the irregularities of their lives would permit. Thus, Hatton, as Allen tells us, was one who had no doubt about the Catholic religion being true.¹⁵¹ She made no objection to the religion of Anjou; indeed, she said that his fidelity to it was a claim on her respect; and in 1578 she agreed with the French ambassador that her husband was to be allowed to do as he liked in his own house, as she hoped to be allowed to do as she liked in hers;¹⁵² and she told Leicester, a mortal enemy of the match, that "this was the year to marry off all the poor old maids in England; they should all be wedded with her." But nothing could make her act; she delayed, and the opponents of the match took the occasion to whisper that Anjou was dwarfish, bandy, pock-pitted, with bad breath, plenty of ambition, and more bigotry. He would be sure to establish the Catholic religion. Walsingham was sent over, confidentially, to look at the duke, and to report on these matters; he reassured the queen, who professed herself satisfied. Nevertheless the affair dragged on. In May 1579, the Earl of Huntingdon, a pretender to the crown, and the chief of the Puritan party, declared that the marriage would be the ruin of England and of the religion, and set on some ministers to preach in this sense. Elizabeth, with characteristic brevity, threatened to have them whipped. She took care to display an increasing coolness for the Common Prayer; and when she was conversing with Castelnau on her lover's charms, she could not tear herself away even when the chapel-bell rang. Burghley shook his head when he reflected how easy it would be to upset the established religion, considering the stake owned by Catholics in the land, the secret favour of the queen towards them, and her deafness to all whispers against them.¹⁵³ But nothing progressed, except the hopes of Castelnau. Many of the Catholic allies of the French ambassador were tired out; they were disgusted with Anjou's conduct, and ceased to trust in the queen's intentions to marry him, and so turned to the Spanish ambassador,¹⁵⁴ who was glad of their assistance in discountenancing the match.¹⁵⁵ This laid the foundation

of a split among the Catholics, and a counter-combination was set up, with the countenance of the Spanish ambassador. Those who remained faithful to the French were obliged to persuade themselves that the marriage would come off, and would at once heal all their afflictions. Therefore, every thing that helped on the match, however calamitous for the moment to the Catholic religion, was ultimately for its benefit. They must not let it be thought that Anjou was a bigoted Papist, or the Puritans would never acquiesce in the match; his agents must therefore, for the present, abstain from using their influence in favour of the oppressed Catholics; only a little patience, a little more suffering under the atrocious penal laws, and all would be over; Anjou would be king, and would soon lay the axe to the root of the tree. Only let the Catholics dissimulate a little longer, and shut their eyes to the daily tragedies of their brethren, and the new state of things for which these tragedies would smooth the way would be the remedy for them all. The Spanish ambassador had no such political reasons for dissimulation, and could afford to call a spade a spade. Round him, then, gathered the generous Catholic youth, who were prepared for any sacrifice, who were tired of waiting on the caprices of a woman, and who were resolved henceforth to dissimulate nothing. Yet the necessities of the times compelled them to adopt a secret organisation, and they thus gave birth to a curious monster, — a secret society which could not remain secret, the first duty of its members being to absent themselves from services which the law bade them attend. To them it would have been useless to have “the receipt of fern-seed,—to walk invisible,” for their invisibility at church was the first overt act of their “sedition.” Theirs was a secret society whose object was to make secret believers into open professors; a secret society to destroy secrecy. They had given up the race to get the start in the favour of the prince; the Puritans had won, and now, *ve victis*. No “courtesy, humanity, or reasonable indifference,” could be had from such ignoble conquerors. Catholics were shut out from “speech, conference, writing, disputing, or any other fair trial of their cause;” they were watched, spied, examined every where; attached, transported, imprisoned, racked, or hanged, if they spoke or argued.

Still a section, hoping against hope, adhered to the French ambassador. In July 1579, Elizabeth imprisoned a preacher for talking against foreign alliances and mixed marriages. This raised their hopes, only to be immediately dashed by one of those occurrences which were always a pretext for

fresh delays. Fitzmorris, with a company of Bretons, made a descent on Ireland, and occupied Limerick. The Spanish ambassador loudly accused Henry III. of France as an accomplice of the wild Irishman; while Castelnau declared it was a plot of Philip II. to stop the match, and that he had condescended even to conspire with the Calvinists against it. At the same time (Oct. 1579), he declared that the queen's better treatment of the Catholics had won back many of them from the Spanish interests. He noted the ever-increasing fury of the Puritans, their petitions to parliament, the way they worked on the fears of the "timid" queen, and their declaration that Anjou would soon have a St. Bartholomew's Day in England. He enlarged on Stubbs's pamphlet, "The Gulph wherein England will be swallowed by the Marriage;" the fury of the queen, who wanted him hanged, her disappointment when the jury would not find him guilty of felony, the disgrace of the judge, the interest that was made to have Stubbs pardoned, and Elizabeth's final command to have the sentence (loss of his right hand) executed upon him before her window at eight o'clock one morning. Leicester and Walsingham, with the rest of the Puritans, were in disgrace; Elizabeth was furious; and Anjou was foolish enough to direct Castelnau to intercede for them. They swore fidelity to the French interests; and he accordingly reconciled them to the queen. This was in obedience to the duke's instructions, "to accept every one's service, and not to keep any one in disgrace on his account." "I think," says Castelnau, with a simplicity wonderful in so old a courtier, "that from this time Leicester will seek to maintain himself by the aid of France." However, Leicester, Walsingham, Huntingdon, and Pembroke, soon used their restored power in exactly the opposite direction; and, February 8, 1580, Castelnau was obliged to confess that the queen's ill-humour and cruelty to the mislikers of the match had alienated from her (or it) a great part of her nobles and people, and obliged her to ask a further delay, and that she had given too much credit to those whom she had just restored to power.

Thus did these negotiations drag on; Castelnau's cleverness ever overreached by his vanity, which made him believe in victory when he had only fallen into a trap. But Solomon himself could not have succeeded. Elizabeth had once possessed power to change the religion of England; but to this end she had been obliged to arm the Puritans and disarm the Catholics, and now the Puritans were too powerful to be overcome. Even if the Catholics had succeeded in making Elizabeth marry Anjou, I doubt whether it would have done much

more for the Catholics than the marriage of Charles with Henrietta forty years later. But the Puritans were determined not to risk the change if they could help it, and so much the more as they saw the Catholics desirous of it. On July 5, 1580, Castelnau writes, "The Puritans fear that if the queen is married, the Catholics will soon get the upper hand; and suppose that she has a great fancy for them, because she treats them more mildly than she has done for twenty years. And, indeed, the number of Catholics has much increased, and they have raised their heads a little too soon, and built too much on the hopes of the marriage."

It was just at this time that Campion and Parsons were coming into England. Their arrival was another of those events to which Castelnau attributed his want of success. About the same time also Condé came over to complain to Elizabeth of the treatment of the French Protestants by Henry III. Elizabeth refused to continue the negotiations for the marriage till Henry had made peace with them. Henry of course refused to forego the advantages he had gained.¹⁵⁶ Elizabeth replied by complaining of a visit of the Earl of Westmoreland to Paris, of Dr. Allen's seminary at Rheims, and of the fifty priests just sent over to preach sedition. This, said she, was the reason of her temporising. Henry retorted, that Elizabeth had received Condé, whom he asked her to send away; and there seemed every element of a diplomatic quarrel, when suddenly there came news to London of the defection of some of the queen's most powerful Irish friends. Castelnau considered the government in great danger. "I believe," he wrote, "that if monarchs will be obstinate in their civil wars, subjects will not be without pretexts for casting off their allegiance."¹⁵⁷ In the following despatches, August 13 and 30, he describes the severe measures that the council thought of taking against the Catholics. In September, the queen heard of the landing of the joint Spanish and Papal expedition in Ireland. The danger was great, and so was the terror. She implored Henry to send at once an army into the Low Countries, otherwise this would only be the forerunner of many expeditions. In November the Irish bubble burst; and Castelnau told his master that "the Spaniards and Italians behaved like great poltroons, and had their throats cut. Lord Grey, the viceroy, had all the Irish hanged, except a priest, who was to be sent into England, and Dr. Sanders, a great preacher, and too good a theologian to fight. The expedition was magnificently provided, but it would have been better if they had been furnished with less money and more manfulness."

I quote these passages to show what were the peculiar complications of the time when the mission of the Jesuits began in England. But I will not proceed with Campion's history till I have briefly reviewed the position of the Anglican clergy, and of the common people.

The members of the Puritan hierarchy intruded into the English sees in 1559 and 1560 had accepted a position which they did not approve. They were all Calvinists, except Cheney of Gloucester, who was a Lutheran; the vast majority of the clergy was Catholic, and hardly yet recognised its schismatical position. The queen would allow no further innovations in the externals of religion, but was incurious about doctrine; hence the new Bishops were able to get in their wedge of Calvinistic intolerance in the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, the bulwark against retrogression towards Rome, and against such a development of the truths still left in the Prayer-Book as should necessitate the restoration of those which had been dropped. These articles were intended to narrow the comprehensive character of the Church by providing that all the new clergy should be Calvinist. Next, the Bishops gave an extraordinary latitude to the "liberty of prophesying," which might have developed the establishment into a Genevan conventicle, had not Elizabeth interposed with her veto. Many of the Politicians, convinced that the Catholic party would restore the Papal supremacy and the exclusiveness of the Church the first day they had the power, had now turned to the Puritans. Not that they had any intention of submitting to the Genevan discipline; but they were willing to allow it so far as the suppression of the bishoprics and cathedrals, and the confiscation of their goods. Again, the ignorant low-bred Calviuists were easier to exclude from all share in government than the highly-educated Roman ecclesiastic, or the Anglican who had succeeded to the inheritance of the English universities. Hence "they sought to disgrace the clergy," scarcely admitting them to matters of state at all, "contrary to the practice of all well-governed commonwealths, and of our own till these late years."¹⁵³

But Elizabeth disgraced Archbishop Grindal, the leader of the Puritan party, and began to advance the men to whom the gradual development of Anglicanism is due. They had to conciliate the forms of a Catholic hierarchy, and of a Catholic but mutilated prayer-book, with Puritan articles of faith. They had at once to defend conservatism and revolution, to derive their authority from the old Church, and to claim a right for the State to modify the doctrines of that

Church without thereby destroying its essence. They had to make the comprehensive political *via media* of 1559 into an eternal and exclusive principle of truth; as if the truth, which may perhaps be the middle point between all possible errors, can be determined by taking two presumed errors which happened to coexist in 1559, and by assuming for all time that the middle point between them is the truth. This *via media* was at first a sort of indefinite precinct, shutting off two extreme opinions, but enclosing all between them; it was afterwards turned into a religious theory, and petrified into a sham principle. It was originally an abasement of the Church before a supposititious public opinion, for the convenience of statesmen. It would have been a recognition of the supremacy of the mob if the real opinions of the people had been such as they were said to be. But the State made the Church Anglican in pretended deference to the feelings of a people who were chiefly Catholic, and partly Puritan. These sections refused to be amalgamated. The Puritans would not receive the teaching of Bishops who wore surplices. The Catholics, whose priests and schoolmasters were driven away or hanged, stood aloof, and would listen to no one else. For three or four generations their descendants preserved "the perfume of Rome," as Cotton says, and afterwards were gradually assimilated to the surrounding population, still, however, retaining a traditional hostility to the State Church.

The English hierarchy, thus cut off from both the Catholic and Puritan sections of the people, but retaining all the aristocratic influence that their feudal possessions gave them, were from the first the clergy of the rich, not the clergy of the poor. They were gentlemen, learned men, lords; but not apostles or saints. Their wealthy leisure, combined with their professional tastes, enabled them to preserve, what circumstances have led both Catholics and Puritans to neglect, the artistic and literary beauty of the liturgical language. When Christianity was the business of life, and time was no consideration, prayers might be as difficult as a chorus of Æschylus, or a sonnet of Dante. But when religion became not so much the occupation as the qualification of life, when less time was given to the direct exercises of devotion, the old enigmas were felt to be too hard. The breviary services were too long, the psalms too difficult. A new style of prayer was wanted, arranged in the most logical order, interrupted by rubrics, to tell us where to elicit one kind of act, and where another, and with language most simple and plain-spoken. The Jesuits saw what was wanted, and provided it;

the Puritans felt that some change was wanted, and offered their ranting preaching and their *extempore* prayers as the solution of the difficulty. The Anglican hierarchy alone,—not pressed for time, not overburdened with “acts” and “aspirations”—kept up the old intellectual interest in the services, and popularised the psalms and the devotional use of the Old and New Testaments, not perhaps to any great extent, but more widely than has been done by other hierarchies or sects. And it was this literary exclusiveness that made them call those popularisers of devotion, the Jesuits, “the Puritans of Popery.”

To turn now from the Anglican clergy to the English people, who were so profoundly alienated from them, whose state I shall only touch upon so far as it affected the mission of Campion. All the Catholic part of the population had been surprised into the change of religion. No choice was given to them: they saw the service changed; but they saw also that no measures were taken to make them change their faith. They saw, for the most part, their pastors retaining their benefices, sometimes indeed displaced to make room for an ignorant ranter; but then, in turn, they saw this ranter’s mouth stopped, and himself reduced to a mere reader of prayers and homilies. The people bore this patiently, because it brought calm after the troubles and persecutions of Mary’s time, and because they hoped it would in its turn soon come to an end. In the mean time they might enjoy the holiday which the collapse of discipline had sent them, ready to reënter the vineyard, and work, as soon as they were called. Throughout the country and small towns, where the strength of the Catholic party was to be found, the people formed two political classes—the gentry or nobility, and the commonalty. Both classes still maintained the feudal feelings; still the chief nobleman in every shire desired to see all the gentry of his county wear his livery, and acknowledge themselves his servants; while the gentry maintained the same feudal relations with the husbandmen and cottagers who lived on the family estate. The power of England had, up to the time of Henry VII., been in the hands of these nobles and gentry, who were not yet conscious that they had lost it. The overwhelming strength of the earl in his own county looked like universal power, till the fate of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, and of the Duke of Norfolk, showed how weak the local centres had become in comparison to the combining force of the royal centralisation in London. But this lesson was not enough. It was still every where believed that rank was power; that the queen was able

by a word to restore every thing as it had been ; and that if she would not speak this word, the nobles and gentry might unite and dethrone her. Failing this, at least so many of the gentry might declare their adherence to the old religion as to extort a toleration, if not from her compassion, at least from her fears, as not knowing what this persecuted class might do in case of foreign invasion. In this argument the populace counted for nothing. It was taken for granted that they would follow wherever they were led, and they were treated almost as if they were incapable of intelligent conviction in matters of faith.

The great fact of the day was the power of the governor to change the belief of his subjects. By means of this fact Luther had succeeded in Germany, and Henry VIII. in England. The Jesuits quickly comprehended the state of affairs, and by similar means wrought a vast restoration of religion in Germany and in France. The same system was to be applied to England ; and if Elizabeth could not be made its instrument, her bastardy gave a famous opportunity to the Pope to exert the deposing power, and to give her crown to a more faithful child of the Church. Such was the policy of Pius V. and of Gregory XIII., who sent Campion and Parsons into England. Such also was Parsons' private opinion, as may be seen from Campion's reply to one of his letters in a former chapter. But they were not sent to England to carry out this policy ; they were not supposed to know any thing about it ; they were only to convert the nobility and gentry to the Church, and await the consequences.

The people to whom they were sent had no settled conviction against the truth of Catholicism ; their inclinations led them towards it, only their fear or their indolence prevented their profession of it. Their external show of Protestantism was rather cowardice and sloth than heresy, rather a helplessness than a strong passion. It was their will that had to be strengthened, rather than their mind to be enlightened. Hence the absence in those days of any depth of intellectual discussion. The arguments were addressed to the heart of the people, or to their terror. *Fugienda imprimis controversia*, said Father le Fèvre to Father Laynez about the reduction of the first Lutherans. First their affections must be cured, then their faith ; the way to their head is through their heart. Persuade them to be moral, and they will soon be Catholics. They are heretics because they despair of being able to live as Catholics ; strengthen them to do their duty, and they will naturally come back to the faith they learnt at their mothers' knees. The English might be warned that

acquiescence in the State religion was no such security as they fancied. The queen would die some day, and her successor would restore all; perhaps the Pope and the French and Spanish kings would come and dethrone her, and extirpate the heretics. Even in 1623, the people were still "timorous through forecasting the restoration of Popery;" and to this day the saying survives among them,—“the Catholic religion was the first, and shall be the last.” Thus they were always looking out for a sign of its return. A flood, or a comet, or a monstrous birth, sent a thrill through England, and awakened the expectation of the “golden day” that was to restore the old religion. No picture of those times is complete that does not catalogue these prodigies, which had so extraordinary an effect on the belief of the people. On the day of the election of St. Pius V., Maffei tells us,¹⁵⁹ a comet, like blood, stood over London, and near its tail a hand issued from a cloud, and brandished a sword. 1580 (the year the Jesuits entered the country) was distinguished by a profusion of such portents. Father Parsons, in his life of Campion, recites from Stowe,¹⁶⁰ April 2d, an earthquake in London, which made the great bell of Westminster toll of itself, and threw down portions of the Temple Church, and of Christ Church, Newgate Street, at sermon-time, and slew two persons. In June great storms of thunder and hail. One Alice Perin, eighty years of age, brought forth a monster with a head like a helmet, a face like a man, a mouth like a mouse, a human body, eight legs, all different, and a tail half a yard long. Agnes, the wife of Mr. — (Father Parsons leaves the name blank; it is scarcely worth while to refer to Stowe to restore it), gave birth to a monster that was male and female, with mouth and eyes like a lion. On May 18th, a vision of a hostile fleet was seen at sea off Bodmin; a pack of hounds was heard and seen in the air in Wiltshire; and in Somersetshire three several companies of sixty men in black appeared in the air, one after another. At a time when a student of magic occupied the imperial throne, and when Lord Burghley was entreating Kelly, the quack conjurer, not to deprive his native country of the good gifts God had given him, it is not to be wondered at if such predictions as may now be seen in Moore’s Almanack had a vast effect on men’s minds. The old priests still occasionally warned their flocks of their evil state. A Lincolnshire boor informed the council how Parson Britton, minister of Bonnington, preached that there was no salvation for those who went without confession and penance. “You must confess,” he said, “not to bad fellows like me; but if you seek for them, there be

honest men in the country." The boor accordingly sought, and found an honest man, who persuaded him that "there would be amendment this year (1580) of religion," and showed him in a book the cabalistic words, "E shall fall, and I shall stand instead; and I is not J, and shall not continue; and there shall be a musing Midsummer, a murdering Michaelmas, a bloody March. All after merry shall be."¹⁶¹ One instance is as good as twenty of the sort of sayings that were current among the people in reference to the immediate restoration of the old faith. It was needful to persuade them that it would be so; they were quite willing that it should be.

Such were the people to whom the Jesuits were sent, to bid them separate themselves from the communion of the heretics, and to forbear going to their churches, whatever the penal consequences might be. They came to separate what the queen wanted to unite, and accordingly she issued her proclamations, warning the people against them as enemies of herself, and of Church and State, who were to be diligently sought for as persons perilous to the public weal. Yet when they came, they were found to be men of peace, churchmen without weapons, teaching the old doctrine, fasting and praying, preaching confession and restitution, and offering to dispute about these points with the new ministers, whose lives were known to be far distant from any of these things. How they prospered with this people, I shall have to tell in the future chapters of this life.

CHAPTER VIII.

AFTER Hilary Term 1580 was over, Campion and Parsons found London emptied of friends and swarming with spies. Further stay there had become both useless and perilous, and they determined, with the other priests, to go forth on their appointed missions into the shires. Each Jesuit Father was furnished with two horses and a servant, two suits of apparel for travelling, sixty pounds in money, books, vestments, and every thing needful for the church or for the road, by George Gilbert, who also promised to supply whatever more might be necessary for him. Gilbert¹⁶² was the founder and the soul of the young men's club, the origin of which I described in my last chapter. Not only did their peculiar position force these young laymen into such an association, but the various difficulties of the missionary priests made the coöperation of some such body absolutely necessary. The penal laws were already very severe, and held out strong inducements to the layman to betray the missionaries. Prudence, therefore, forbade them to compromise themselves, or the person whom they visited, before they knew that their visits at his house would be safe to themselves and acceptable to him. It was for this reason that the Jesuits were ordered to be very careful whom they conversed with; to prefer the gentleman, because of his greater influence when converted, his greater power to protect them, as well as the greater unlikelihood of his betraying their secret. But the Jesuits were on no account to have any personal dealings with the Protestant till his Catholic friends had sounded his disposition, secured his impartiality, and ascertained that the priests might speak with him without fear of being betrayed.¹⁶³ And all this required an extensive organisation among the Catholic gentry.

Further, as the safety of the priests required that they should know to whom they were going to trust themselves, and should be protected and conducted on their way from house to house, so did the safety of their host require that he should know whom he was receiving. Missionaries could not carry about with them the certificates of their priesthood,

still less the proofs of their honesty. Unknown strangers might be spies or false brothers, or fallen priests, as easily as honest men. It was necessary, then, that missionaries should be conducted by some well-known and trustworthy person, who could answer for their identity and their honesty at the houses where they were introduced. Hence this conductor had to be a gentleman well known and respected throughout the country.

The members of the association bound themselves to perform the two functions of preparing Protestants and conducting the priests, and besides to procure alms for the common fund, out of which the priests were supplied. Their promise entailed upon them great sacrifices; they determined "to imitate the lives of apostles, and devote themselves wholly to the salvation of souls and conversion of heretics." They promised "to content themselves with food and clothing and the bare necessaries of their state, and to bestow all the rest for the good of the Catholic cause." And their association was solemnly blessed by Gregory XIII., April 14, 1580.¹⁶⁴ These men soon became known as "subseminaries;" "conductors, companions, and comforters of priests;" "lay brothers;" out of whom the Jesuits were accused of getting "either all or most part of their riches," before turning them into their officers and solicitors; "inferior agents," "lay assistants," to "straggle abroad and bring in game," whose business it was, "not to argue, but to pry in corners, to get men to entertain conference of the priest, or inveigle youths to fly over sea to the seminaries."¹⁶⁵

The association, as we may imagine, consisted "of young gentlemen of great zeal and forwardness in religion;" men of birth and property, without wives or office, and thus free to devote themselves to the cause. They entered on their dangerous and difficult path with "extraordinary joy and alacrity, every man offering himself, his person, his ability, his friends, and whatever God had lent him besides." Gilbert was the first; others were, Henry Vaux, Champion's old pupil; and Vaux's brother-in-law, Brooks; Charles Arundel; Charles Basset, great-grandson of Sir Thomas More; Edward and Francis Throgmorton; William Brooksby; Richard and William Griffen; Arthur Creswell; Edward Fitton; Stephen Brinkly; Gervase and Henry Pierrepont; Nicholas Roscarock; Anthony Babington; Chidcock Titchbourne; Charles Tilney; Edward Abingdon; Thomas Salisbury; Jerome Bellamy; William Tresham; Thomas Fitzherbert; John Stonor; James Hall; Richard Stanhurst,

another of Campion's pupils; Godfrey Fuljambe, who afterwards did very little credit to the society, and many others whom Parsons will not name for fear of compromising them. Among them must have been, at one time, Lord Oxford, Lord Henry Howard, Mr. Southwell, Lord Paget, and Thomas Pounce. It will be seen by the above list that the young men not only belonged to the chief Catholic families of the land, but that the society also furnished the principals of many of the real or pretended plots of the last twenty years of Elizabeth and the first few years of James I. So difficult must it ever be to keep a secret organisation long faithful to a purely religious and ecclesiastical purpose.

Equipped by this society, Parsons and Campion rode forth; the first accompanied by George Gilbert, the second by Gervase Pierrepoint. They agreed to meet to take leave of each other at Hogsdon, at the house of a gentleman,—I think, Sir William Catesby,—whose wife, a Throgmorton, was a Catholic. He himself was not yet converted; and for this reason the true names of his guests were not told to him.

Just before the Jesuits left Hogsdon, there came to them in hot haste Thomas Pounce, who was a prisoner in the Marshalsea, but who had found means to blind the gaoler to his temporary absence. He told them that a meeting of the associates, prisoners and others, had been held at the gaol to discuss the means of counteracting the rumours which the council was encouraging.

It was believed that the Jesuits had come into England for political purposes. The story, said Pounce, would grow during their absence from London, and would gain fresh strength with every fresh report of the conversions which they were about to make in the shires; the council would be exasperated, and if either of the fathers ever fell into its hands, he would be guilefully put out of the way or openly slaughtered, and then books would be published to deface him, according to the usual fashion of the day; hereby well-meaning people would be deceived, and the Catholic cause not a little slandered. But much of this, he went on to declare, would be remedied if each of the fathers would write a brief declaration of the true causes of his coming, and would leave it, properly signed and sealed, with some sure friends until the day he might be taken or put to death. And then, if the enemy should falsely defame him, his friends might publish the declaration to justify his memory before God and man. Hence Pounce begged both of them to write their declarations, as if they were writing their last will.

The proposition seemed to proceed from zeal and mature

discretion, and it was accepted by both the fathers. Parsons's paper is still preserved among the Mss. at Stonyhurst. And Campion, says Parsons, being a man of singular good-nature, and easy to be persuaded to whatever religion or piety inclined towards, rose from the company, took a pen, and seated himself at the end of the table, where in less than half an hour he wrote the declaration which was soon to be so famous. It 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. It was addressed to the Lords of the Council, before whom he expected to be examined when he should be apprehended. It runs thus:

"RIGHT HONOURABLE,—Whereas I have, out of Germany and Boeme-land, being sent by my superiors, adventured myself into this noble realm, my dear country, for the glory of God and benefit of souls, I thought it like enough that, in this busy, watchful, and suspicious world, I should, either sooner or later, be interrupted and stopped of my course. Wherefore, providing for all events, and uncertain what may become of me when God shall haply deliver my body into durance, I supposed it needful to put this writing in a readiness, desiring your good lordships to give it the reading, and to know my cause. This doing, I trust I shall ease you of some labour, for that which otherwise you must have sought by practice of wit, I do now lay into your hands by plain confession. And to the intent this whole matter may be conceived in order, and so the better both understood and remembered, I make thereof these nine points or articles, directly, truly, and resolutely opening my full enterprise and purpose.

1. I confess that I am, albeit unworthy, a priest of the Catholic Church, and, through the great mercies of God, vowed now these eight years into the religion of the Society of Jesus; and thereby have taken upon me a special kind of warfare under the banuer of obedience, and eke resigned all my interest and possibility of wealth, honour, pleasures, and other worldly felicities.

2. At the voice of our General Provost, which is to me a warrant from Heaven and an oracle of Christ, I took my voyage from Prague to Rome, where our said General Father is alway resident, and from Rome to England, as I might and would have done joyously into any part of Christendom or Heathenesse, had I been thereto assigned.

3. My charge is, of free cost to preach the Gospel, to minister the sacraments, to instruct the simple, to reform sinners, to confute errors, and, in brief, to cry alarm spiritual against foul vice and proud ignorance, wherewith many my dear countrymen are abused.

4. I never had mind, and am straitly forbid by our fathers that sent me, to deal in any respects with matters of state or policy

of this realm, as those things which appertain not to my vocation, and from which I do gladly estrange and sequester my thoughts.

5. I ask, to the glory of God, with all humility, and under your correction, three sorts of indifferent and quiet audience. The first before your honours; wherein I shall discourse of religion so far as it toucheth the commonwealth and your nobilities. The second, whereof I make most account, before the doctors and masters and chosen men of both universities; wherein I undertake to avow the faith of our Catholic Church by proofs invincible, scriptures, councils, fathers, histories, natural and moral reason. The third, before the lawyers spiritual and temporal; wherein I will justify the said faith by the common wisdom of the laws standing yet in force and practice.

6. I would be loth to speak any thing that might sound of an insolent brag or challenge,¹⁶⁶ especially being now as a dead man to this world, and willing to cast my head under every man's foot, and to kiss the ground he treads upon. Yet have I such a courage in advancing the majesty of Jesus my King, and such affiance in His gracious favour, and such assurance in my quarrel, and my evidence so impregnable, because I know perfectly that none of the Protestants, nor all the Protestants living, nor any sect of our adversaries (howsoever they face men down in pulpits, and overrule us in their kingdom of grammarians and unlearned ears), can maintain their cause in disputation. I am to sue most humbly and instantly for the combat with all and every of them, or with the principal that may be found of them; protesting that in this trial the better furnished they come, the better welcome they shall be to me.

7. And because it hath pleased God to enrich the queen my sovereign lady with noble gifts of nature, learning, and princely education, I do verily trust, that if her highness would vouchsafe her royal person and good attention to such a conference as in the second part of my fifth article I have mentioned and requested, or to a few sermons which in her or your hearing I am to utter, such a manifest and fair light, by good method and plain dealing, may be cast upon those controversies, that possibly her zeal of truth and love of her people shall incline her noble grace to disfavour some proceedings hurtful to the realm, and procure towards us oppressed more equity.

8. Moreover, I doubt not but you, her honourable council, being of such wisdom and drift in cases most important, when you shall have heard these questions of religion opened faithfully which many times by our adversaries are huddled up and confounded, will see upon what substantial grounds our Catholic faith is builded, and how feeble that side is which by sway of the time prevaleth against us; and so at last, for your own souls, and for many thousand souls that depend upon your government, will discountenance error when it is bewrayed, and hearken to those which would spend the best blood in their bodies for your salvation. Many innocent hands are lifted up unto heaven for you daily and hourly, by those English

students whose posterity shall not die, which, beyond the seas, gathering virtue and sufficient knowledge for the purpose, are determined never to give you over, but either to win you to Heaven or to die upon your pikes. And touching our Society, be it known unto you, that we have made a league—all the Jesuits in the world, whose succession and multitude must overreach all the practices of England—cheerfully to carry the cross that you shall lay upon us, and never to despair your recovery while we have a man left to enjoy your Tyburn, or to be racked with your torments, or to be consumed with your prisons. The expense is reckoned, the enterprise is begun; it is of God, it cannot be withstood. So the faith was planted, so it must be restored.

9. If these my offers be refused, and my endeavours can take no place, and I, having run thousands of miles to do you good, shall be rewarded with rigour,—I have no more to say, but to recommend your case and mine to Almighty God, the Searcher of hearts, who send us of His grace, and set us at accord before the day of payment, to the intent we may at last be friends in heaven, where all injuries shall be forgotten.”

Campion wrote his triple challenge with more confidence in his cause, and more trust in the good-will of his opponents, than knowledge of their views. To reconcile the Catholicism which he came to preach with the designs of the politicians of the council was a task beyond all the powers of reason.

Elizabeth, had she been disposed to tolerate Catholics at all, would only have tolerated them on condition of their abjuring obedience to the Pope in matters which pertained to the state or affected the queen. But Campion could not even deny the validity of the Bull by which the queen was deprived of her crown, and could only show that he and the Catholics were for the present dispensed from attempting to enforce it, and from the penalties of its non-observance. The question of political reconciliation never advanced beyond this knot; and till this was untied, the very terms of his challenge seemed to absolve his opponents from listening to his arguments upon the two remaining topics. His challenges to the politicians and to the lawyers were calculated to thwart him in his attempts to get a fair hearing from the divines, and were at first sight inconsistent with his profession of not meddling in matters of state. When he came to pen his seventh article, he had already recognised that the second part of his fifth article contained the pith of his challenge, and that the rest was superfluous. But there was no time to remodel it. He wrote it in haste, and gave a copy to Pounce, keeping the original himself. He desired that it might not be published till there was necessity for so doing; but he forgot to seal it, as had been proposed, and as the more wary Parsons took care to do. Pounce,

therefore, went back to prison and read it, and was thrown by it into such a dithyrambic state of mind that, though he had no intention of imparting it to his friends, still less of giving them, or allowing them to take, copies of it, he was resolved not to hide its light altogether under a bushel.

The Marshalsea in Southwark, which was one of the chief prisons for recusant Catholics, was at that time infested by two Puritan ministers,—Mr. Tripp and Mr. Crowley,—who, under the protection of the authorities, visited the poorer prisoners in their cells, and urged them to “abide some conference” with them, “offering, like vain men, in angles, to the uncharitable vexation of the poor prisoners,” that disputation which they obstinately refused to abide in public. Pounce then, bursting with the secret of Campion’s challenge, which he carried in his bosom, was inspired by it himself to make a public challenge to Tripp and Crowley, and to back it up (Sept. 8) with petitions to the Council and to the Bishop of London, in which he discovered the universal wish of the Catholics for public conferences, and challenged a discussion, four to four, or six to six, on each side, adding, that he knew two or three who would challenge all the Protestant divines together, and give them Beza and all his brethren in. “Let this petition,” he concluded, “made in the name of all the Catholic fathers of our nation, remain for a perpetual record and testimony, even to our enemies, of our indifferency and their insufficiency. Muse not, my lords, at this challenge, with a counterbuff, as the soldier saith, for it is made in the further behalf (as it may be presumed) of a perpetual corporation and succession of most learned fathers, as any without comparison in the world; with the aid of another good race besides, which cannot die, who have all vowed, as charity hath inflamed them, either to win this realu again to the Catholic faith, and that without any bloodshed except their own, at God’s permission, or else to die all upon the pikes of your sharpest laws, and win heaven, as they hope, for themselves.” Much of this, it will be seen, is copied closely from the eighth article of Campion’s declaration.

Parsons had once before found that Campion could not be safely intrusted to the custody of the young associates of the Society,—a set of youths, as Bartoli writes, “*santa invero e degna d’ogni spirituale consolatione, ma per l’età e per lo conceputo fervore, più generosa che cauta,*”¹⁶⁷—for they were in a state of excitement similar to that which animated the first Crusaders. As gallant and enthusiastic as the conquerors of Jerusalem, they were quite as unable to understand or to obey the rules of political wisdom and prudence. Every

earthly consideration seemed to them a presumptuous interference of earth with Heaven. Thus the same zeal which gave them their energies hurried them forward into the paths where those energies would be more mischievous than useful. Instead of letting Heaven dictate their end, and leaving earthly prudence to preside over their choice of the earthly means to their heavenly end, they obliterated all distinctions, and considered ends and means to lie alike within the supernatural sphere; and they were convinced that for every fresh danger that threatened them God had a new miracle in store to deliver them.

Pounde's reckless enthusiasm in challenging the ministers, and petitioning the Bishop and Council, had the effect of convincing the queen's ministers that a conspiracy was on foot. Pounde soon felt the consequences. The Bishop of London removed him (Sept. 18) from his companions in the Marshalsea, and sent him, heavily ironed, to solitary confinement in the then half-ruined episcopal castle at Bishop's Stortford. Pounde therefore, on the eve of his departure, either delivered Campion's paper to the keeping of some one even less retentive of a secret than himself, or else communicated it through an unwillingness to be checkmated by the Bishop of London, whose conduct he regarded as a mere dodge to stop all mention of a public discussion, or from a conviction that Campion's challenge was much more calculated to embarrass the council than his own had proved to be. Actuated by one of these motives, Pounde communicated the paper to his neighbour Tichbourne,¹⁶⁸ Tichbourne to William Horde, and Horde to several others, and especially to Elizabeth Sanders, a nun, sister to Dr. Sanders, who was at this time with the Italian expedition in Ireland. Upon all these people John Watson, the Bishop of Winchester, laid hands on the 18th of November or thereabouts, committed their bodies to the house of correction at Winchester, confiscated their "lewd and forbidden books," and sent up to the Lords of the Council a copy of the "seditious supplication, protestation, or challenge," which, he added, seemed "very plausible" to the people in his part of England.¹⁶⁹ About the same time, another copy was discovered and sent up to the council by the Sheriff of Wilts. And from this time it became well known all over England, and many persons got into trouble for circulating copies of it.¹⁷⁰

Pounde was right in the importance he attached to public disputation. It soon became one of the chief weapons of the Jesuits, whose unexampled dexterity in wielding it is thus described by a Protestant traveller, Sir Edwin Sandys:¹⁷¹

“As for the controversies themselves, the main matter of all other, therein their industry is at this day incomparable; having so altered the tenures of them, refined the states, subtilised the distinctions, sharpened their own proofs, devised answers, . . . that in affiance of this furniture, and of their promptness of speech and wit, which by continual exercise they aspire to perfect, they dare enter into combat even with the best of their oppugners; and will not doubt but either to entangle him so in the snares of their own quirks, or at leastwise so to avoid and put off his blows with the manifold wards of their multiplied distinctions, that an ordinary auditor shall never conceive them to be vanquished, and a favourable shall report them vanquishers.

Whereupon they now, to be quit with their adversaries, and by the very same act to draw away the multitude, cry mainly in all places for trial by disputations. This Campion the Jesuit did many years since with us. This, as I passed through Zurich, did the Cardinal Andrea of Constance and his Jesuits with their ministers. . . . Not long before, the same was done at Geneva; and very lately the Capuchins renewed the challenge. In which parts I observed this discreet valour on both sides, that as the Romanists offer to dispute in the adversaries' own cities, which they know their magistrates will never accord, so the ministers, in supply thereof, offer to go to them to their cities, and that now is as much disliked on the other part; each side being content that the fire should be kindled rather in his enemies' house than in his own.”

The council soon knew of Campion's departure from London, and sent pursuivants into most of the shires of England with authority to apprehend him and Parsons wherever they could find them. But the Jesuits were diligently warned by the Catholics, and easily avoided their pursuers.

“They lost their labour” (says Parsons), “and we had three or four months free to follow our business, in which period, by the help and direction of the young gentlemen that went with us, we passed through the most part of the shires of England, preaching and administering the sacraments in almost every gentleman's and nobleman's house that we passed by, whether he was Catholic or not, provided he had any Catholics in his house to hear us.

We entered, for the most part, as acquaintance or kinsfolk of some person that lived within the house, and when that failed us, as passengers or friends of some gentleman that accompanied us; and after ordinary salutations, we had our lodgings, by procurement of the Catholics, within the house, in some part retired from the rest, where, putting ourselves in priests' apparel and furniture,—which we always carried with us,—we had secret conference with the Catholics that were there, or such of them as might conveniently come, whom we ever caused to be ready for that night late to prepare themselves for the sacrament of confession; and the next morning, very early, we had Mass, and the Blessed Sacrament ready for such as would com-

municate, and after that an exhortation; and then we made ourselves ready to depart again. And this was the manner of proceeding when we stayed least; but when there was longer and more liberal stay, then these exercises were more frequent."

The government had hitherto contented itself with issuing proclamations,—a second was published against harbouring Jesuits on the 3d of July,—and with searching for the missionaries. But when Poude's challenge put it upon the false scent of a plot to stir up rebellion by promulgating the Pope's "Bulls and messages," and especially when this false opinion was corroborated by the dispersion of Campion's challenge, very different measures seemed necessary. When we consider the state of England and Ireland at the time, these fears do not seem utterly unreasonable. The measures which they prompted were both energetic and comprehensive. They amounted to a plan for putting all the Catholic gentry of England under surveillance, and for confining all the most energetic of them either to prison or to very narrow limits. First, certain castles in various parts of England were selected for the custody of the recusants, and a keeper and two superintendents appointed for each. Wisbeach Castle, which had been already selected in 1572, on account of its solitary site, as a place where the chief recusants should be imprisoned and made "to live at their own charges,"¹⁷² was now made the prison for such of "the capital doctors and priests" as were found "busier in matters of state than was meet for the quiet of the realm."¹⁷³ Sir Nicholas Bacon was appointed keeper; and Michell and Carleton, the latter a sour Puritan, were to be the resident superintendents.¹⁷⁴ Banbury was apportioned for the recusants of Warwick, Oxford, and Northampton; Tremingham for those of Norfolk and Suffolk; Kimbolton for those of Huntingdon, Buckingham, and Bedford; Portchester for those of Surrey, Hants, and Sussex; Devizes for those of Dorset, Wilts, and Somerset; Melbourne for Stafford, Derby, Leicester, Lincoln, and Nottingham; Halton, in Cheshire, for Lancashire, Cheshire, and North Wales; Wigmore, in Montgomeryshire, for Hereford, Monmouth, Worcester, and South Wales. Those proposed for the north were, Middleham, Knaresborough, Durham, and Barnard Castle. The instructions to the keeper of Wisbeach Castle¹⁷⁵ will serve as a specimen of the rest. Besides the usual rules of close confinement, a minister was to be appointed, to have "his charge of diet and other necessaries by the contributions of the recusants;" and the keeper was to see "that due exercise of common prayer be observed every day, and preaching twice in the week at least." At this the prisoners were to be

present, or, if they refused, they were to be fined at the pleasure of the Bishop of Ely. Each prisoner, moreover, was to be, "twice in the week at least, conferred with, as well by the minister as by other learned men sent by the bishop, or that voluntarily of themselves should come for so charitable a work." But the prisoners were to have no conference with each other but at meal-time, and then there was to be "no speech of any matters in controversy." Those who conferred with the minister were to have more liberty than those who did not. But none were to be allowed to have any books except a Bible, the works of the Fathers, and books licensed by the minister.

To this place, to this discipline, the government banished Watson, the Bishop of Lincoln; Feckenham, the Abbot of Westminster; and other dignitaries,—who up to this time had been allowed a certain amount of liberty.

"In their old age" (writes a priest from London to Father Agazari, rector of the English College at Rome¹⁷⁶) "they are sent to Wisbeach Castle, a most unhealthy place, under the orders of a sour Puritan. It is certain they cannot live long there. Over and above the miseries of imprisonment, they are shamefully treated by their keeper. All books but a single Bible are taken from them, nor are they allowed any papers of their own writings, or notes. Conceited ministers are let in upon them without warning, with whom they must argue without preparation, or endure their insults. The most false and ridiculous libels upon them are published, and even printed, in order to lessen the consideration in which they are held. Last month¹⁷⁷ an immodest woman was shut up without their knowledge in one of their chambers, to give a handle for a false charge of incontinence. No access is allowed, and we are obliged to use tricks to communicate with them. When any one wants to give them an alarm, he walks in the neighbouring fields the day before, and cries out as if he was looking for game. At this sign, one of them looks out of window, and learns by signal that there is something for the prisoners. The next night, when every body is asleep, the sportsman cautiously creeps up to the wall, and one of the prisoners lets down a basket from the window whence the sign was given, and draws up what is put into it. The same plan is generally adopted for the other prisons; but the variety of places requires a variety of methods, and the zeal, charity, and bravery of the Catholics is greatly conspicuous in designing and accomplishing these dangerous services."

After the coast had been somewhat cleared by confining the "capital doctors and priests" in Wisbeach, and the other recusants, already committed, in the other castles, the council undertook a general raid against all the Catholics of England. The chief of them were sent for to London, to answer

before the council. Letters were directed to the Bishops to summon and commit those who were not summoned to London; but they were told to be careful not to permit them "to come many together at a time," for fear they should know their strength.¹⁷⁸ Those who were summoned to London had first to give bonds for their appearance, and were then committed, some as prisoners to their own houses, some to those of their Protestant friends, and others to the castles prepared for them.

Father Parsons quotes a long string of names of persons committed. The following were the chief of them. The Earl of Southampton, Lord Herbert, Lord Compton, Lord Paget, Sir Thomas Fitzherbert, Sir John Arundell, Sir Alexander Culpeper, Sir John Southworth, Sir Nicholas Poyntz, Sir Thomas Gerard, Sir George Peckham, John Talbot of Grafton, William and Richard Shelly, Ralph Sheldon, Thomas and Francis Throgmorton, John and Edward Gage, Nicholas Thimbleby, William and Robert Tirwhit, Richard Culpeper, John Walker, Mr. Towneley, Mr. Guilford, Robert Price, Peter Titchbourne, Erasmus Wolseley, John Gifford, Brian Fowler, Thomas Cross.¹⁷⁹ Both of these events, the proclamation and the persecution, were described by Dr. Allen, who wrote as follows to the Cardinal of Como from Rheims, Sept. 12 (N.S.), 1580:¹⁸⁰

"MOST ILLUSTRIOUS AND REVEREND LORD CARDINAL,—Not long ago I sent your eminence the late proclamation of the Queen of England against the Catholics of her dominions; not, indeed, professedly against their religion, but against their suspected treason and conspiracy with the refugees. In it she tells her subjects, that the Pope and the King of Spain had been long and earnestly entreated by her enemies and the refugees to make war against her; she boasts that she is quite prepared for it, and that she fears no foreign forces; she commands her subjects to stand fast in their duty and fidelity; and she says she fears neither rebels within, nor the land or sea forces made ready without. Moreover, she declares that in future she means to deal more sharply than her habit or her nature inclines her with those of her subjects who are guilty of any conspiracy with the refugee rebels. Soon after the publication of this edict, by crier, through the whole realm, she orders that in each county all the more powerful and notable Catholics should be apprehended, and committed either to prison or to the custody of heretics. This was immediately, almost suddenly, put in execution; at the same time the strictest search was made for priests, particularly for two lawyers whom we sent over this summer, and for the Jesuits. But the Catholics take such pains, and use such care in concealing them, that up to this time very few have fallen into the enemies' hands. They have only taken two priests of Rheims and one of Rome.

The number of gentlemen now in prison is so great that they are obliged to remove the old prisoners for religion—the Bishop of Lincoln and several other ecclesiastics—to other strong places far distant from the city, to make room for the new prisoners. The same thing had already been done at York. But many think that the reason of this was, that the priests kept prisoners in those cities were converting all the chief citizens and many of the nobility, and persuading them by their life and example to persevere. Those gentlemen are treated most severely who are known to have sons in the seminary of Rome or of Rheims. This persecution is heavier, and extends to more persons, than any of those before it. For before this they never committed any of the nobility; who, however, are not in prison, but only given into the custody of heretics.

It is supposed that they do all this to prevent any Catholics joining the enemy, if there is to be any; for they are horribly afraid of what is to be. And perhaps they have made quite sure of those whom they have shut up, whatever turns up. But as for the rest, who escape the present danger by dissimulation or other shifts, they are rather provoked and irritated to make some attempt, when God gives opportunity, not only to deliver their own souls, but their friends' also, who are so unhandsomely imprisoned.

And certainly the whole Catholic population, afflicted in soul and body by this disgraceful tyranny of one woman, beseeches God with unspeakable yearnings to grant some redemption. For this we exiles cry out to our most holy Father, the highest minister of justice upon earth; for this the prisoners groan to him; for this innumerable afflicted souls, his own sheep, stretch forth their hands to him. Not that we doubt that the well-known compassion of the most holy Gregory can do more than it does; or that he, our only father upon earth, can wish us better or greater things than he does; but that we may at least somewhat relieve our most just sorrow for our people by communicating our calamities to our most holy Lord and loving Father, and to your kindness. Certainly, all thinking men prognosticate that this new cruelty will do hurt to our enemies. Whether they intend to do more than imprison is as yet uncertain; further measures are expected after the meeting of Parliament, which is supposed to be soon about to take place. Our religion is only exalted above its condemners by this persecution, and by the admirable constancy which it calls forth. And it is made clear to all, that the question now is not about religion,—of which our enemies have not a bit,—but about the stability of the empire, and about worldly prosperity. May the Lord Jesus long preserve your lordship to be our great defence!

Your Eminence's most humble servant in the Lord,

WILLIAM ALLEN.

Rheims, 12 Sept. 1580.

P.S.—I have sent you a page of the English Calendar, that you may see how solemnly the festival of Elizabeth's birthday is

kept on the 7th of September, so as totally to eclipse that of the Blessed Virgin on the 8th, which is omitted. See the pride of the queen, who is not content with the festival of her coronation, but must have her birthday kept besides."

Neither Parsons nor Campion, who were on the spot, describe this persecution with so much bitterness as Dr. Allen at Rheims. This we may attribute partly to a generosity which feels more pain at seeing others suffer than at suffering; partly to a consciousness, which Allen could not but have felt, that the persecution was in some measure to be attributed to himself and the foreign meddlers who were perpetually interfering in the political affairs of England, with the object of restoring religion there. In spite of the laboured attempt of Parsons to prove the contrary, it is abundantly clear that Allen was deeply implicated in the plots of the day. The last part of the foregoing letter would have been treasonable in the eyes of all lawyers, especially when we connect his passionate appeal to the Pope with the Papal expedition against Elizabeth which at the very time had descended upon the coast of Ireland, and about which the nuncio at Paris had just sent off this news to Rome: "The Earl of Desmond, and Dr. Nicholas Sanders, and all the Catholic army, are still encamped in their old place—a strong position. They were, at the date of my advice, waiting for foreign aid, without which they can do little or nothing. But we heard yesterday by letter and authentic report that five great ships full of soldiers and munitions of war—sent, it said, by the Holy See—reached in safety some port in Ireland a few days ago."¹⁶¹

The Jesuits were satisfied with the fruits of this first expedition. They found the country people more inclined to be Catholics than the inhabitants of the towns:—"the infection of ministers bore most rule with artisans and merchants:"—but the best part of the nobility and gentry, who dwelt on their estates, together with their tenants and dependents, remembered the virtuous life and just proceeding of those of the ancient religion, especially when they saw and felt the present contrast. It was a comfortable thing, says Parsons, to see the universal inclination of so infinite a people to the Catholic religion; but an incredible sorrow to witness the rents and breaches, the wrenches and disjointures, which the preaching of new doctrines for twenty years had made in the consciences and belief of that good people, which had lived so many ages in one faith. The breach between the Protestants and Puritans was already of many years' date. But this year Puritanism had given birth to a new de-

velopment, that of the "Family of Love," which had already gained several of the queen's household, and especially of her guard, and against which she published a proclamation, dated Richmond, October 3, in this year. The peasant mind had already begun to ferment. In May, Hammond, the plough-wright of Hethersett, had suffered the loss of his ears for blaspheming the queen and council, and was afterwards burnt in the castle-ditch at Norwich, for saying that the New Testament was a fable; that Christ's blood is not necessary for salvation; that He neither rose again nor ascended into heaven; that there is no Holy Ghost; and that there are no sacraments. Parsons maintains that this denial of all Christianity was a logical development of the principle which renounced the authority of tradition to determine the canon of Scripture and explain its meaning; rejected all merit in order to amplify God's mercy; denied Christ's descent into hell, and the assistance of general councils by the Holy Ghost; and prepared the way for rejecting all the sacraments by rejecting five of them.

But where the fermentation did not drive men into these sloughs, it led them to repair to the Jesuits to be resolved of their doubts and scruples. For, beside the open and obstinate heretics, there were many who were only verging to that state, unable by themselves to solve the arguments of the minister, but easily kept right by the priest. Parsons gives several examples. Anne Dimocke, a maid of honour to the queen, a great follower of the court preachers, had learnt from them that there was no hell, "but only a certain remorse of conscience for him that did evil, which was to be understood for hell, and that all the rest were but bugbears to fright children." To solve this doubt, she applied to Father Parsons, under whose instructions she at once became Catholic, and afterwards left the court and the world, and, with one of Lord Vaux's daughters, followed Parsons to Rouen, where she entered a convent.

Sir Robert Dimocke was another great hearer of sermons, and had been led into such a maze by them, that he had come to doubt whether there was any God. His friends therefore procured a secret interview between him and Father Parsons; and the first point which had to be discussed between them was the existence of God. Parsons, during a ride of a few hours, convinced him on this point; but as Sir Robert was still a Protestant, the father durst not trust himself with him in any town or house. However, Dimocke afterwards sent for Campion, who finished his conversion, and took him into the Church.

These examples Parsons gives to show how those farthest gone out of order were reduced; how those who were going were stayed; how doubters were resolved; how the cold and negligent were warmed; how those whose good desires were paralysed by fear were put in heart; and how those who were good were confirmed.

The venture prospered,—to use the mercantile phraseology they affected in order to conceal their meaning from the uninitiated;—though many slighted their wares, and many defamed them, there were no few buyers and more admirers. Among the Protestants there was vast talk about the Jesuits, who were as much befabled as mythological monsters. There were tales, no more consistent than dreams, current about their origin, their life, their rule, morals, doctrine, designs, and actions. Almost all agreed, however, that they were spies of the Pope, or agents of treason and sedition.

The general tenor of the conduct of the Catholics who received the Jesuits gladly may be learned from the letter to Father Agazzari already quoted: “When a priest comes to their houses, they first salute him as a stranger unknown to them, and then they take him to an inner chamber where an oratory is set up, where all fall on their knees, and beg his blessing. Then they ask how long he will remain with them, and pray him to stop as long as he may. If he says he must go on the morrow, as he usually does,—for it is dangerous to stay longer,—they all prepare for confession that evening; the next morning they hear Mass and receive Holy Communion; then, after preaching and giving his blessing a second time, the priest departs, and is conducted on his journey by one of the young gentlemen.”

The hiding holes had become known, by means of searchers and false brethren, by the middle of 1581; so that even thus early the Catholics were compelled, when there was a night alarm, to betake themselves to woods and thickets, to ditches and holes. “Sometimes when we are sitting merrily at table, conversing familiarly on matters of faith and devotion (for our talk is generally of such things), there comes a hurried knock at the door, like that of a pursuivant; all start up and listen,—like deer when they hear the huntsmen; we leave our food, and commend ourselves to God in a brief ejaculation; nor is word or sound heard till the servants come to say what the matter is. If it is nothing, we laugh at our fright.”

“No one is to be found in these parts who complains of the length of services: if a Mass does not last nearly an hour,

many are discontented. If six, eight, or more Masses are said in the same place, and on the same day (as often happens when there is a meeting of priests), the same congregation will assist at all. When they can get priests, they confess every week. Quarrels are scarce known amongst them. Disputes are almost always left to the arbitration of the priest. They do not willingly intermarry with heretics, nor will they pray with them, nor do they like to have any dealings with them. A lady was lately told that she should be let out of prison, if she would once walk through a church; she refused. She had come into prison with a sound conscience, and she would depart with it, or die. In Henry's days, the father of this Elizabeth, the whole kingdom, with all its Bishops and learned men, abjured their faith at one word of the tyrant. But now, in his daughter's days, boys and women boldly profess the faith before the judge, and refuse to make the slightest concession even at the threat of death."

In October, when Michaelmas term began, Campion and Parsons returned towards London to meet and confer once more, and to compare the results of their labours. The two letters in which they give an account of their doings will fitly conclude this chapter.

"The heat of the persecution now raging against Catholics throughout the whole realm is most fiery, such as has never been heard of since the conversion of England. Gentle and simple, men and women, are being every where haled to prison, even children are being put into irons; they are despoiled of their goods, shut out from the light of day, and publicly held up to the contempt of the people in proclamations, sermons, and conferences, as traitors and rebels. It is supposed that the reasons of this great persecution are, first, the ill-success of the English in Ireland; next, the demonstration made last summer against England by the Spanish fleet; and lastly, the coming of the Jesuits into the island, and the great number of conversions made by them, which has so astonished the heretics that they know not what to do or say. They are most troubled about a certain protestation of their faith and religion, and of the reasons of their coming into England, which the Jesuits wrote and signed with their names, and placed in the hands of a friend, for fear that, if they were cast into prison, the heretics might pretend, as is their usual custom, that they had recanted. This protestation was communicated by the man who had charge of it to another, and by him to a third, and it soon came into the hands of an immense number, and even of the queen's councillors.

We hear that one month since more than fifty thousand names of persons who refused to go to the heretical churches were reported. Many more, I fancy, have been discovered since.

The heretics, when they throw the Catholics into prison, only

ask them one thing,—to come to their churches, and to hear sermon and service. It was even lately proposed to certain noblemen to come, if it were only once a year, to church, making, if they pleased, a previous protestation that they came not to approve of their religion or doctrines, but only to show an outward obedience to the queen; and yet all most constantly refused. A certain noble lady was offered her choice, either to stay in prison, or simply to walk through the church without stopping there, or exhibiting any signs of respect; but she declared that she never would. A boy, of, I believe, twelve years, who had been cheated by his friends into walking to church before a bride (as the custom here is), and had been afterwards blamed by his companions, was perfectly inconsolable till he found me a few days after, when he threw himself down at my feet, and confessed his sin. A thousand similar instances might be given.

We, although all conversation with us is forbidden by proclamation, are yet most earnestly invited every where; many take long journeys only to speak to us, and put themselves and their fortunes entirely in our hands. It is therefore absolutely necessary that more of our Society should be sent, if possible—not fewer than five: one Spaniard, one Italian, and three Englishmen, who must be very learned men, on account of the many entangled cases of conscience, which arise from no one here having ample faculties, and from the difficulty of consulting the Holy See,—which is treason.

There is immense want of a Bishop to consecrate for us the holy oils for baptism and extreme unction, for want of which we are brought to the greatest straits; and unless his Holiness makes haste to help us in this matter, we shall be soon at our wits' end.

The adversaries are very mad that by no cruelty can they move a single Catholic from his resolution, no, not even a little girl. A young lady of sixteen was questioned by the sham Bishop of London about the Pope, and answered him with courage, and even made fun of him in public, and so was ordered to be carried to the public prison for prostitutes.¹⁸² On the way she cried out that she was sent to that place for her religion, and not for immodesty.

A certain English gentleman-pirate lately returned with a booty of more than two millions, taken in the West Indies. The Spanish ambassador reclaimed the spoil in the king's name; but the queen gave the shuffling answer, that the King of Spain had given harbour to the Pope's ships on their passage to Ireland. She asked, moreover, why the Pope, without being harmed, attacked her kingdom in this way. He answered, that he rather wondered that the Pope did not attempt to do more against her, who had treated him so abominably, not only in refusing him all his ecclesiastical rights, which from the most ancient times were allowed to the Holy See by the kings of England, but also by libels, sermons, lewd pictures, and many other ways, by which his authority was defamed and brought into contempt. He said more to the same

effect, and the queen was silent then; but afterwards said to a nobleman that the Pope had written to her that he was prepared to approve the whole Protestant service, if she would restore him his title of supreme head of the Church. But in these parts there is often talk of this kind of pretended letters.

I keep myself safe here in London by frequent change of place; I never remain more than two days in one spot, because of the strict searches made for me. I am quite overwhelmed with business, to which I am obliged to devote the whole day, from early morning till midnight, after I have said Mass and office, and preached, sometimes twice in the day. Therefore I hope for reinforcements, both from our Society and from the Pope's college.

All Catholics here lift up their hands and thank God and his Holiness for founding such a college at Rome, beyond all their hopes; and they beseech his Holiness, by the bowels of the mercy of our Saviour, to defend the college, and to enlarge it for the needs of the present time.

Two days ago a priest called Clifton was led in chains through the streets, and he walked with so cheerful a countenance that the people wondered. When he saw this, he began to laugh heartily, at which the folks were still more struck, and asked him why he was the only one to laugh at his own sad case, for which every body else pitied him. He answered, it was because he was the gainer in the business. In the beginning of this persecution, there were some people in a certain county who were frightened, and promised to go to the Protestant church; but their wives stood out against them, and threatened to leave them if they, for human respect, left off their obedience to God and the Church. Many like things have taken place among boys, who for this cause have separated themselves from their parents."¹⁸³

Campion's letter describes the passages of his career since he last wrote from St. Omers. The events to which the first paragraph refers have already been related; but it will do no harm to repeat them in his own words. The rest refers to his experience during his first journey through England.

"Having now passed, by God's great mercy, five months in these places, I thought it good to give you intelligence by my letters of the present state of things here, and what we may of likelihood look for to come; for I am sure, both for the common care of us all, and special love to me, you long to know what I do, what hope I have, how I proceed. Of other things that fell before, I wrote from St. Omers; what has since happened, now I will briefly recount unto you. It fell out, as I construe it, by God's special providence, that, tarrying for wind four days together, I should at length take sea the fifth day in the evening, which was the feast of St. John Baptist, my particular patron, to whom I had often before commended my cause and journey. So we arrived safely at Dover the morrow following, very early, my little man and I together.

There we were at the very point to be taken, being by commandment brought before the mayor of the town, who conjectured many things,—suspected us to be such as indeed we were, adversaries of the new heretical faction, favourers of the old fathers' faith, that we dissembled our names, had been abroad for religion, and returned again to spread the same. One thing he specially urged, that I was Dr. Allen; which I denied, proffering my oath, if need were, for the verifying thereof. At length he resolveth, and that it so should be, he often repeated, that, with some to guard me, I should be sent to the council. Neither can I tell who altered his determination, saving God, to whom underhand I then humbly prayed, using St. John's intercession also, by whose happy help I safely came so far. Suddenly cometh forth an old man,—God give him grace for his labour!—'Well,' quoth he, 'it is agreed you shall be dismissed; fare you well.' And so we to go apace. The which thing considered, and the like that daily befall unto me, I am verily persuaded that one day I shall be apprehended, but that when it shall most pertain to God's glory, and not before.

Well, I came to London, and my good angel guided me into the same house that had harboured Father Robert [Parsons] before, whither young gentlemen came to me on every hand. They embrace me, reapparel me, furnish me, weapon me, and convey me out of the city. I ride about some piece of the country every day. The harvest is wonderful great. On horseback I meditate my sermon; when I come to the house, I polish it. Then I talk with such as come to speak with me, or hear their confessions. In the morning, after Mass, I preach; they hear with exceeding greediness, and very often receive the sacrament, for the ministration whereof we are ever well assisted by priests, whom we find in every place, whereby both the people is well served, and we much eased in our charge. The priests of our country themselves being most excellent for virtue and learning, yet have raised so great an opinion of our Society, that I dare scarcely touch the exceeding reverence all Catholics do unto us. How much more is it requisite that such as hereafter are to be sent for supply, whereof we have great need, be such as may answer all men's expectation of them! Specially let them be well trained for the pulpit. I cannot long escape the hands of the heretics; the enemies have so many eyes, so many tongues, so many scouts and crafts. I am in apparel to myself very ridiculous; I often change it, and my name also. I read letters sometimes myself that in the first front tell news that Campion is taken, which, noised in every place where I come, so filleth my ears with the sound thereof, that fear itself hath taken away all fear. My soul is in mine own hands ever. Let such as you send for supply premeditate and make count of this always. Marry, the solaces that are ever intermingled with these miseries are so great, that they do not only countervail the fear of what punishment temporal soever, but by infinite sweetness make all worldly pains, be they never so great, seem nothing. A conscience pure, a courage invincible, zeal incredible, a work so worthy

the number innumerable, of high degree, of mean calling, of the inferior sort, of every age and sex.

Here, even amongst the Protestants themselves that are of milder nature, it is turned into a proverb, that he must be a Catholic that payeth faithfully what he oweth, insomuch that if any Catholic do injury, every body expostulateth with him as for an act unworthy of men of that calling. To be short, heresy heareth ill of all men; neither is there any condition of people commonly counted more vile and impure than their ministers, and we worthily have indignation that fellows so unlearned, so evil, so derided, so base, should in so desperate a quarrel overrule such a number of noble wits as our realm hath. Threatening edicts come forth against us daily; notwithstanding, by good heed, and the prayers of good men, and, which is the chief of all, God's special gift, we have passed safely through the most part of the island. I find many neglecting their own security to have only care of my safety.

A certain matter fell out these days unlooked for. I had set down in writing by several articles the causes of my coming in, and made certain demands most reasonable. I professed myself to be a priest of the Society; that I returned to enlarge the Catholic faith, to teach the Gospel, to minister the sacraments, humbly asking audience of the queen and the nobility of the realm, and proffering disputations to the adversaries. One copy of this writing I determined to keep with me, that if I should fall into the officers' hands, it might go with me; another copy I laid in a friend's hand, that when myself with the other should be seized, another might thereupon straight be dispersed. But my said friend kept it not close long, but divulged it, and it was read greedily; whereat the adversaries were mad, answering out of the pulpit, that themselves certesse would not refuse to dispute, but the queen's pleasure was not that matters should be called in question being already established. In the mean while they tear and sting us with their venomous tongues, calling us seditious, hypocrites, yea heretics too, which is much laughed at. The people hereupon is ours, and that error of spreading abroad this writing hath much advanced the cause. If we be commanded, and may have safe conduct, we will into the court.

But they mean nothing less, for they have filled all the old prisous with Catholics, and now make new; and, in fine, plainly affirm that it were better so make a few traitors away than that so many souls should be lost. Of their martyrs they brag no more now; for it is now come to pass, that for a few apostates and cobblers of theirs burnt, we have bishops, lords, knights, the old nobility, patterns of learning, piety, and prudence, the flower of the youth, noble matrons, and of the inferior sort innumerable, either martyred at once, or by consuming prisonment dying daily. At the very writing hereof, the persecution rages most cruelly. The house where I am is sad; no other talk but of death, flight, prison, or spoil of their friends; nevertheless they proceed with courage. Very many, even at this present, being restored to the Church, new soldiers give

up their names, while the old offer up their blood; by which holy hosts and oblations God will be pleased, and we shall no question by Him overcome.

You see now, therefore, reverend father, how much need we have of your prayers and sacrifices, and other heavenly help, to go through with these things. There will never want in England men that will have care of their own salvation, nor such as shall advance other men's; neither shall this Church here ever fail so long as priests and pastors shall be found for their sheep, rage man or devil never so much. But the rumour of present peril causeth me here to make an end. Arise God, His enemies avoid. Fare you well.—
E.C."134

CHAPTER IX.

PARSONS reached London in October 1580, some days before Campion, for whom he tried to find a convenient lodging. But the persecution had become so hot, and Campion especially was so curiously searched for, that it was thought unsafe for him to come into the city. It was therefore signified to him on the way that he should tarry somewhere in the neighbourhood; and he accordingly stayed at Wm. Griffith's house near Uxbridge, fifteen miles from London, where Parsons and other missionaries joined him.

At their first meeting they related to each other their adventures; they enumerated the shires, towns, and houses they had visited, the successes they had gained, and the perils they had escaped. Parsons told how he had gone into Gloucester, Hereford, and Worcestershire, and so through into Derbyshire; how he had converted Lord Compton, Thomas Tresham, William Catesby, and his uncle Dimock, the champion of England: if he had been gifted with a prophetic spirit, he might have told how he had planted at Lapworth Park and other places round Stratford-on-Avon the seeds of a political Popery that was destined in some twenty-five years to bring forth the Gunpowder Plot. Among his converts he may, if I may thus correct Tieck's guess, have had to enumerate certain aldermen of Stratford, John Wheeler and John Shakespeare, the father of our ever-living poet. Campion, again, had to tell of his travels in Berkshire, Oxfordshire, and Northamptonshire, and the conversions he had made there. It has been supposed that Campion's family came originally from Northamptonshire, where the name frequently occurs in the early records. But though he was drawn thither by no family tie, there is enough to explain his sojourn there by the fact that some of the chief converts that he and Parsons had gathered in had their estates in the county. Among these were Sir Thomas Tresham of Rushton, Sir William Catesby of Ashby Leger, and Lord Vaux of Harrowden. Parsons found that Campion had reaped a wonderful harvest, and that the other priests had gathered plentifully; but they

had been chiefly employed in watering what Campion had sown. They then laid their plans for their next expedition, and resolved that Parsons should for the present remain in or near London, for it seemed that he was not as yet so diligently sought for as Campion, who, both for this reason and because his presence was most earnestly desired in divers places, was sent into the country parts till the tempest should be somewhat assuaged.

The Catholics of several shires had made suit to have him among them, especially those of Lancashire and Norfolk, whom he had been unable to visit on his former circuit. Lancashire was chosen because it was further from London, and generally better affected to the Catholic religion, and because there was more hope to find there commodity of books to help him to answer the heretics, if they should provoke him, as it was supposed they would shortly do, seeing that his challenge was now in their hands, and known over all England,¹⁸⁵ furnishing almost the only common topic at ordinary tables and public meetings. And although no answer had hitherto been published, it seemed impossible but shortly there would be one: wherefore it was resolved that Campion should depart again out of hand, and, with all the secrecy he could, put himself within the compass of Lancashire.

Moreover, it was moved to him, that as nothing needing a reply had yet appeared, he should do well, whenever he had leisure from preaching and instructing, to write something in Latin to the Universities, considering the love they bore him, and the good opinion they had of his style in times past: to this after some stickling he agreed, provided the subject was given him. On this some proposed—"Consolation to Catholics in this time of persecution;" others—"Encouraging the weak to stand, and reprehending such as of worldly fear did shrink from God;" others—"To reprove this manner of the Protestants' proceedings contrary to their own doctrine and protestations in time past;" others finally, that he should write of some points in controversy.

Campion, after meet pause, said that all these propositions were good; yet, if it was left to him, he should choose an argument that no one had named—*De hæresi desperatâ*—"to show that heresy did now despair in England." All present laughed at the paradox, and objected that heresy was then most rampant, triumphant, and persecuting. "Even for this cause," he replied, "seemeth this argument most fit at this time, for that this manner of their cruel proceeding by terror is the greatest argument that may be of their des-

peration; for if they had any confidence at all in the truth of their cause, they would never proceed in this manner." Whether all the company was ready to accept so broad a principle, Father Parsons does not inform us.

This notion of "heresy in despair," which was to have been the title of his work, is the key-note of his famous *Ten Reasons*. His first theme is the "diffidence" which leads men to pervert Scripture, and the "despair" which made Manichees, Ebionites, Luther and Lutherans alter or main the Bible. This beginning of Campion's book shows, as Parsons says, that it was his intention to handle the special point of the despairing of heresy, if he had not been afterwards drawn to another argument by Charke's answer to his challenge. For it was his fixed idea that heresy in England was desperate, and that few or no men of judgment thought in their consciences the doctrine which was commonly taught and practised to be true or defensible, its absurdities being so many and manifest: but that some of policy, some for present government, others for ease, others for gain, honour, and preferment, and all commonly for some temporal interest or other, did stretch out a hand to hold it up for a time by force and violence. This idea may be found in several parts of the *Ten Reasons*, especially in the conclusion.

After disposing of the point of Campion's writing, the company proceeded to consult about sending some priests to the Universities to help and direct such youths as God might move to affect His religion, and to pass over sea to the Seminaries. For this purpose they appointed Mr. Hartley¹⁸⁶ and Mr. Arthur Pitts.¹⁸⁷

Next,¹⁸⁸ considering that Scotland was nearly connected with England, whence it had derived its corruption and ruin; and that the king was then but a child of fifteen, whom his mother, most unjustly detained prisoner in England, desired to have instructed in the Catholic faith, if it might be,—the fathers thought themselves bound to send some priest into Scotland to see what good might be done; and they appointed Mr. William Watts, a man of good parts, and well known in the North of England. He found matters in better disposition than was expected; several of the principal nobles were well affected to the Catholic religion, and the young king was supposed to be much inclined to follow the precepts and the counsel of his mother: moreover, there appeared some probability of a speedy change in the government, as soon afterwards came to pass: for, a French nobleman, M. d'Aubigny, descended from the royal house of the Stuarts, and catholically bent in religion, was growing into high favour

with the king and nobles; while Morton, one of the contrary house of Douglas, and a great heretic, whom Elizabeth had advanced to the government of the king and realm, was waxing daily more cruel and hateful to every one; and it seemed impossible that affairs should remain much longer in such a state. As indeed they did not; for Morton was condemned and beheaded in the spring of 1581, and M. d'Aubigny was created Duke of Lennox, and governor of the king. This seemed to open the door for the Catholic religion to re-enter Scotland, and several learned men were sent into that kingdom.

All this digression about Scotland is in reality out of place in the life of Father Campion, whatever connexion the intrigues here alluded to may have had with his death. M. Teulet's collection of documents referring to the Queen of Scots is full of proof that the Jesuits, and especially Father Holt, were active in her cause, and earnestly intrigued with the disaffected English nobles in her favour. But this does not seem to have begun before Parsons, after his return to London in November, obtained the protection of Mendoza the Spanish ambassador, and engaged with him in counterplots against the French advances, and for saving the kingdoms of England and Scotland from heresy.

Finally, Parsons tells us, he and Campion agreed to write an account to the General at Rome how matters had passed with them, in what state they were for the present, and what helps they had need of for the time to come. These were chiefly two—the prayers of all good men, and a new supply of other Jesuits of the English mission to come and share their labours—(a request that was answered by the mission of Fathers Holt and Heywood). But the persecution and the search beginning now to be so hot and vehement that it was thought dangerous for them to stay any longer together, it was resolved that Campion should presently depart, and write his letters to the General upon the way. So, after prayer and some exhortations, mutual confession, and renewal of their vows according to the custom of their Society, they parted, and committing each one his fellow to the grace of Almighty God, with the tenderness of heart which in such a case and so dangerous a time may be imagined, when they might hardly hope to see ever the one the other again, they took their journey, the one towards Lancashire, and the other to London.

In October, while this conference was being held in Uxbridge, the Queen's Council published a new proclamation, the third since the entrance of the Jesuits into England,

for their discovery and apprehension. This caused so great danger and molestation from constables, pursuivants, searchers, and other catchpoles, that Campion found marvellous difficulty to pass the counties and shires through which he was to go: often he lighted upon the searchers, though not they upon him, for his time was not yet come. Seeing himself thus beset, he was forced to stay more upon the way than he had purposed, and he took occasion of one of these enforced times of leisure to give the General an account of his journey, in the famous letter which I have printed at the end of the last chapter.

At this point the biographer loses the invaluable aid of the Ms. life of Campion by Father Parsons, and has to rely on Bombinus and Bartoli, two honest writers who had authentic materials to work from, but whose ideal of history was of a superficial and theatrical kind, their end being moral edification rather than the instruction of the reason by the critical appreciation of facts. There is also a kind of skeleton of Parsons' intended continuation of his biography, which served as a guide to Bombinus; and there are papers remaining in the Record Office and the British Museum, which will serve to correct the necessarily partial statements of the sufferers in this great conflict.

Parsons then, having sent Campion towards the north, retired to London, where he found the persecution redoubled in vigour. A fourth proclamation came out against the Jesuits in November; for the Council imagined that all the priests had returned to London, and therefore directed the most minute search to be made in all Catholic houses for them. For this cause Parsons, and probably other priests likewise, were forced to seek lodging elsewhere. Parsons found his sometimes in Bridewell, sometimes in the suburbs, and sometimes even in one of the Queen's palaces. And from this time the Catholics found their most secure asylums in the houses of pursuivants, or other civil and ecclesiastical officers whom they had in their pay. It was at this time also that Parsons procured the assistance of Bernadine de Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, who took him under his special protection, and would walk with him as one of his own men, while the Queen's officers were watching his house. By him Parsons suffered himself to be altogether detached from the French interest, which was suspected, on account of Castelnau's friendly dealing with the Protestants. And Parsons, now completely "espaniolated," discussed with Mendoza the means of saving England and Scotland from heresy or the dominion of heretics.

In London Parsons incurred the greatest danger, and some of his chief friends were captured; among these I must especially mention Ralph Sherwin, who it will be remembered accompanied the Jesuits from Rome. Parsons and he had not met since they had parted at Rheims, yet he would do nothing without consulting Father Robert. His great anxiety to practise obedience would have driven him into a religious order, if it had not been for a still greater desire to sacrifice himself in the work of the English mission. "He met me," writes Parsons, "the night that Bosgrave followed me home from Hogsdon; we passed the night together in spiritual conference, wherein he told me of his desire to die. The next day he came to tell me what danger we were in, and then went away to preach; for we had agreed that he should stay in London for the arrival of a certain gentleman who had asked for him, and in the mean time should occupy himself with preaching; and it was while preaching in Mr. Roscarock's house that he was captured. I think he was the first of our confraternity to be taken, though he was not the first priest caught since our arrival, for Bosgrave and Hart were already in prison." Sherwin was committed to the Marshalsea, where he dealt with some members of the Family of Love, and, like Campion, gave a general challenge to heretics to dispute with him. The gage was taken up by George Cary, the Queen's cousin, and once the intended husband of Mary Stuart, who ordered certain questions to be put to him; but Cary afterwards shrunk from argument, and sent Sherwin to the Tower, where I find by the registers that he entered December 4, 1580, together with Thomas Cottam, Robert Johnson, and Luke Kirby, priests, and Henry Orton, layman.¹⁸⁹ These captures show that the persecution was increasing in severity. To add to Parsons' perplexity, Adam Squier, the son-in-law of Aylmer bishop of London, whose protection Gilbert had purchased for him, declared himself unable to carry out his agreement because of the quarrels in which it involved him with the bishop, and the danger to which it exposed him from the Council. It was at this time that young Pascal, Sherwin's pupil, and the gentleman whose servant Campion feigned to be at Geneva, fell away. He was apprehended, and committed to the Marshalsea, while Sherwin was still there. His old master kept him firm; but when he lost Sherwin, he was tripped up by his over-confidence. On his removal to the Tower, December 19 or 29, his resolution was almost gone. His intimacy with the Pope had spoiled him; for Gregory XIII. had maintained him for some years at Rome, and had admitted

him to familiar intercourse. He was more courtier than confessor: and on January 15, 1581, he was brought handcuffed before the magistrates in Guildhall, where Sir Owen Hopton, the lieutenant of the Tower, was sitting; and when Hopton asked the jailers with some anger how they dared to treat with such indignity a gentleman who was coming by his own freewill to do his duty as a good subject, Pascal was half overcome; but when Hopton asked him to come and sit by his side—first, by parenthesis, performing the insignificant act of signing a scrap of parchment—Pascal not only signed it, but repeated the oath of supremacy in a loud voice, and then skipped gaily up to the seat offered him by Hopton's side. He looked round smiling and well pleased with himself, and saw that all the spectators and the magistrates were smiling too, and were besides shrugging their shoulders in contempt for the silly frightened hare. The shrugs soon found tongue, and he became the butt of many a jest, and, after the rising of the court, of still rougher usage. He fled from London, and buried himself in some corner of Kent. Sherwin mourned over him. He used to say to him, "O John, John, little knowest thou what thou shalt do before thou comest to it." He was ill received by his new friends, and became exceedingly wretched. Parsons wrote to him, but he excused himself from answering the letter; and so he slips out of our narrative.

During this period Parsons busied himself in carrying out a recommendation on which Campion had laid great stress at Uxbridge—the establishment of a press for printing answers to the works which would be sure to swarm against them. He found his chief allies amongst the old Marian priests, of whom he names Chambers, Blackwell, Maurice, Tirwhit, Jury, Norris, and Birkett. By their assistance, and the help of the landlord's son, he procured from one Brooks,¹⁹⁰ the owner of a large and very fair house called Greenstreet (I suppose the mansion so called at East Ham in Essex), which Parsons tells us was about five miles from London, permission for certain gentlemen to lodge there; thither he conveyed the necessary materials, chiefly by the assistance of his young friend Mr. Stephen Brinkley. There he had to encounter the parson and churchwardens, who urged on the new comers their duty of going to church. Soon he was frightened by the idea that he had furnished a clue to the discovery of his press by an incautious purchase of paper. Ever and anon he was told that he would certainly be caught, that Campion was already taken, and that some of his confraternity were being apprehended daily in London; and in

reality John Hart, Christopher Thompson, James Bosgrave, and Thomas Briscoe, were apprehended and committed to the Tower on Christmas-eve. One day, a servant of Brinkley's was caught and racked; and although, as it turned out, no confession could be extracted from him, yet, at the news Parsons and Gilbert fled; but having no place to betake themselves to, they returned next day, having first sent Parsons' man Alfield to see that the road was clear. He did not return; and so their anxieties were redoubled, the more so as the man's father was a minister, and Parsons more than once had noticed the way in which fidelity and faithlessness ran in families.¹⁹¹ So they once more fled; but the next day Alfield returned, and was never afterwards thoroughly trusted by his master.

The first book that issued from this press was probably some book of devotions or of encouragement to persecuted Catholics. After it was printed, Brinkley took away the press, and came with a gay face to Parsons, thinking to pass a merry night with him. But Parsons had a new cause for anxiety. On his return to London he found a book of William Charke¹⁹²—a Puritan minister, the first preacher to Lincoln's Inn, whose relation and namesake Ezekiel, afterwards made himself notorious by intruding into his father-in-law Hooker's study after his death, and burning his manuscripts—and another pamphlet written by another minister, Meredith Hanmer, in confutation of Campion's *Brag and Challenge*.¹⁹³ These two books gave Parsons a twofold difficulty; they contained some most pestilent accusations against him and Campion, and he saw no way of refuting them. Brinkley offered to bring the press back if he would write an answer; but he had no place to put the press in, and no books to refer to. Moreover he went in continual fear of his man Alfield, who wanted to go to Gloucester to see his father.¹⁹⁴ At last Francis Browne offered his house, his books, together with board and service. So Parsons sent away his own man, and set himself to write the Censure of Charke and Hanmer in three parts. But here again he incurred great trouble and risk in publishing the book, in consequence of the trap laid for Gilbert, whose bailiff had been ordered by the Council to come up to London to pay him his monies. Parsons would not allow Gilbert to go in person to receive them, but sent Browne and Charles Basset to Mr. Barnes' house in Tuttlefield, or rather to the house of one Higgins, an attorney. While they were there, George Cary came and seized both the money and the men. Nevertheless, the Censure appeared; and the quickness of its repartee made the government doubly angry.

Parsons thinks that the proclamation of January 10, 1581, ordering all young men to return from the seminaries, and denouncing all receivers and favourers of priests and Jesuits, was a kind of reply to his Censure.

It may be worth while to give a few sketches from this book. Parsons considered Charke to be more venomous than Hamner, who replied "more quietly, plainly, and good-fellow-like, excepting a foul lie or two," making liberal offer of disputation, though he was never likely to be one of the disputers. He had taken occasion to vent a commonplace book of anti-Popish citations, about anything rather than the matters in controversy, and had made a book answering little purpose but to increase the demand for Campion's challenge, though they had labour enough before in writing out copies for all who wanted them.

Charke dealt more subtly; he misrepresented the challenge, drew everything to disloyalty and rebellion, flattered the higher powers, wearied the reader with eternal repetitions of "Pope" and "Poper," exceeding in invention of railing speech, undertaking all manner of lies without blushing, and venturing upon any assertion whatever, provided only it was fit to discredit the Jesuits. Parsons thus addresses him on his treatment of Campion: "Whatever he says or does you will have it taken in evil part: if he speak humbly, he dissembleth: if he yield commendation, he flattereth: if he show confidence in his cause, he vaunteth: if he offer trial, he meaneth not performance: if he protest his meaning, he must not be credited: if he desire audience, he must not be admitted: whatever he urges for himself or his cause must avail nothing. William Charke will have him condemned for unlearned, proud, wicked, and traitorous to the state." Parsons found it more convenient to turn off Charke's insinuations with a jest than to answer them. Thus, when Campion is said to have come over "in hopes of a golden day"—a phrase which in those days was interpreted to mean the death or dethronement of Elizabeth, and the restoration of religion—Parsons replies that the word 'golden' will not serve to express any of Campion's hopes, whom all the gold in England cannot gild, and who despises gold as much as Charke gapes for it.

After this, Parsons printed another book, containing his account of John Nichols, who professed to be a Pope's scholar, and had given the English government information of what was done in Rome, Rheims, and the other seminaries, wherein truth was so much mixed with inventions that Parsons had no very difficult task to discredit him. I shall have to mention this man again in the next chapter.

I have followed Parsons' lead in his outline of his intended life of *Campion*, though he has led me wide of my way. I must now return to *Campion's* doings after parting from Parsons at Uxbridge, in order to go to Lancashire. Finding himself more than ever beset, he was obliged to tarry a long while on the way. In fact I lose sight of him till about Christmas-tide, when Gervase Pierrepont took him to the house of his brother, Henry Pierrepont of Holme Pierrepont and Thoresby, Nottinghamshire, the ancestor of the earls of Kingston: there he remained till the Tuesday after Twelfth-day, when he and his guide left, and spent the following day in Derbyshire, at the house of Henry Sacheverell; thence he and his guide went to Mr. Langford's, where they spent the Thursday and Friday; thence to Lady Foljambe's, of Walton, Derbyshire; and thence to Mr. Powdrell's,¹⁹⁵ where they were joined by George Gilbert. From this place they went to Mr. Ayers' or Amias', of the Stipte, on the Monday week after Twelfth-day, where Pierrepont resigned his office of conductor into the hands of Mr. Tempest, who led *Campion* into Yorkshire.¹⁹⁶ This way-bill was drawn up by Burghley after *Campion's* capture, and it was given out that *Campion* had confessed it all. After Tempest took Pierrepont's place, however, Burghley is at fault, and is obliged to note that "*Campion* confesseth he went northwards with Tempest, and that they kept company together about nine days, and will confess no place of their being but at inns." However, the Lord Treasurer managed to light upon one gentleman, John Rookby of Yeafford, who confessed that *Campion* was at his house on Saturday, January 28. Lord Burghley notices as *Campion's* chief favourers in Yorkshire, Dr. Vavasour, a physician, whom I find in prison at Hull in August 1580;¹⁹⁷ Mrs. Bulmer; Sir William Bapthorpe of Osgodby, knight, who had in the previous August given bond in 200*l.* to Sandys the archbishop and the other commissioners, that he and his family should dutifully repair to church, and "apprehend all rogueing popish priests, and other like evil popish subjects, and bring their bodies before the commissioners;" Mr. Grimston;¹⁹⁸ Mr. Hawkeworth; and Mr. Askulph Cleesby,—at whose houses *Campion* was to be found between the 28th of January and Mid-lent 1581. At that time Tempest seems to have resigned his charge of conductor to the hands of Mr. Smyth, who took him to his brother-in-law's house, Mr. William Harrington of Mount St. John, about the Tuesday in the third week of Lent, where they stayed about twelve days, during which time *Campion* was occupied in writing

his book *De Hæresi Desperata*, which afterwards appeared as his *Decem Rationes*, a form which better enabled him to meet the charge of overweening pride which Charke and Hammer had made against him, because he had challenged to dispute single-handed with all the learning of a whole realm; a charge which had become so general, that every pulpit was ringing with his impudence, and with the frauds and sedition of the Jesuits. Hence he was forced to show that his trust was not in his own power, but solely in the strength of his cause, which he exhibited in ten reasons, relying on which, *quibus fretus*, he offered to dispute with any or all of the ministers of the Established Church. Here, at Mount St. John, his conduct made such an impression on William, one of his host's six sons, that three years afterwards he fled over sea to Rheims, and from thence came back a priest to be hanged in England. Here Campion obtained a fresh conductor, a Yorkshireman, Mr. More, living near Sheffield, who had once been his pupil, and who now, with his wife, travelled with him to protect him, and to introduce him to the houses of the Catholic gentlemen in Lancashire. Very likely he travelled as their servant, as he had in another journey dressed himself as Pascal's man. By them he was led to visit the Worthingtons, the Talbots, the Southworths, the Heskeths, Mrs. Allen the widow of the Cardinal's brother, the Houghtons, the Westbys, and the Rigmoidens—at whose houses he spent the time between Easter and Whitsuntide (April 16), bestowing himself chiefly, according to Burghley, at Mr. Talbot's and Mr. Southworth's, but according to Parsons at Worthington's and Mrs. Allen's, where he was fully occupied in preaching to the crowds that pressed to have conference with him. Even up to my time (1660), says Father Henry More,¹⁹⁹ Campion's memory was popular in the North, where they still recollected his sermons on the Hail Mary, on the Ten Lepers, on the King who went a journey, on the Last Judgment, and others, which people were so greedy of hearing that very many persons of quality spent whole nights in neighbouring barns, so that they might be early at the place next day. They were drawn not so much by his admirable eloquence and accent, as by his fire, and by a certain hidden force which they considered could only flow from the Holy Spirit. He preached daily, except when he sometimes withdrew himself to write his book, and perhaps to avoid the pursuivants, who were always on his track. At Worthington's house he was saved from apprehension by a maid-servant, who in affected anger pushed him into a pond, and thus effectually disguised him. As the Abbé

Dubois once disguised the Regent Orleans at a low masquerade by kicking him; a process which made the Regent angrily exclaim, "Abbé, tu me déguises trop."

It is not to be supposed that the excitement caused by the Jesuits' preaching escaped the notice of the government. It induced them to use greater severity to the Catholics in prison, and to search with greater strictness for those not yet apprehended. The first case of torture that we know of being applied to them was on December 10th, 1580,²⁰⁰ when Luke Kirby and Thomas Cottam were put into the scavenger's daughter at the Tower.²⁰¹ The Council had previously drawn up a paper of questions to be administered to them. Why did the Pope send them? To whom were they specially directed to repair? What hopes had they of an invasion of Ireland? Why had the Bishop of St. Asaph, Dr. Morton, and others, come from Rome to Paris? Who had relieved them? Had the Queen of Scots given them anything? Whom had they reconciled? Whom had they heard of as being reconciled? What communications had they held with Campion? Where was he? Whose names are in the catalogues of the Pope's principal favourers? What communication have they had with the Bishop of Ross? or with Dr. Sanders in Ireland? and who are the Irishmen most noted as favourers of the rebellion there? According to Cottam's own account,²⁰² Hammond and the other commissioners did not confine themselves to these questions, but wanted to know what sins he had confessed, and what penance had been enjoined him. After this Sherwin and Johnson were racked, December 15; Sherwin again the next day; and Hart, who was brought to the Tower December 19 or 29, was with Orton racked December 31. Christopher Thomson, an old priest, January 3, 1581, and Nicholas Roscarock, at whose house Sherwin had been taken saying Mass, was racked January 14.

The government, both ecclesiastic and civil, were by this time convinced that the penal laws against Catholics, bloody as they already were, were not yet sufficiently so to exterminate the Catholic religion. It was felt that severity must be increased; and, as commonly happens, the first impulse towards a more systematic persecution came from the ecclesiastical side. On the 14th of January 1581, the Bishop of Chester, the state of whose diocese prognosticated to him the success that Campion was to achieve there a few months later, wrote to the Council, urging them to bring in a Bill making traitors and felons without benefit of clergy of "all such vagrant priests as walk about in disguised apparel seducing her Majesty's subjects, &c., by assembling of unlawful con-

venticles," and of their receivers, felons, "with some clergy." Also to enforce preachers to reside on their benefices; to make all work unlawful before eleven o'clock on the "Sabbath-day;" to forbid the holding of fairs and markets on Sundays; and to enact some general law to reduce all subjects to conformity. He adds: "In this cathedral church of Chester, neither the dean nor any prebendary hath been resident or kept any hospitality of many years. Neither is any parson or vicar of any parish church within the city a preacher."²⁰³ Other bishops begged to have the high commission in their dioceses. Thus the Bishop of Coventry writes to Burghley in April 1581, about the hard state of Shropshire:²⁰⁴ "being one of the best and conformablest parts of my diocese," where, however, "of one hundred almost presented for recusancy, they could get but one only to be bound, the rest refusing most obstinately to come before them." What must it be then, he asks Burghley, in the other shires of the diocese, when it is thus in the best of them?

The Catholics presaged that something severe awaited them. After the Proclamation of January 10, for the recall of students and the banishment of priests, the persecution waxed still stronger, and Parsons felt that something must be done.²⁰⁵ He therefore sent a priest to John Bodin—who was at this time acting as agent for the Duke of Anjou to treat of his marriage with the Queen—to persuade him to advise her Majesty to treat the Catholics with more mildness; but the author of the *Commonwealth* was too good a *politique* to mix himself up with such irrelevant matters. A meeting of gentlemen was therefore held one Sunday after Communion in the house of Francis Throgmorton—the same who was executed in 1584 for a conspiracy to deliver Mary Stuart—to consider whether a pacification could not be purchased. Affairs had proceeded to such a pitch, the pursuivants had become so intolerable, that the people began to talk of paying the Queen so much a head to be let alone. But there was no one to propose it to her. The Spanish ambassador would have created a prejudice against them instead of helping them; the French ambassador was mistrusted; Bodin refused to meddle. Another section of Catholics thought it was time to reconsider the question about attending the churches, and to make out a probable case to allow them to save their goods and their liberties, if not their faith too, by an occasional and merely formal attendance at the Anglican service. Dr. Alban Langdale wrote, and Mr. Clitheroe circulated, an anonymous tract²⁰⁶ to prove that attendance at the Protestant church was in itself no sin, and therefore might be lawfully submitted to

for the purpose of avoiding a persecution so intolerable at present, and threatening to grow so much more so. The English Catholics were not unwilling to believe a grave doctor, whose opinion so happily saved them from a sea of troubles; and it would probably have greatly strengthened the statistics of the Church, if they had been left in their blissful ignorance. But Parsons, however ready he might be to engage in plots against the Queen, was as a Catholic uncompromising and rigid. He could go a long way with the advocates of equivocation in civil cases, but he could not allow an equivocation in act or word, when the faith, or the honour of religion, seemed at stake. Elizabeth and her ministers declared that the attendance at church was a mere political act, and by no means forced the conscience; but he could not accept the distinction (though his society afterwards adopted a similar one with happy consequences in China) between a religious act and a political or social ceremony, like burning incense to one's ancestors. Besides, had not a committee of the Council of Trent decided the matter? Cost what it might, the Catholics must be induced to act on the principles of Tertullian and St. Cyprian, and the Catholic fathers.

Parsons therefore thought it his duty to write a refutation of Dr. Langdale's tract, the real authorship of which he did not know at the time; for, after Blackwell and he had been driven from Dr. Young's library, where they first went to consult authorities, by the pursuivants, who searched the place just after they had left it, they betook themselves to the library of Dr. Langdale himself, where by the marks left in the books they discovered the writer. Sheldon, Lord Paget,²⁰⁷ and others had already acted on the new and indulgent view. But, says Parsons, after the publication of the book, this evil was put a stop to—*cessavit malum*.

In the midst of these discussions among Catholics, the Legislature intervened with its heavy hand. The Bishop of Chester's recommendations were carried out to the full. The existing Parliament had been elected shortly after the suppression of the rebellion of the North; had held its first session in 1572, its second in 1575; and was now for the third time convoked for the express purpose of finding a remedy for the poison of the Jesuits.²⁰⁸ On Wednesday, January 25, Sir Walter Mildmay rose to move the new bill. His speech was an essay, which he learned by rote, and repeated several times in the Star-Chamber at the trials of recusants, till his hearers must have known it almost as well as himself. It began with an elaborate eulogium of

Elizabeth as the refuge of persecuted Catholics, for which cause the Pope raged against her, and procured through his confederates all means of annoyance to her; such as the rebellion of 1569, the maintenance of the fugitive rebels, the Bull, the invasion of Fitzmorris, the rebellion of Desmond, and the late invasion of strangers at Smerwick. The Queen had baffled these attempts in a way that redounded to her honour; the first, "without effusion of blood;" the last, by "pulling the Spaniards out by the ears, and cutting them in pieces." She had no fear; but she had all cause for caution; for, in spite of the freedom of the pulpit, such had been the secret practices of the Pope and his secret ministers, that the obstinate and stiff-necked Papist was so far from being reformed, that he had gotten stomach to go backward, and show his disobedience in arrogant words (such as Campion's challenge) and contemptuous deeds. For Mildmay had not got beyond the childish political theory, that ideas do not propagate themselves through their own natural fermentation, but only by the mechanical means of a secret propaganda. Opinions, he thinks, are not convictions, but partly conspiracies, partly the results of a magical or mesmeric influence. To encourage these Papists, he said, the Pope comforted their hollow hearts with absolutions, dispensations, reconciliations, and the like, and had lately sent over "a sort of hypocrites, naming themselves Jesuits, a rabble of vagrant friars, whose principal errand was to creep into the houses of men of behaviour and reputation, to corrupt the realm with false doctrine, and under that pretence to stir up sedition."

These practices had achieved a lamentable success, and the Pope's authority had made such impression, as not only those who from the beginning had refused to obey, but very many of those who for years had been conformable, had, since the Council of Trent, the Bull, and the secret reconciliations, and swarming over of priests and Jesuits, utterly refused to be of the Church of England, or to resort to its preaching and prayers.

Now Elizabeth had been all clemency and mildness in comparison with Mary and the Continental governments. But this course had done no good; but had bred an arrogant and contemptuous spirit, exhibited in receiving the Pope's absolutions, in harbouring even in their houses the lewd runagates the Jesuits, and in training their children under Popish schoolmasters at home, or in seminaries abroad.

Therefore stricter and severer laws had become necessary to constrain them to yield at least open obedience to the

Queen in religious matters, and not to live as they listed: so that if they would needs submit themselves to the benediction of the Pope, they might feel how little his curses hurt the Queen, and how little his blessing could save them from the punishment she could lay upon them; also how dangerous it would be for the laity to deal with the Pope, and for the priests to enter the realm to draw away from the Queen that obedience which, by the laws of God and man, is due to her.²⁰⁹

Mr. Norton seconded the motion, and proposed referring the matter to a committee, which he named. The House was ready to go further than even the Court desired, and the bill, which, as the Speaker said, was for the glory of God, the safety of the Queen, and the prosperity of the people (for all which ends preaching was the ordinary means), received the royal assent on the 18th of March.

The act "to retain the Queen's majesty's subjects in due obedience" made it treason to absolve any Englishman, to convert him to Popery, to move him thereto, or to do any overt act tending that way. And it made it treason to be so absolved or converted. Another clause made it misprison of treason to aid or maintain any persons so offending, or to conceal any such offence, without divulging it within twenty days to the magistrate. By another, the saying of Mass was forbidden under penalty of 200 marks and one year's imprisonment; and the hearing Mass under a similar penalty of 100 marks and one year. And lastly, a system of fines was devised, which for half a century became one of the great items in the budget of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; although in fact the receipts of the Exchequer were but a trifle compared with the waste and losses inflicted on the Catholics, and with the vast sums which found their way into the hands of courtiers and parasites, favourites to whom recusants were given to farm, and pursuivants and informers, who made Catholics pay for their forbearance. Any person above sixteen years of age who did not come to church for one month was fined 20*l.*, and so on for twelve months, when he was apprehended, and bound in 200*l.* to good behaviour. This enactment made any arrangement such as that proposed at Francis Throgmorton's house henceforth impossible. There could be no talk of paying the Queen for a license to practise their religion, when she got all the money that could be screwed out of them on the ground of their not practising hers.

One clause imposed a monthly fine of 10*l.* upon every person keeping a schoolmaster who did not regularly attend church. This, coupled with the proclamation of January 10,

which recalled all students from foreign seminaries, was intended to make Catholic education henceforth an impossibility for Englishmen.

If this legislation had been tempered with every kind of constitutional consideration, and had been administered only by responsible agents of the government, who would have kept within the letter of the law, still the persecution legalised by it would have been almost intolerable; but in reality it was capriciously administered, and gradually fell into the hands of a class of people who traded on the lives and lands of the Catholics; bloodsuckers, as William Harrington called them.²¹⁰ Under the weak favouritism of James I. the evil increased, till in 1605 it had reached such a pitch that one of the Anglican bishops seems to have considered even the gunpowder plot to have been a natural, if not a justifiable, attempt to cut short the intolerable evil. The Papists had borne with it in Elizabeth's latter days, in hopes, after the old woman's death, to find some mitigation; and in those days the administration of the law had been moderated, the persecutors being uncertain what might succeed after the Queen's removal. But after the settlement of James, with no hope of better days, and expecting daily the utmost rigour in the execution of the law, the Catholics became desperate. A lady was hanged for harbouring a priest, and a citizen for being reconciled to the Church. Under the penal code "they could not subsist; what was usually sold in shops and openly bought, this the pursuivant would take away from them as being popish and superstitious. One knight did affirm that in one term he gave twenty nobles in reward to the door-keeper of the attorney-general; another, that his third part which remained unto him of his estate did hardly serve for his expense in law to defend him from other oppressions; besides, their children to be taken from home to be brought up in another religion. So they did every way conclude that their estate was desperate—they were debarred in any course of life to help themselves; they could not practise law, they could not be citizens, they could have no office; they could not breed up their sons; none did desire to match with them; they had neither fit marriages for their daughters, nor nunneries to put them into The spiritual court did not cease to molest them, to excommunicate them, then to imprison them; and thereby they were entirely disenabled to sue for their own."

During the debates on this bill I find the first attempt on the part of the Protestants to define the different characters of the two Jesuits. Parsons was the "lurking wolf," Cam-

pion "the wandering vagrant." There was more truth in this colouring than in the subsequent notion which Camden promulgated, that Parsons was a violent and a fierce-natured man, while Campion was of a sweet disposition and good breeding; the one seditious, turbulent, and confident; the other modest in all things except his challenge. Campion, it seems to me, was the quick-tempered man, open, free, generous, hot, enthusiastic, yet withal modest, gentle, and fair; Parsons more slow, subtle, cool, calculating, and capable of exhibiting either violence or modesty as the occasion seemed to demand. If Campion had the wisdom, Parsons had the prudence. One knew how to move, the other to guide; one, if I may use offensive terms without offence, had the gifts which make an agitator, the other those that make a conspirator. The rule of the Jesuits, as I have shown above,²¹¹ linked together characters thus dissimilar, in order that united they might act with more force and more completeness. And this would have been the case if their functions had been all in common; but though the men were linked together, they had separate work to perform. As their instructions directed them to use the lay members of the confraternity to prepare the preliminaries of conversion, and then themselves to finish the work, so in this work of finishing there were different grades; for it is one thing to be a thorough Catholic, and it is something beyond to take part in the Pope's intentions and desires, and to devote oneself to their furtherance and fulfilment. The instructions sufficient to make a man a Catholic are not sufficient to make him an ultramontane. Campion thought that all was done when he had reconciled his convert to the Catholic Church, had taught him the faith, and made him partaker of the sacraments. Parsons looked farther; he desired and laboured for the conversion of England, and he thought that nothing could effect this but the overthrow of Elizabeth; therefore his aim was the organisation of a party on which he could rely when the Pope gave the signal for the attack. But there was no reason for him to blab of this design. The seed sown would, he thought, grow all the stronger for not being prematurely forced. It thus happened that there was not always perfect community between the Jesuit missionaries; a polarity began to declare itself, as it afterwards did in the Society at large, sending off those like Campion to fight under the banner of St. Francis Xavier against heathenism, while it retained those like Parsons in Europe to direct the consciences of princes, and to influence the councils of states.

And the second pair of Jesuit missionaries were no less

contrasted with each other than the first. Fathers Heywood and Holt had been asked for by name in the letters written from Uxbridge to the General of the Order. Parsons could not have known Heywood; but Campion had met him at Munich on his way to Rome.²¹² Jasper Heywood, himself a poet, according to Fulman, and son of John Heywood the epigrammatist, had entered the Society in 1562, and had been employed in Germany, far from the centre of ecclesiastical politics, and in a country where the co-existence of hostile confessions was, in the midst of violence, laying the foundation of mutual toleration and forbearance. Like Campion in this, in other respects he was unlike him.

He was now nearly forty-seven years old, elderly for his years and gouty; with his youthful fire he had lost his strength, and he was unable to fast, or even to abstain—a grave offence in the eyes of some of the more rigid and precise of the English Catholics. But he was, like Campion, a learned man, a doctor in theology, one deeply versed in theoretical controversy, and an excellent Hebraist. There was some difficulty in obtaining his services, for he was a great favourite with the Duke of Bavaria; but a letter of Gregory XIII., dated May 27, 1581, overcame the Duke's unwillingness, and he was sent on the mission.²¹³ He was a wonderfully laborious man, and in the judgment of Gabriel Allen, the Cardinal's brother, he was, next to Campion, the most successful of all the missionaries. He himself wrote to Allen—*Stupeo hic in captura piscium, quia homo peccator sum*. He received into the Church Philip Earl of Arundel and Henry Earl of Northumberland. His relaxation of the fasting, and introduction of the Roman custom into England, greatly offended the old-fashioned party, and this, together with his gout, and perhaps his disinclination to meddle in matters of state, determined the General to recal him. He had got out of England safely, and was in sight of Dieppe, when his ship was driven back, and he sent prisoner to the Tower, where he was treated much as Campion had been before him, the Catholics outside being persuaded that he was about to make a recantation.²¹⁴ William Holt, his companion, was a Lancashire man, educated at Oxford till 1575, when he passed over to Douai, and there studied theology and was ordained, after which he went to Rome and became a Jesuit in November 1578. Parsons had known him for two years, and when, in September 1580, the Queen of Scots caused it to be notified to him that she would be glad to have some Jesuit sent to instruct her son, the young king, in the faith, Holt was at once suggested to Parsons' mind as the proper person for such an undertaking; which he

carried out, much to Parsons' satisfaction. How he sped belongs to another history; I will only say that the means he used to insure success explain, and go some short way to justify, the measures enacted by the Parliament of 1581 against Papists. The next couple who were sent into Scotland consisted, in the same way, of one spiritual man, Hay, and one manager, Creighton; the same polarity, the same division of labour, the same partition of the dove and the serpent into two distinct personalities, may be seen in all these pairs. The secret history of the times, the despatches of ambassadors, the letters of politicians, the memoirs of diplomatists, are full of the names of Parsons, Holt, and Creighton; but nothing is to be found there that adds to our knowledge of Campion, Heywood, or Hay. I can find no evidence that Campion had anything to do with the great plan which unfolds itself in the diplomatic correspondence of 1581, and which was directed to the restoration of Mary to her Scotch throne, and of Scotland to the Catholic religion, as the preliminaries to the conquest of England by the King of Spain. I cannot say that this plan originated with Parsons; I do not find that he had any relations with Mendoza before the end of 1580;²¹⁵ at which time the Archbishop of Glasgow was already in correspondence with the General of the Jesuits, and the General, the Pope, Philip, and Aubigny, had settled the plan which Mendoza seems to have communicated to Parsons in the winter of 1580. It is clear that Campion was not considered a proper person to act in this part; and though he was in England after the general chapter of the Jesuits in the spring of 1581, Holt and Creighton were sent over, not to supersede him, but to perform work which was not considered suitable for him. What this work was we may gather from Tassis, Philip's ambassador to the French court, who in a letter dated May 18, 1582, relates to his master the doings of Creighton and Holt.²¹⁶ Holt, he says, had found that the Catholics were quite ready to rise after Mary had once got a firm footing in Scotland. The border counties, especially Westmoreland, were full of Catholics, and if the Pope would name a person of distinction (meaning Allen) to the see of Durham, he might raise the whole population. When Tassis asked Holt what proof he had of this, and whether the principal persons had made a confederation together and had given pledges, as usual, he answered that he knew it, because many of them had told him so when he was treating with them on their consciences (*todo esto se sabia, por lo que muchos dellos se havian declarado tratando de sus conciencias con ellos*). M. Teulet infers from these words that Holt spoke of things revealed to

him under the seal of confession. Tassis' words, though they will bear, yet do not warrant, such a translation. Philip, however, was in no hurry. He ordered Tassis not to let Holt come to Spain, and wrote to Mendoza in England that the best policy for the present was "to gain souls by way of teaching, and thus to fortify the Catholic party for its time and occasion, without precipitating matters through impatience."

Philip therefore was quite of the same mind with Cecil and Walsingham. They all thought that every Catholic as such was ready to start up a soldier when the golden day of his hopes should dawn. But Campion did not allow himself thus to forecast the future; the present was enough for him. If he could bring back men to their duties, reconcile them to the Church, make them once more partakers of the sacraments, all was done. He did not ask for security or outward prosperity, hardly for toleration; he thought the blood of martyrs the seed of the Church, and persecution the confession of inability to put down the truth by argument. Persecution and martyrdom were in his eyes the security for the future. Not so thought Parsons and his political friends. With equal zeal for the restoration of religion, they thought Campion's field of labour to be necessary indeed, but of an inferior order. It was, they considered, the chief duty of the ecclesiastical ruler so to influence and settle the distribution of temporal power as to assure the future liberty and progress of the Church. Campion and his fellows might so influence the minds and feelings of the English people as to work a complete revival of Catholicism among them. But there was no security for its life while Elizabeth remained on the throne, with Cecil and Leicester in her council-chamber, who had once, and might again, change a Catholic into a Protestant nation. So, beside the purely religious work of ecclesiastical restoration, religious men carried on another work of pure conspiracy and intrigue, for the purpose of strengthening the restored ecclesiastical state with a new and congenial civil government. Naturally enough this temporal action soon became more obvious than the purely spiritual action, whose characteristic it is not to strive or cry, but like leaven, gradually and noiselessly to change the mass on which it acts. Intrigue, on the other hand, however secret, depends ultimately on open and mechanical means for its success, and thus must in time proclaim itself on the housetops. Thus it was with the Catholic religion in England. Men could not see its action on the souls of the people. But they could see and measure the amount of revolutionary and unpatriotic feeling which it seemed to bring with it. And when, with even increasing ill luck,

Parsons and his school continued their plots, the English Catholics, wearied out with the sufferings which he had multiplied for them, began at last to fall away; as if they felt that the aim of the Pope, the Jesuits, and the Spaniards, was not to have them believe a salutary doctrine, but to make them partakers of life-giving sacraments, and to make them traitors to their Queen and country, and to induce them to take up arms in favour of a foreign pretender.

Elizabeth always professed to be willing to tolerate Catholics, if they would refrain from the developments which I have indicated. We should at this day make allowances for her difficulties. Converts, however purely spiritual the motives of their conversion might be, would usually not be contented with being mere Catholics, or with accepting the system reduced to its simple elements; they would always incline to adopt it such as it was in the teaching of its most advanced doctors, and in those days they would have been led to denounce Elizabeth as a usurper of the Pope's rights in England and Ireland; just as we see the same kind of men in the present day denouncing the kingdom of Italy on similar grounds. If it had been possible for any one to convince Elizabeth that his Catholicism was such as Bossuet's was to be, and only such, the Queen ought, on her own profession, to have tolerated such a person, as she did in fact grant toleration to Sir Richard Shelley in 1582. But when both sides, both Philip and Cecil, were equally convinced that every fresh convert, however peaceful now, was a future soldier of the king of Spain against Elizabeth, toleration was scarcely possible.

CHAPTER X.

CAMPION finished his book about Easter 1581, and sent it to London for Parsons' approval. When Parsons saw that the title was not that which had been settled at Uxbridge, and that the margin swarmed with references, which for lack of books he was not able to verify, while he knew that the enemy would closely scan every one of them, he wrote to Campion to ask whether he was quite sure of all his authorities? Campion replied that he had quoted nothing at second hand, nothing but what he had gathered in his own reading. Parsons thereupon ordered the book to be printed; but Campion, to make surety more sure, begged that the quotations might once more be examined. This task Parsons committed to one of the young men of the sodality, Thomas Fitzherbert, then newly married, but, after the death of his wife, a priest, a Jesuit, and finally rector of the English College in Rome.²¹⁸ Fitzherbert was unsuspected, and was free to study in all the London libraries, where he carefully verified Campion's allegations.

Parsons, however, still desired that Campion should see to the printing of his own book, and therefore ordered him to return to London, without visiting the houses of the Catholics by the way, but staying only at inns, in order to avoid suspicion. But to print was not so easy as it had been: though the works printed at Mr. Brookes' bore the name "Doway" on their title-page, yet experts like Norton, to whom the government committed the examination of them, reported "The print is done in England." Brinkley, undaunted, once more offered to provide the press, and Maurice to procure the other requisites. While these things were being got ready, Campion, who had now joined Parsons, was constantly employed in preaching either in London or in the neighbourhood. One place which he and Parsons frequently visited was Uxenden Hall, near Harrow-on-the-Hill, the property of William Bellamy, who, with his wife and family, were converts of the two fathers. Campion at this time lodged sometimes at Mrs. Brideman's in Westminster, sometimes at Mr. Barnes' in Tothill-street, sometimes at Lady

Babington's in the White Friars.²¹⁹ The road from these places to Harrow would generally lead him by Tyburn, a spot now marked by a stone which is erected at a place where "Tyburn-gate" once closed the great western road out of London, a few yards beyond the present Marble Arch. Just outside of this, probably within the garden of the house at the corner of the Edgeware Road, stood the famous gallows, three posts in a triangle, connected at the top by three cross bars, where the weekly batch of murderers, thieves, coiners, vagrants, traitors, or priests, were led out to suffer. It had been put up new for the execution of Dr. Story, whose blood had consecrated it. Campion would always walk between its posts with his hat off, and with a profound bow, in honour both of the Cross which it figured and of the martyrs who had already suffered there for their faith, and, as he told Parsons, because it was one day to be the place of his conflict.

Here Parsons, who wrote his notes from memory, makes one of those mistakes so common in all autobiographical sketches where the author does not control his memory by the use of documents. We have seen that Campion did not quit Lancashire till after Whitsunday, that is, as Easter in 1581 fell on March 26, not till after May 15. He could not therefore have been with Parsons in London and the neighbourhood till the middle of May. Yet Parsons refers the following story to this period, and has thereby led Bombinus and his followers into a tale more telling than true. "While we were together in a house in a wood, one night Hartley said to me casually that he had been at Oxford, and had heard that Roland Jinks' servant, who had just before been employed by me at my house in London to bind some books, had gone over, and had given evidence against his master. I at once saw the danger; and the first thing in the morning I sent to London, and found that Wilkes, the secretary of the council, with Norton and some of the Queen's guards, had that very night searched my chamber and carried off all he found there, and had apprehended Briant in a neighbouring house." Now Briant was transferred to the Tower on the 25th of March from the Marshalsea, into which prison he had been thrust upon his apprehension. It is clear then that Campion was in Lancashire at the time, and that this event had no connection whatever with the printing of his book, or his flight from Oxfordshire, or by consequence with his capture. Briant was afterwards connected with Campion; but at this point their histories have no relation. He was, says Parsons, "my disciple and my pupil at Oxford, and ever inclined to virtue; afterwards a priest at Rheims, of the greatest zeal.

Just before he came into England, he wrote to Father Richard Gibbon to ask whether he might visit his mother. He reconciled my father, and while he was in England he never willingly left my side." When it was found how close a companion of Parsons had been taken, and how narrowly Parsons himself had escaped, it is scarcely to be wondered at that the eagerness of the catchpoles to get at their great prize carried them still deeper into cruelty than they had hitherto stepped. In the Marshalsea they tried what hunger and thirst could extract out of Briant. This means failing, they sent him where he could be tortured more scientifically, and the torments he suffered in the Tower were duly entered in the diary of Edward Rishton, his fellow-prisoner: "March 27, Alexander Briant, a priest, was brought from another prison, where he had almost perished with thirst, and loaded with the heaviest shackles. Then needles were thrust under his nails, with the hope of forcing him to disclose the place in which he had seen Father Parsons; but he resolutely refused to reveal it. April 6, the same Briant was cast into the Pit; and, eight days later, was led forth to the rack, on which he was immediately stretched with the greatest cruelty. The next day again, he was twice subjected to the same torture; yet from his own lips, only a little before his martyrdom, I afterwards heard the declaration, that, when his body was extended to the utmost, and his tormentors were ferociously endeavouring to increase the intensity of his sufferings, he was actually insensible of pain."²²⁰

According to the established practice of Elizabeth's government, when this cruelty was afterwards complained of, Norton, one of the commissioners, was called to account for it.²²¹ The following is an extract of a letter he wrote to Walsingham, who had sent him Parsons' defence of his censure on Charke and Hanmer, published in Rouen in 1582:—"I find in the whole book only one place touching myself, fol. ult. pa. 2. 'One (meaning Briant) whom Mr. Norton, the rack-master (if he be not misreported), vaunted in the court to have pulled one good foot longer than ever God made him, and yet in the middes of all he seemed to care nothing, and therefore, out of doubt, said he, he had a devil within him.' Surely I never said in that form, but thus. When speech was of the courage of Campion and some other, I said truly that there appeared more courage of a man's heart in Briant than in Campion, and therefore I lamented that the devil had possessed poor unlearned Briant in so naughty a cause; for being threatened by those that had commission (to the intent he might be moved to tell truth without tor-

ment), that if he would not for his duty to God and the Queen tell truth, he should be made a foot longer than God made him, he was therewith nothing moved. And being for his apparent obstinacy in matters that he well knew racked more than any of the rest, yet he stood still with express refusal that he would not tell truth. When he setteth out a miracle that Briant was preserved from feeling of pain, it is most untrue; for no man of them all, after his torture, made so grievous complaining and showed so open sign of pain as he." Norton, it will be seen, carefully avoids denying what Briant asserted—namely, that he felt no pain whilst he was being racked; he simply asserts that *after* the torture Briant exhibited great signs of pain. Which he himself also confessed in his own letter to Parsons, where he tells not only of his freedom from pain while on the rack, but of the agonies he suffered afterwards. Naturally enough these things were the subject of conversation when Campion joined Parsons in London: "We talked nearly a whole night," says Parsons, "on what we should do if we fell into their hands, which really happened to him shortly after."

The great secret which Hammond and Norton wished to rack out of Briant, was where Parsons printed his books. Now, whatever confidence Parsons might have in Briant's resolution, it was clearly the part of prudence to count on the possibility of a moment of weakness or unguardedness, when the secret might be wormed out by some artfully contrived question. This was one reason for the wish to remove the press from Brookes' house. Another reason was, that Brookes, the father, began to be anxious about his property. He had been led to suppose that his tenants were a family of gentlemen; Brinkley had dressed up his seven workmen in fine clothes, and given them horses, to make the story appear more likely. But the signs of labour did not altogether escape the notice of the landlord, who was unwilling that his house should be used for illegal purposes. In this state of things, one of the workmen, who had been sent to London to make some necessary purchases, was captured and tortured; and though nothing could be got out of him, yet the warning was not lost upon Campion and Parsons, who forthwith transferred the press to a lodge in Dame Cecilia Stonor's park, near Henley; a place both secret, as being surrounded with woods, and easily accessible, for the Thames at that period was a better highway than any road. Here the *Decem Rationes* was printed without accident, and from hence it was in due time dispersed among the Academicians of Oxford.²²²

A letter from some English priest to Father Agazzari, the rector of the English College, dated in July this year, gives the following account of the Catholic publications of the period. "There has been this year quite a battle of books, and the heretics have not been able to publish anything without its being immediately controverted. Charke and Hanmer, Calvinist ministers, first wrote against Campion, making a strange hash of the whole order of Jesuits in general, and of the life of Ignatius Loyola in particular; but within ten days there appeared in print a short review by an unknown author,²²³ which convicted them of so many lies that both they and their followers were heartily ashamed of themselves: in this book the ministers were for the second and third time challenged to a disputation; and when they showed great offence at this, Campion wrote his luminous little Latin book to the Universities, wherein he gave the reasons of that demand.²²⁴

"The Queen published some outrageous proclamations against all Jesuits, priests, scholars of seminaries, and against the colleges themselves. But Dr. William Allen, who may most justly be called the father of this vineyard, wrote an apology for them with such prudence, moderation, and weight of argument, that the heretics themselves, ready enough to be offended, praised his book highly, while the Catholics gained no little increase by it. About the same time, one Fulke, a minister, had attacked a book written many years before by Allen on Purgatory,—but his brag was speedily extinguished by Richard Bristow,²²⁵ the prefect of studies in the seminary at Rheims.

"In these days the Parliament met, and it was said that the Catholics were to be condemned for contumacy if they refused to assist at the Protestant service.²²⁶ There was therefore dispersed in the Parliament itself an English pamphlet printed in England, which gave very many and solid reasons for this refusal, which the adversaries cannot controvert, unless, like atheists, they think that all considerations of conscience in Catholics are to be totally despised.

"I have already written about the apostasy and relapse of John Nichols, who at first was a Calvinist minister, and then a pretended scholar of your college. This man has divers times preached in the town of London to the imprisoned priests, who were dragged to the church to hear him²²⁷ in the presence of a great concourse of courtiers, who came to grace the comedy. It can scarce be believed what praises are lavished on this gull. He is the most learned Jesuit of them all, the Pope's scholar, the

Cardinals' preacher, a theologian, philosopher, Grecian, Hebraist, Chaldaist,—a perfect master of all languages and every science. He has printed his renunciation of the faith, in which he tells enormous lies about Rome, the Pope, your college, the Jesuits, the scholars, and all orders of monks and priests. The book was received and distributed by the heretics with mighty triumph; but almost within a month there came out another book, 'Nichols detected,' proving clearly that he was neither Jesuit nor priest, theologian nor philosopher; that he had never preached before Pope or Cardinals, except when he abjured the heresy of Calvin before the Inquisitors; that he knew nothing of any learned language or science, but was merely a relapsed minister, an ignorant grammarian, a vagabond tramp, and an egregious liar; withal, occasion was taken to explain so many things about Roman matters, about the works of charity there, about the munificence of Popes and Cardinals, and the piety of the monks, that the heretics are no little vexed at themselves for having forced us to publish an explanation, whereby their fraud is discovered, and which makes many begin to mistrust them, and to look with favour upon us.

"So much for the books, which are as difficult and dangerous to publish as to print. The way is, all of them are taken to London before any is published, and then they are distributed by hundreds or fifties to the priests, so that they may be published all together in all parts of the realm. And the next day, when the pursuivants usually begin to search the Catholics' houses, it is too late; for during the night the young gentlemen have introduced copies into the houses, shops, and mansions of the heretics, and even into the court, and the stalls in the streets, so that the Catholics alone cannot be accused of possessing them."

Nichols here mentioned was a Welshman, and scholar first of White-hall, now Jesus College, Oxford, and then of Brazenose College: afterwards he returned to Wales, and became tutor to a gentleman's sons; he was ordained to a curacy in Somersetshire, 1579; whence he removed to London, thence to Antwerp, so to Rheims, and thence to the English college in Rome, whence he was sent back towards Rheims in 1581, but returned to England, and was apprehended in Islington, and sent to the Tower, where he made a public recantation, was received into Sir Owen Hopton's family, and published at least three books—his Pilgrimage, his Recantation, his Oration and Sermon made at Rome, with his answer to an infamous libel. He was at first in such credit that the Privy Council, by a letter to Archbishop Grindal, dated May 19,

1581, ordered that the English bishops should contribute among them 50*l.* a year for his maintenance;²²⁸ but the bishops soon found cause to grow tired of their liberality; he came to be in want, grew into great contempt, and was turned out of doors by Hopton. After this, in 1582, he went once more to France, some said with intention to turn Turk, and was apprehended at Rouen, when he made another recantation, and wrote most humble letters to Dr. Allen, confessing his frauds and lies, and beseeching his protection.²²⁹ He was a weak man, terrified by the mention of the rack, and consenting to any remedy suggested to his fear. He declared that what he wrote, he wrote partly from memory, partly from Hopton's dictation, who made him say whatever he chose. He published many things dangerously compromising the loyalty of the priests; as that in their common talk at Rome and Rheims they were perpetually wishing harm to the Queen. He declares, however, that he designedly absented himself from London when Campion and his companions were tried, lest he should be compelled to perjure himself by swearing to the truth of what he had written. I do not know whether his appeal to Allen delivered him from his durance at Rouen, or whether he perished in prison there.

I can best carry on this narrative by printing two letters, one of Parsons to the Pope, and another of Dr. Allen to Agazzari, the rector of the English college in Rome.

I.

*Robert Parsons to the Pope, June 24, 1581.*²³⁰

BEATISSIME PATER,—Although I hope your Holiness knows our affairs by the other letters I have sent to you, yet as I have found a convenient messenger, to whom I must needs give some kind of letter, I wished to add some brief notice of our state. To-day the French ambassadors have left London without having done their business, as is generally supposed, for the marriage is no longer talked about. We are daily expecting a fresh storm of persecution; for two days ago the Council sent an order to all parts of the realm, to make search for the Catholic recusants, as they call them, according to the form of a statute made in the last session, which condemns every one above the age of sixteen years to pay twenty pounds for every month they refuse to come to the Protestant church. And although there are very few Catholics who are rich enough to pay, and the rest must therefore expect to be perpetually imprisoned, yet they are full of joy, and not at all anxious about this matter, as they hope that their case will be the same as that of the Israelites, and that the aggravation of their oppression will be the hopes of a more speedy redemption. Against us

they publish the most threatening proclamations, books, sermons, ballads, libels, lies, and plays. But the people receive us with the greatest eagerness, comfort us, and protect us. The number of the faithful is wonderfully increased, and of our shrewdest foes we have softened many, some we have converted. The contest is sharp. God give us humility, patience, and fortitude! Whatever priest or layman they lay hold of, whom they suspect to know anything about us, they torture on the rack to make him betray us; and quite lately they tormented one most atrociously, but could get nothing out of him. Meanwhile we live safely enough in their very sight; we talk, preach, write, and do everything else to resist them, expecting every kind of torment when we are taken—yet in the mean time, through God's goodness, we sleep soundly. We earnestly desire supplies of new men, and that soon, for fear we should be taken before they can take our place. So much concerning religious affairs.

It now remains for me to tell your Holiness somewhat about the bearer of this letter, who, to tell the truth, is the chief cause of my writing. He is a young gentleman, named George Gilbert, who has afforded the rarest spectacle to all England. He was a man of great wealth, a great favourite at court, and devoted all his property to the defence of the Catholic religion. When we first entered the island, while others were in fear and doubt, he alone took us in, comforted us, clothed us, fed us, helped us with money, horses, servants; then took us about the island at his own expense; he journeyed with us, gave us books and other necessaries, bought a press for us, sold some of his lands, and gave us a large sum of the money for all purposes whereby the Catholic religion might be promoted; nor was this all; he bestowed continual alms on all the prisoners for religion, whereby he soon became so hateful to the heretics (especially as he had once been one of them) that they searched for him everywhere, and threatened to put him to a cruel death if they could catch him. Now, although he cared little for this, yet since I saw that he could work no longer, nor stay in England without plain peril of his life, and that we had more trouble and anxiety in protecting him than ourselves, I at last persuaded him to leave all things, and cross over the sea, to keep himself for happier times. Now, therefore, I most humbly entreat your Holiness, or rather all we priests entreat you (because this one man was a most munificent patron to us all), that your Holiness will regard him and console him for that consolation which he has given us, and whereby he has upheld the common cause. For if we have done any good, a great part of it is to be attributed to this youth. So, if he finds an equal charity on that side, it will be a great edification for all, and no little encouragement to his companions to imitate his example. May the most merciful Jesus preserve your Holiness long, as all the Catholics here pray day and night, who think themselves so bound by the immense kindness you have shown, that they never cease talking of your Holiness,

and to pray for your long life in this world, and your salvation and eternal happiness in the next. London, June 24, 1581.

Your Holiness' most unworthy son,

ROBERT PARSONS, S.J.

II.

*Letter of Dr. William Allen, Rector of the English College in France, to Father Alphonsus Agazzari, Rector of the English College at Rome.*²³¹

We have heard from England, by a letter of F. Robert Parsons, S.J., that the persecution still rages with the same fury, the Catholics being haled away to prison and otherwise vexed, and the Fathers of the Society being most diligently looked for; but they are still, by God's singular providence, at liberty. One of them in the same chamber with Father Robert was not long ago seized and searched; but the father was absent at the time. But a Mr. Briant, who was a scholar of our college at Rheims, was not only taken, but twice most cruelly tortured on the rack to make him tell where "that Jesuit" was. But so far from confessing anything of the sort, he laughed at the torturers; and though nearly killed with the pain, he said, "Is this all you can do? If the rack is no more than this, you may bring an hundred more for this matter."

The day after, John Nichols, the apostate, met F. Tirrel, a scholar of your college, in the street, and as soon as he saw him cried out "Traitor!" and so took him; but he is not committed to the Tower, but to another prison called the Gatehouse, where he and F. Rishton, another pupil of your college, live happily. The Catholics were never more courageous, or more ready to suffer.

Two days afterwards, a certain Mr. Ireson was taken with ten copies of our apology; thus the book came to the knowledge of the Lords of the Council. He is once again confined to his old home, the Fleet Prison, from whence he had by favour been delivered.

The heretic John Nichols boasts that he made a long oration at Rome before the Cardinals (nothing can be more false), which he has just published in his second book, and has at the same time promised to publish the former turned into Latin, with an appendix of his travels, in which he will explain at length the horrible murders and adulteries of the Catholics, and the immoral life of the Jesuits and students. He now preaches publicly in London, but people are already universally tired of him; and I imagine that he will soon be tripped up, especially when the abjuration of heresies that he made at Rome in the Inquisition comes to England; for I have received the authentic copy of it which you sent, containing his whole recantation, and have sent it to F. Robert in England.

Father Robert wants three or four thousand or more of the Testaments, for many persons desire to have them. He says that

he earnestly hopes and expects more fellow-labourers of your order ; he says also that everything is going on well there, and that our Apology is vastly approved.

I enclose a letter for the Holy Father, and another for our Protector, which you must see delivered to them. Therein I thank his Holiness for his many favours of this year, namely for the foundation of the English College at Rome, for our college here provided for fifteen years, for his late extraordinary subsidy of 500 golden crowns, for assigning so good a Protector to each college, and particularly for not listening to the detractors of the colleges and missions, who, to excuse their own idleness and cowardice, assert that all these attempts on our country are in vain ; and I show that it is sufficiently evident that these missions, and the endeavours of the Fathers and seminaries are of extraordinary utility ; and finally I assert and boldly pronounce, from the opinion, sense, and experience of all good men, that the Fathers and priests have gained more souls this one year in their own country than they could possibly have gained in the whole world else in the very longest lifetime. I write also that the dangers are not so great as to make it expedient to relinquish this duty, seeing that of the fifty priests (at least) who have this year been sent from the two colleges, not more than ten have fallen into the enemies' hands, and up to this time the Fathers are altogether free, and labouring fruitfully. Lastly, we show that our books are thus moderately worded, and nothing brought forward in anger, but rather directed by pity, because of the vast utility that accrues to every class of persons by reading them. So much for the letter to the Pope. But to our Protector I merely write to beg him to turn his ears from certain idle and envious men, who say that the work of the Fathers and seminaries in our country is useless ; moreover I beseech him for Christ's sake not to forbid my sending five or six young men to that college next autumn, because ours has become so numerous, that we cannot anyhow feed them, although his Holiness has given us an extraordinary gift of five hundred golden crowns. So much for my letter to him. Note that I am afraid to send any against his express injunction, lest we may seem to have no moderation, and to abuse the Pope's liberality too much. At this very time we are obliged to send for 20 youths (for the most part gentlemen) from Douay to our college here at Rheims, who otherwise would have to return to England, to the manifest damage of soul and body, since, on account of this proclamation, they can get no money from England. Moreover, within the last fortnight more than twenty young men have come to me (poor me) from England, and where shall we get bread that these may eat, that each one of them may have only a little, lest they faint in this exile ? May our Lord God bless and multiply our food !

This week I have heard that the Fathers in England are not only well, but so occupied in the vineyard that they could not write to me. Father Campion is said to have published a Latin book of advice to the two Universities, but as yet it has not come,

to our hands. See, Father, whether or no they push the work forward. I have some time ago sent them the letter of the F. General. May the Lord Jesus send many such labourers into His vineyard ! At least thirty priests have entered England since Easter, not one of whom was hindered on landing, or has since been taken, blessed be God. This year I hope will be every way a happy one for us. We sow in tears, but I trust in the Lord that we shall carry our sheaves with joy, through God, and this Pope Gregory, our true father.

I have with me at present the most generous companion and benefactor of the priests in England, Mr. George Gilbert, who on their account has suffered the confiscation of almost all his goods and estates, and whom the heretics have personally persecuted more than the rest, knowing that the Fathers of the Society were kept and sustained by him. He has come hither into France by the advice of F. Robert and others, in order to keep himself for that time. God willing, he will go to Rome in the autumn, and will dispose of himself according to the advice of the Father General and yourself. He tells me that more Fathers are very much wanted, if it were only to assist Father Robert, who, he says, has an incredible burden to bear. He wrote those two beautiful little books himself, one of which we have hitherto supposed to be Campion's work ; he preaches continually, he resolves cases of conscience for innumerable persons. The Catholics in the midst of persecutions have less scrupulous consciences than anywhere else that I know of, and have such an opinion of the Father that they will not acquiesce in the judgment of any common priest, unless it is confirmed by Father Robert. He has seven men continually at work at a press outside of London (where the noise of the machine is less likely to betray it). He is continually appealed to by gentlemen, and by some of the council, for necessary advice ; so this Mr. Gilbert tells me, who has been his inseparable companion for this whole year, and who at his departure left Father Robert seven horses for the necessary journeys and affairs of the Fathers and priests, and a large sum of money to procure needful things, paper, types, ink, and the like ; for great things can only be done at great expense, and for the success of such works we must have men who are not only despisers of money, but rich into the bargain. Father Campion is no less industrious in his own province, and it is supposed that there are twenty thousand more Catholics this year than last. Nor has God in this age anywhere given to the preachers of the word more power or success. Blessed be His name for ever.

Our Apology, as I hear, is read both by adversaries and friends, and the chief of the French mission has given it to the Queen to read. Christ Jesus, &c. Rheims, June 23, 1581.

Your reverence's brother for eternity as I hope, both in earth and heaven,

WILLIAM ALLEN.

It may be well to add to this account of Gilbert a few particulars of him that may be gathered from the information of one John Taylor, a friend of his servant, Roger Yardley.²³² Gilbert is described as a man "of reasonable tall stature, broad-shouldered, with a big leg, bending somewhat in the knees, fair-complexioned, reasonable well-coloured, little hair on his face, and short if he have any, thick somewhat of speech, and about twenty-four years of age." He had been a very earnest Protestant up to the age of seventeen; his haunts in London were Mr. Townsend's in Barbican, Mr. Roper's in Shire Lane, Cooke's (a saddler in Fleet Street), Sir Thomas (Gilbert) Gerard's (the Master of the Rolls), Mr. Allington's, Mr. Norris' (sometime of the Inns of Court), and the two Roscarocks'. "In the country he resorteth to his tenants' houses in Bucks, for thereabouts his mother, Grace Gilbert, a widow, dwelleth; also about Nottingham town to Sir Gervase Clifton's. His most familiar friend is one Mr. Pierrepoint, lying in Notts. Also Mr. Peter Basset, who lies much at Mr. Roper's (he was great-grandson of Sir Thomas More, and therefore Roper's cousin), Mr. Robert Gifford of Staffordshire, one Brinkley, and divers others." About Midsummer 1580, Gilbert was taken before the Bishop of London by Norris the pursuivant, but discharged on Norris declaring him an honest gentleman;²³³ Norris might well say so, for Gilbert paid him liberally, and hired his house to be a kind of sanctuary for hunted recusants. Townsend of the Barbican was probably either Isaac Townsend, or his brother Robert Townsend of Ludlow, both brothers of Gilbert's mother. Robert had been Gilbert's guardian till he came to the age of 18, when "he delivered him his lands and his free marriage, before which time Townsend kept him as a scholar at his own house, and after at the University." Gilbert, however, now scarcely ever visited his uncle, and never stayed more than three days together.

As soon as his rents came in, they were usually distributed in charity.²³⁴ His labours for souls were such, that he made as many conversions as any priest: a friend of his declared that the names of the wavering whom he had confirmed, the lapsed whom he had restored, the cold whom he had warmed (chiefly youths of his own age and condition), would fill a volume. . . He eluded his pursuers by a continual change of dress; going now as a gentleman, now as a serving-man. His sole anxiety was for Parsons; for himself he never feared. Most of his goods were confiscated. When he was sent to France, he had to conceal himself in a cave till the ship came in sight. He crossed over at the end of May

1581 (rather, Midsummer, the date of Parsons' letter, of which he was the bearer), leaving Parsons seven horses, and a large sum of money. He visited Allen at Rheims, and gave him 800 crowns. Thence he went to the English college at Rome, and presented himself to Claudius Acquaviva, who would not immediately receive him into the Society, nor yet allow him to put on the ecclesiastical habit in the college, as the Pope and Cardinals wished to employ him on English affairs. He it was that had the pictures of the English martyrs painted in the English college.

In 1583, as he was about to start for France on a commission of the Pope, he was seized with a fever, which killed him on the seventh day. In his agony he held in his hands the Cross that Alexander Briant had carved in the Tower, and began to talk to Campion as if he were present, lamenting that he had not been dragged with him on his hurdle to Tyburn. Just before he died, he was allowed to make his vows as a Jesuit. He expired at the fourth hour of the night, October 6, 1583.

The printers in Lady Stonor's lodge by great industry managed to have Campion's book finished, and a certain number of copies bound, in time for the commencement at Oxford on the 27th of June, the Tuesday next before the Feast of St. Peter and Paul, when those who were present found the benches of St. Mary's church strewed with copies, upwards of four hundred of which were distributed, partly in this way, partly in special gifts to different persons, by Hartley. The audience was more employed in reading the new book than in listening to the responsions of the students; and it was the reading, not the speaking, which so strangely moved them. Some were furious, some amused, some frightened, some perplexed; but all agreed that the essay was a model of eloquence, elegance, and good taste.

Oxford had already caused some anxiety to the government. Lord Chancellor Bromley, and the Earl of Leicester, Chancellor of the University, wrote to their loving friends the students of Christ Church, June 12, 1581,²³⁵ that they had been of late undutiful to the dean and sub-dean, slack in resorting to prayers and religious exercises, and so disorderly and insolent as to impair the service of God, the increase of learning, and the husbandry of the house. And, after Campion's capture, the Privy Council²³⁶ ordered a letter to be written to the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Houses to inform them that three Masters of Arts had been found in his company, that most of the seminary priests which at that moment

disturbed the Church had been heretofore scholars of that University; and that one Jacob, a musician and companion of Campion, had been tolerated there many years without going to church or receiving the sacrament. The Vice-Chancellor was therefore directed to search diligently through all the colleges after all persons suspected in religion, to certify their names to the Council, and in the mean time to use the best means they could to reduce them to conformity.

The young Oxonians did not bear easily the Elizabethan drill, and felt that if their liberty must be crushed, they would fain have it crushed by something more venerable than the mushroom authority of the ministers of the Queen. They were as tinder, and Campion's book was just the sort of spark to set them in a blaze. He had written, he says, not published, a challenge to disputation; this had been taken "atrociously," as if he were the most conceited man in the world. It was answered; but how? Not in the simple way—"We accept your challenge; the Queen allows it; come," but with cries of "Jesuit, sedition, arrogance, traitor." He sees then that the only platform he will be allowed is the gallows: hence he gives the heads of his intended argument; a syllabus, as it were, of the lectures he was not allowed to deliver, to show that it was not his own strength, but the inherent strength of his cause, and the native lustre of truth, that gave him courage to stand one against all. In a cause like this he may be killed, he cannot be conquered.

After this preface, he expounds ten reasons, or topics of argument, on any of which he is ready to prove the falsity of Protestantism, and the truth of the Catholic religion. The first topic is the Scriptures. All the old heretics, he says, in sheer despair of making the Bible speak their language, mutilated it. The Lutherans, Calvinists, and Anglicans have done the same with those parts of it which gave too clear a witness against them. The second topic is the method by which Protestants elude the force of the texts which make plainly against them. The third, the nature of the Church, whose authority Protestants confess in words, and then escape by a definition; for their invisible Church is equally inaudible, and is incapable of bearing testimony to the truth. The following terse piece of catechism is a characteristic part of this topic: "Dic mihi, subscribis Ecclesiæ, quæ seculis antea actis viguit? Omnino. Oreamus ergo terras et tempora.—Cui? Cœtui fidelium.—Quorum? Nomina nesciuntur, sed constat plurimos exitisse.—Constat? quibus constat? Deo.—Quis dicit? Nos qui divinitus edocti sumus.—Fabulæ! Quî credam?—Si arderes fide, tam scires hoc, quam te vivere."

The fourth topic is the general councils. The English Church reveres four Councils, and if so, she must admit their doctrines, the supremacy of the See of Peter, the sacrifice of the altar, the intercession and invocation of saints, the celibacy of the clergy: and if the first four Councils are admitted, he engages to prove, on the same reasoning, that the Council of Trent must be admitted too. The fifth topic is "the Fathers." Those who turn aside from the ancient way are obliged to renounce the Fathers; and while the Fathers are read in England, it will be vain to proscribe Harding, or Sanders, or Allen, or Stapleton, or Bristow. He mentions Jewel's famous challenge at Paul's Cross, the alacrity with which it was accepted by the English doctors at Louvain, and the immediate prohibition of their replies being imported into England. He mentions Lawrence Humphrey, who praises Jewel in all else, but owns that he was inconsiderate in making this challenge. He also recites a reply that Tobie Mathew once gave to him at Oxford, and which I have already related (p. 16). A Protestant, he says, professing to reverence the Fathers, is like a man holding a wolf by the ears, and therefore not much to be dreaded as an opponent. The sixth topic he calls "firmamenta patrum," or the consent of the Fathers in their interpretation of Scripture. "Quas afferunt, afferemus: quas conferunt, conferemus: quod inferunt, inferemus. Placet? —exscrea. Dic sodes. Minime vero, inquis, nisi recte exponant.—Quid est hoc ipsum, *recte?* Arbitratu tuo. Nihilne pudet labyrinthi?"

The seventh topic is the history of the Church, which exhibits for so many centuries the progress, the vicissitudes, and the contests of the Catholic Church, not of the Protestant sect. This is its positive side; the other is negative. It is owned that the Roman Church was once holy, Catholic, and so on. History ought to show how and when this once pure faith and practice were altered. But history, "the messenger of antiquity, the life of memory," makes mention of Catholics, none of the doctrines or doings of Protestants.

The eighth topic he names "Paradoxes." It is a collection of the most offensive sayings of Zuinglius, Luther, and Calvin. The texts are well known. God is the author of sin. The *homoousion* is rejected. Christ felt the pains of the damned, and despaired. Man has utterly lost the image of God; sin is the very substance of the soul; all sins are equal. Grace is not within us, but only in God's favour outside us. Justice is nothing inherent, but a mere relation. The sacraments are of no avail. *Si nolet uror, veniat ancilla.* All good works are mortal sins in God's sight. The Decalogue is no-

thing to Christians. "I," says Campion, "am nobody in comparison to some who are disputing on these points. But even I dare undertake to dispute with any one against such unreasonable positions."

The ninth topic is the utter weakness of the Protestant arguments. Their skiamachia, or fighting with shadows, as when they argue against celibacy with the text "marriage is honourable." Their logomachy, taking words for things, as when they say, "you cannot find 'Mass' or 'Purgatory' in the Bible." Their confusion of meanings, as when they say, "wherefore priests, when John says we are all priests?"—they may as well ask, "why kings, when we are all kings?" Their arguing in circles—What are the notes of a Church? The word of God and pure sacraments.—Have you them? Who doubts? I deny it.—Consult the word of God. I have already done so, and am still more unfriendly to you than before.—Yet it is plain. Prove it.—Because we do not budge an inch from the Bible.

In the tenth topic he crowds together a whole litany of commonplaces. He begins with heaven—Who are the Saints? He surveys hell—Who are the damned, and why? and he answers with all Dante's positiveness. Then he returns to earth. The succession of the Apostolic See; the successions of all the Bishoprics scattered over the world. Then he turns to the kings of the Christian world, and after quoting Isaiah, *Queens shall be thy nursing mothers*, he cries out, "Listen, Elizabeth, mighty queen. The prophet is speaking to thee, is teaching thee thy duty. I tell thee, one heaven cannot receive Calvin and these thy ancestors; join thyself therefore to them, be worthy of thy name, of thy genius, of thy learning, of thy fame, of thy fortune. Thus only do I conspire, thus only will I conspire against thee, whatever becomes of me, who am so often threatened with the gallows as a conspirator against thy life. Hail, thou good Cross! The day shall come, Elizabeth, the day that will show thee clearly who loved thee best, the Society of Jesus, or the brood of Luther." I have no doubt that Campion wrote these words in perfect good faith; but Parsons may have laughed in his sleeve when he gave them his *imprimatur*. There was this *salvo*, however. The Jesuits wished to save Elizabeth's soul at the expense of her fortunes; her friends wished to secure her fortunes and leave her soul to shift for itself. After this he cites the Christian nations, the Universities, manners, ceremonies of coronations, and the like, vestments, painted windows, the gates of towns, the signs of citizens' houses, the lives of our grandfathers, and almost everything that has any

historical association at all, to prove that Catholicism is the Christianity of history and fact.

In conclusion, he tells the University men that his aim in this trifling present, *contextum operis in itinere subsecivis*, has been to purge himself of the suspicion of arrogance, to show the grounds of his confidence, and to give them a taste of what he should say if his challenge to a conference were accepted. He gives a very intelligible hint that his readers know on which side truth lies, but are kept from confessing it by gold, glory, and pleasure. And he dates his pamphlet *Cosmopolis*, 1581.

It would not be difficult to criticise this production; the scheme of Catholic apology is by no means perfect, nor is its method either philosophical or logical. It is the work rather of a preacher and a rhetorician, than of a theologian. There is a kind of formality in the six first topics, which take the Scriptures as a whole, then the texts as the actual teaching of the Scriptures; the Church as a whole, then the Councils, as it were the texts, the formal propositions enunciated by the Church; then the Fathers as a body of theologians, and then their *firmamenta* or consentive teaching. The eighth and ninth also are good topics; but the weakness with which history is treated in the seventh, and the clumsy way in which the residues of all the others are collected together in the tenth topic must strike all readers. Nevertheless it was a book that succeeded. One may suspect the partisan prejudices of the Catholics when they cried out to one another in the words of the greatest scholar of the day, Muretus, "*libellum aureum, vere digito Dei scriptum;*" but it is impossible to misinterpret the anxious letters which the Anglican authorities wrote to one another on the subject, the orders of the Council that the book should be answered, the terms of unmeasured abuse in which it was answered, the monstrous iniquity of the few disputations which its author was allowed to hold upon it, and the anxiety of the Bishops to have even these conferences stopped; the tortures and death that were inflicted on the writer; and lastly, the voluminous mass of literature (if I may call it so) to which this little volume gave birth. The spark may have been a little one, but it kindled a great fire. And the style of the book was such as to captivate the lover of learning of those days.

While the book was being printed, Campion and Parsons generally remained in the neighbourhood of Stonor Park. Campion occasionally made excursions to the houses of Mr. Price, or Ap-rice, of Huntingdon; Mr. William Griffith, of Uxbridge; Mr. Edwin East, of Bledlow, Bucks; Lady Babing-

ton, at Twyford, Bucks, where he seems to have spent St. John's day, the anniversary of his coming to England; Mr. Dormer's, at Wyng, Bucks; and Mrs. Pollard's. During the fortnight that elapsed between the publication of his book and his capture he wrote a letter to Claudius Acquaviva, the General of the Order, which has never been published, but of which Sacchini and Bartoli give a few scraps.^{236*} It was dated July 9, 1581. "Lamenting his former letters which had miscarried, in which he related at considerable length the things that had happened to him; and the miserable condition of the times, which did not allow him to adventure in a letter to speak of some particulars that were most worth knowing, he added: 'Our adversaries were never more monstrously cruel than now. The cause of Christ never in better condition, or in more security. For we are pressed with no other arguments than those whose premisses are the rack, starvation, cursing; this has already broken down the dignity of our enemies, and turned the eyes and ears of the whole realm towards the Catholics. Nothing else was lacking to this cause than that to our books written with ink should succeed those others which are daily being published, written in blood.'"²³⁷

CHAPTER XI.

CAMPION had now been labouring a year in England, and his time was almost come. Many a spy was abroad who hoped to catch him, many a false brother was ready to betray him, and the traitor who was to set him in his enemies' hands was already at work. There was a certain George Eliot, who had formerly been steward to Mr. Roper, of Orpington in Kent, and latterly had been in the service of the Dowager Lady Petre, the widow of Sir William, and mother of Sir John Petre, of Ingatestone, Essex. Eliot was a Catholic; but either through lust of gain, or in order, as Campion's Catholic biographers assert, to free himself by court favour from a charge of murder which was to be preferred against him, and which he afterwards confessed to be true, he obtained access to the Earl of Leicester, and communicated to him all he knew, and much that he invented, about Catholics. He wrote several letters to the earl; two of which, seemingly written from prison, were thought to contain information worth laying before the Council. They were accordingly sent to Burghley, and are now bound up in a volume of his papers in the Lansdowne Library of the British Museum (vol. 33). The first paper contains a list of priests, followed by a list of the chief Catholics of Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Lincolnshire, Berks, Oxon, London, Kent, and Essex; then follows detailed information about Sir John Petre and his mother, and about a plot to assassinate the Queen, which he said was communicated to him by Payne, a priest in the house of his old master, Thomas Roper. The plot is described in this letter nearly in the words of Eliot's subsequent deposition at Campion's trial, which will be given in its place. The informer goes on to enumerate the persons who were named by Payne as presumed accomplices in this plot: Mr. Talbot, and his man Robert Eliot; Robert Eliot, servant to Lady Paulet; Robert Tunster, servant to Sir John Petre; and Philip Lowe, servant to the old Lady Petre.

In the other letter George Eliot informs Leicester of the merely political conformity of Sir John Petre, who was a

“schismatic Catholic,” attending the Protestant church, but refusing the Communion. Of the resolute character of Robert Tunster; of the threats of vengeance used by Ludovic Greville, who had married Sir John Petre’s sister, against Leicester; of the high favour which the Queen of Scots bore to Mr. Rolleston; of the likelihood of getting some information about Campion and Parsons from Mr. Francis Browne, or Mr. Charles Basset, or from Humphrey Eyton,²³⁸ servant to Mr. Thomas Roper; of the books published by Parsons and Campion; and of two bookbinders in St. Paul’s Churchyard, named Gawood and Holden, whom Eliot supposes to have bound the said books. Then he tells how Thompson, one of Roper’s priests, took these books to his house, and how Payne, his other priest, had said Mass on Sunday, July 2d, at Mr. William Moore’s house at Haddon, Oxfordshire, at which Mass Eliot himself was present. This shows that he was at that time going about the country as a fervent Catholic, making his observations in order that he might afterwards reap the reward of a spy. Perhaps he was following Payne; for the same persons who tell us of Eliot’s murders, tell us that he had a personal quarrel with Payne about some gentlewoman of Mr. Roper’s household, with whom he had eloped to London, in hopes that the priest would marry him to her, and on this being refused, had resolved on revenge.

The circumstances of the fortnight or three weeks that passed between the dispersion of the *Decem Rationes* at Oxford and Campion’s capture are involved in the double obscurity of erroneous information. Parsons had an excellent memory; but when, in after years, he related to Bombinus the events of this year of adventures and escapes, he made many transpositions and confusions. Among others, he allowed Bombinus to connect the sudden flight from Stonor Park with the search that Wilkes made in Parsons’ chamber upon the information of a binder in the service of Roland Jinks, and the apprehension of Briant in a neighbouring house; this, as we have before seen, had already happened some three months previously. If any printer or bookbinder gave information in July, it was probably one of those whose names Eliot gave to Leicester, upon the apprehension of whom Parsons would naturally fear for the safety of his press at Stonor Lodge. The fear, however, was vain. For it was not till after Campion’s capture that this press came to the knowledge of the Council. However, Parsons judged it prudent that they should part,²³⁹ and so on Tuesday the 11th of July, after the usual mutual confession and renewal of vows, he appointed Campion to proceed to Norfolk, first,

however, returning to Lancashire, where he had left the greater part of his books and papers in the care of Mr. Houghton. Parsons, however, ordered him to make no stay there, and especially to avoid lodging at gentlemen's houses during his journey. After all was settled, they waited till daylight, when they mounted their horses, Campion and Ralph Emerson riding north, Parsons and his man riding towards London. They exchanged hats,—as, on leaving Prague, Campion and Campanus the rector had exchanged habits,—and bid one another what each felt to be the last farewell.

But it was not so. They had not been long parted before Parsons heard Campion galloping after him, to ask his permission to visit the house of Mr. Yate, at Lyford. Mr. Yate was at the time a prisoner for religion in London, but he had written to Campion to beseech him to visit his family. Campion had more than once refused; but now, as he had almost to pass the door, he thought that he could find no excuse. And the moated grange at Lyford was an attractive place for a Catholic priest. Mrs. Yate had under her protection eight Brigittine nuns, who had migrated into Belgium at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, but had been compelled by the tumults in the Low Countries to return, and were committed by the Queen to the custody of various persons, where they suffered many miseries, till some gentlemen, in pity for them, begged the Queen to transfer their custody to them.²⁴⁰ Mr. Yate had for several years lodged eight of them in his house, and his widowed mother had joined their community. It was natural that these women should desire to see and hear Father Campion; but it was scarcely necessary, as there were two priests, Mr. Ford and Mr. Collington, always in the house to supply their spiritual needs. "Nevertheless," says Bombinus, "so fired are women's imaginations," they must needs confess to Campion, receive his absolution and advice, and take the Communion from his hands. Campion himself, besides his natural courtesy, seems to have had a special liking to the kind of spiritual conference which he might expect at Lyford; and his importunity at last overcame the prudence of Parsons, who at first would by no means consent. The house was notorious; there would be great concourse thither when Campion was understood to be there; and this would be perilous for himself, and fatal to his expedition into Norfolk. "I know," said he, "your easy temper; you are too soft to refuse anything that is required of you. If you once get in there, you will never get away." Campion said he would stay exactly as long as Parsons ordered him. Parsons asked him what secu-

rity he could give for that. Campion offered Ralph Emerson as his bail; on which Parsons made Ralph Campion's superior on the journey, and told Campion to obey him. Then, in the hearing of both, he told them not to tarry at Lyford more than one day, or one night and morning; and bade Ralph to take care that this command was executed. They then once more separated. Campion was happy: he had his way about the nuns, and he had received a delightful humiliation in being put under the obedience of a lay-brother. At Lyford he found everything as he could wish;—the nuns in such fervour, that he could scarcely get them off their knees: but he told them how short a time he had to stay with them, and they understood there was no time to be lost; the night was spent in confessions and conferences; with the earliest dawn Campion said Mass and preached; and after dinner, in obedience to Parsons' orders, he and Ralph took horse and rode away. This was on Wednesday, July 12.

It happened that in the afternoon of the same day a large party of Catholics visited Lyford to see the nuns. Nothing could exceed their mortification when they found what a treasure they had so barely missed. It was useless to tell them that Campion had gone in obedience to the strict injunctions of his superior. They must needs send after him. And as Mr. Collington had ridden on with Campion, Mr. Ford, the other chaplain, nothing loth, took horse and rode after him, and in the evening overtook him at an inn not far from Oxford, where he found him with a number of students and masters of the University round him,—for it was quite out of Campion's power or even will to keep himself concealed. Here Ford whispered his message to Collington; and so on, till the whole company knew his errand. They had already tried to make Campion preach, but he had refused to perform any public act of religion at so dangerous a time and place; and they saw that if they could prevail on him to return to Lyford, they should have him all to themselves. Ford therefore began the assault; attracted by his passionate tones and gestures, the rest of the party came up one by one; they all chimed in with him, and begged Campion not to resist the prayers of so godly a company. Campion, seeing that everybody was against him, declared that he was simply acting under obedience. Then there came a new assault. Commands are not to be taken at the letter; Parsons never thought such a company would be gathered, or he would never have forbidden his preaching to them. Campion had devoted a day to a few nuns, and he could never refuse another to so many persons, all thirsting for the waters of life. It was now Thursday; on Friday he might

ride back to Lyford, remain there on Saturday and Sunday morning, and then he might go. Campion, the gentlest of men, was moved almost to tears; he would do nothing contrary to obedience; but then, after all, he was in Ralph Emerson's hands. Such an excuse was too ridiculous; so he had to explain that Ralph was made his superior for this expedition, and that he would do whatever Ralph ordered him. This turned the tide; the assault was now against Ralph. The "little man" was at first quite fierce in his refusals; but when they came to reasons, he was soon overwhelmed. He found that he could spare Campion a deal of trouble and even danger if he left him at Lyford, while he fetched his books from Mr. Houghton's. From Lyford Campion could easily ride to a Catholic gentleman's house on the borders of Norfolk after dinner on Sunday, and there stay for Ralph and the books. So said, so done. Campion was ordered back to Lyford; and Ralph rode on towards Lancashire.

Eliot, on the other hand, who had been at Haddon in Oxfordshire on the 4th of July, had been in trouble at London, where he explained to the Earl of Leicester, first, the knowledge that he had of Catholics and their hiding-places, and his willingness to devote it all to the Queen's service, and next, the danger in which he stood because of the impending charge of murder. Bombinus will have it that Walsingham was the minister to whom he went. But Eliot's extant letters are addressed to Leicester, and the earliest account of Campion's capture, that, namely, translated from the French by James Laing, doctor of the Sorbonne, and published as an appendix to his life of Beza in 1585, calls the man *totius regni fere maximus princeps*, almost the greatest lord in the realm, which clearly means Leicester. The motives of his having recourse to Leicester may be understood from the objections which Payne on his trial brought against the insufficiency of Eliot to be witness.²⁴¹ He declared him guilty of oppression of the poor, even unto death; of a rape and other notorious lewdness; of breach of contract, and cozening of Lady Petre; of often changing his religion; of malice against himself; adding, that he was also attached of murder, and was a notorious dissembler. Bombinus also and Bartoli make out that Eliot first of all betrayed Payne on the 13th of July, and then pretending bodily fear of the Catholics, obtained a guard, and was sent out of London to look for other priests, before the news of his treason could be bruited abroad.²⁴² But this is unlikely; for the Council-book contains directions dated July 27, 1581, after the capture of Campion, for a letter to be written to Thomas Roper, Esq., requiring him to send

up Thompson and Payne, his servants,—the two priests whom he entertained as his stewards.²⁴³ Thompson was sent up, and committed to the Marshalsea on the 30th of July; but Payne could not then be found; he was, however, taken before the 14th of August, when the Council ordered him to be put to the torture in the Tower. (See below, c. xii.) However this may be, it is certain that Eliot was in Oxfordshire during the week that Campion spent at Lyford. Perhaps Eliot, as well as the students and masters of Oxford, had heard of his being in the neighbourhood; and as it appears by his letter to Leicester that Moore's house at Oxford, and Yate's at Lyford, were the only two Catholic houses that he knew in Oxfordshire and Berkshire, it was natural that he should search first one and then the other for his victim. I suppose that it was for this reason he heard Mass at Haddon on Sunday July 2, and again on Tuesday July 4; and then denounced the priests who officiated, Thompson and Godsalve, to Leicester. It was with this dangerous man in the neighbourhood, furnished with full powers, with letters to all sheriffs and constables, and with an experienced pursuivant to attend him (and to watch him) that Campion went back into the trap from which he had just escaped.

Of course he was received with exceeding joy, and for two days he, the nuns, and the Catholics of the neighbourhood were in Paradise. On Sunday the 16th of July more than sixty Catholics and Oxford students were assembled to hear him preach. Just as Campion was preparing to say Mass, Eliot came to the house, with his attendant pursuivant. A fortnight before, he had gained admission to a Mass at Mr. Moore's, and now he wanted to do the same here. The cook of the house was an old fellow-servant of his at Mr. Roper's, who knew him to be a Catholic, and knew also that both Roper and the old Lady Petre had always trusted him. So Eliot called the cook out of the house on to the drawbridge, and then talked with him, as one weary in body, but more thirsty in soul for the consolation of Mass; and he knew that in such a house there must be a Mass on Sundays. The cook owned there was, but was unable to admit any stranger without Mrs. Yate's leave. This, with much ado, he at last obtained;²⁴⁴ and as he was letting Eliot into the house he whispered to him that he was a lucky man, for he would not only hear Mass, but also hear Father Campion preach. Nothing could be more delicious to Eliot. He only wanted a minute to send away the heretic who had come with him to the house, and then he would go in with his friend the cook. So he sent off his pursuivant to a magistrate in the neighbour-

hood, to order him in the Queen's name to come to Lyford with a *posse comitatus* of an hundred men for the purpose of apprehending Campion, against whom he had a warrant. Then with all devotion he let himself be conducted to the chapel. There he heard Campion's Mass, and the sermon which he preached upon the Gospel of the day—it was the ninth Sunday after Pentecost: "When Jesus drew near to Jerusalem, He wept over it." The text was apt in its application to England; England, once the most faithful of nations, now so changed as to be the subject of the most bitter tears of the Church. "Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets;" every part of the passage conspired with the circumstances of the day and his own presentiments to raise the eloquence of the preacher to its highest pitch, and his audience declared that they had never heard or imagined such preaching. It was the song of the swan. Eliot had with him the warrant for Campion's apprehension; and as he had been instructed, if possible, to take him *flagrante delicto*, in his vestments, he more than once thought of exhibiting the warrant then and there, but, like a prudent man, forbore to do so. After the sermon came dinner; after which Campion, as he had settled with Emerson, was to ride off towards Norfolk. Eliot, pressed to stay, refused, and excited some suspicion by his abrupt departure; but not enough to make Mrs. Yate do more than place a watchman on one of the turrets to give notice of the approach of danger. Dinner was not over before the watchman had to announce that the place was beleaguered with armed men. The company broke up in confusion. Campion was the first to speak. There was nothing to be done. He was the man they sought; if he departed, perchance he might find means to escape, and if not, at least his capture might satisfy the pursuivants, and deliver the rest of the house from endless vexation and danger. But they forced him to stay. The walls of the house were pierced in every direction, they told him, with galleries and hiding holds; he would have a much better chance stowed away in one of these. There was no time to deliberate. Ford and Collington hurried him away to a chamber excavated in the wall above the gateway, where there was a narrow bed, on which they stowed themselves, lying side by side, with their hands crossed over their breasts, or lifted up in prayer; and there, after mutual confession and absolution, they lay all that afternoon, expecting every minute that the wall would be broken in by the maces of the searchers.

When they were thus bestowed, the men-at-arms had already surrounded the house, and set a guard at every outlet

A chosen number, led by Eliot — Judas Eliot, as he was thenceforth called by Catholics and Protestants—demanded admission into the house. They entered; he led them into every chamber, sought with them in every corner, turned everything topsy-turvy; but no priest could he find. The searchers, all Berkshire men and quiet neighbours, who had no taste for this kind of work, were sulky; the whole afternoon had been spent; the walls had been sounded, the men were tired. They laughed at Eliot as a gull, and determined to give over their search. Before leaving, the magistrate went to Mrs. Yate to ask her pardon for the vexation and trouble he had been obliged to cause her; he had only obeyed the Queen's warrant that had been brought to him by a strutting turkey-cock, who took upon him more than he was entitled to assume. Mrs. Yate was too glad to be rid of her importunate guests, and probably showed too much satisfaction at their departure.

When they were once outside the house the men were free to tell Eliot what they thought of him for having spoiled their Sunday's holiday, and their credit both with their neighbour Yate and with the rest of the county, who would laugh at them for their fool's errand. Eliot was roused; the fault was not his, but theirs; he would report to the Council their remissness in the search, and the marked favour they had shown to the notorious Papists. They had not broken the walls or searched the hiding-holes. Did they fancy to catch Campion under a bed, or that they would find him in company with the rest of the family? The magistrate replied that he had no warrant to break down or destroy. "But I have," said Eliot, as he drew out the warrant from his bosom, and proceeded to read it. One of the men, suspecting he was reading not from the paper but from his invention, went behind and looked over his shoulder; he soon detected Eliot's fraud; and Eliot ordered him to be apprehended as a comforter of the Jesuits. The man was apprehended, and this decided act frightened the rest, and made them more readily submit to Eliot's order for a renewal of the search. The priests had already crept out of their hiding-place, and the whole house was in a fervour of congratulation and thanksgiving, when the magistrate returned with his men. Mrs. Yate sent for him; she asked what this inconstancy in counsel could portend, but the destruction of a poor sick woman. It was a manly part, she said, for men to play. She would bear it, for it would be a glory for her, but what a lasting shame for him! Then she burst into tears. The magistrate begged Mrs. Yate not to blame him for Eliot's unkindness; he must obey the Queen's warrant, though a

madman had been charged to execute it; he would, however, try to moderate what he could not prevent, and he therefore allowed Mrs. Yate to choose a chamber where she might sleep in peace, which he promised should not be disturbed by any of his men. It was now evening, and Mrs. Yate had her bed made up in the part of the house where the priests were hidden. She was conducted there with all honour, while the rest of the house was examined, the walls sounded, and broken in where they seemed hollow. The search was continued till late at night, when she ordered the men to be well entertained. The long excitement, the work, the despair of success, the food, and especially the beer, soon had their effect, and the sheriff's men all composed themselves to sleep. When Mrs. Yate was assured that all were asleep, she caused the priests once more to be called from their hiding-place, and with a gushing importunity which seemed quite incredible to Bartoli, she insisted on Father Campion preaching one more sermon to her community. Her servants found it vain to resist. Campion was brought to her bedside, and had to preach then and there. She knew, she said, she should never hear him again. Excited by his eloquence, the audience forgot the prudence that beseeemed the garrison of a beleaguered place, and as the congregation broke up, first one of the priests fell down, then others tumbled over him. The noise awoke the sentinels that had been placed at Mrs. Yate's door. They gave the alarm; the Jesuits had been in the room; they were almost seen; they were but just missed. Mrs. Yate's bedroom was forthwith searched, all the walls sounded, every closet explored: but again all was to no purpose; the congregation had glided away through the secret passages, and had left no trace of their path.

And now day had broke, and an afternoon and night spent in fruitless destruction had reduced not only the sheriff's men, but Eliot himself to despair; once more then the soldiers began to depart, not without reproaches and jeers against the madman who had led them into such a labyrinth. When Eliot first came, Mrs. Yate had directed one of her servants to attend upon him, ostensibly to serve him, really to give the household every possible warning of what he was about to do next. Eliot had vented upon this man all the ill-humour of his disappointment, and he was now descending the stairs by his side. Suddenly he clapped his hand on the wall over the stairs, and exclaimed, "We have not broken through here." The man, who knew that it was precisely there that the priests were hidden, turned deadly pale, and stammered out that he should have thought enough walls had been broken

up already. Eliot marked his confusion, and immediately asked for a smith's hammer; he smashed in the wall, and there, in a little close cell, on a narrow bed, were the three priests lying side by side, their faces and hands raised towards heaven; they had confessed their sins to one another, and had received for their penance to say once *fiat voluntas tua*, and to invoke St. John Baptist three times. For St. John had once before saved Campion from a similar danger. "Such," adds Bombinus, "is the true account of this capture, written from Parsons' notes and oral instructions, who in turn had received the account from the man whom Mrs. Yate had directed to wait upon Eliot."

With Campion and the two priests were taken John Cotton, William Hildesley of Benham, Berks, Humphrey and James Keynes, Philip Lowe, Edward Yate, and John James, gentlemen; and William Webley and John Mansfield, yeomen. None of the sayings or doings of Campion at this time is recorded; only Yepes tells us that he spoke so quietly, and looked so cheerfully, that he disarmed the malice of his captors. Humphrey Forster of Aldermaston, the sheriff of Berkshire (anno 22 Eliz.), was absent when Eliot summoned the *posse comitatus* of Abingdon to assist him. If he had been there, the proceedings would not have been so violent as they were. When the news reached him he hurried to Lyford; he had no mind to be jailor to a man whose eloquence he had admired in the schools at Oxford, and the fame of whose sanctity had given him a secret inclination towards his religion. When he arrived at Lyford he sent a messenger to London, to know the will of the Council in the matter. In the mean time Campion was treated as an old friend rather than as a prisoner, except that he could not have his liberty. He had the place of honour in the house and at the table; and, indeed, his own winning ways had conciliated his keepers quite as much as the orders and example of the sheriff. For three days they had to wait at Lyford for the answer of the Council. On the fourth the sheriff received a letter ordering him to send his prisoners under a strong guard to London. It was a sad parting for the women at Lyford, and a proud day for Eliot, who rode at the head of the company, and was not much daunted by the nickname Eliot Iscariot or Judas Eliot, which the people pretty freely used to him. Let those laugh that win. The company made three halts in its passage to London; one at Abingdon, where, amongst others, divers scholars of Oxford came to see the famous champion; of which being told by Mr. Lydcote, he said he was very glad, as himself being once of that University; and asked whether

they would hear a sermon: then, at dinner, Eliot said to him, "Mr. Campion, you look cheerfully upon everybody but me; I know you are angry with me for this work." "God forgive thee, Eliot," said he, "for so judging of me; I forgive thee; and in token thereof, I drink to thee; yea, and if thou wilt repent and come to confession, I will absolve thee; but large penance thou must have." The next halt was at Henley; here William Filby, a priest, as he was incautiously attempting to speak to Campion, was apprehended, and added to the company of prisoners.²⁴⁵ A few nights before, he had dreamed that his body was ripped open and his bowels taken out; the terror whereof caused him to cry out so loudly that the whole house was raised. At Henley also Campion saw Parsons' servant, and saluted him cheerfully, with such signs as he could without betraying him to the guard. Parsons, who was staying about a quarter of a mile from Henley, was not permitted by his friends to go and see Campion, and therefore sent his man to observe how he bore himself, and was no little comforted by the report.

The third halt was at Colebrook, some ten miles from London, where they were stayed by letters of the Council, which bade them to remain there the rest of the day (Friday, July 21), so as to make a public entry into London on Saturday, market-day, when the streets would be thronged with people. The crowds collected to see Campion and his companions at Colebrook gave him a foretaste of what he had to expect the next day in London. Only at Colebrook a great number of Catholic and other gentlemen sought to speak with him; and Campion made a curious exhibition of versatility and histrionic ability in keeping the sentinels off their guard by his amusing talk, while he conversed by signs with the gentlemen who pressed around him, or gave his conversation with his keeper such a turn, as to make it serve the double purpose of amusing the one and instructing the others. At this place the instructions of the Council caused the treatment of the prisoners to be thoroughly altered. The sheriff of Berkshire had used them like gentlemen; the cue now was to render them ridiculous; they were to have their elbows tied behind them, their hands in front, and their legs under their horses' bellies. Campion, who had to ride first in this mock triumph, was to be further decorated in the way that perjurers were marked in those days, with a paper stuck into his hat, with his title written, CAMPION THE SEDITIOUS JESUIT. They were to be thus paraded through the whole length of the city on Saturday, July 22, especially through the places where, by reason of the markets of that day, the greatest concourse of

the common people was. These commands were executed to the letter; all London beheld the spectacle, the mob gazing with delight; but the wiser sort lamenting to see the land fallen to such barbarism as to abuse in this manner a gentleman famous throughout Europe for his scholarship and his innocency of life, and this before any trial, or any proof against him; his case being prejudged, and he punished as if already condemned.²⁴⁶ When the calvalcade reached the cross in Cheapside (the lower images of which had been defaced during the night of June 21 by Puritans, about whom a reward of forty crowns failed to procure information), Campion made a low reverence to the cross, which still remained on the top, and crossed himself as well as he could with his tied hands on the breast. Some of the mob laughed or hissed at him, some wondered; but they made no attempt to rescue him, as they had rescued the Puritan brewer Butcher, a few weeks before (June 28), when he was being flogged at the cart's-tail through the same streets, for having raised a sedition in Smithfield. At last they reached the Tower; and before they were delivered over to the custody of Sir Owen Hopton, the governor, Campion turned to the guards who had brought him, thanking them for their courtesy, forgiving them for Christ's sake any wrong he had received at their hands, and declaring that he felt much more sorrow for their blindness and the peril of their souls than for all his own griefs and incommodities, and praying God to enlighten them. And then the gloomy gates of the Tower closed behind him.

CHAPTER XII.

Now that we have brought Campion to the Tower, it is time to see what his captors thought of doing with him. The English government and nation were thoroughly, and rightly, convinced of two facts. First, that there was a very dangerous combination of foreign Catholic powers for the invasion of England; and secondly, that the invaders counted upon finding an ally in every English Catholic. The system of espionage, which Walsingham had organised with marvellous skill—a skill which far surpassed the attempts of the Spaniards in the same line—had kept the Council well informed not only of the general outline of the scheme, which included, first the conquest of Ireland, whence, not without the connivance of the young King of Scots, who was at this time currently and credibly reported to be secretly a Catholic, Scotland might be secured.²⁴⁷ It included next, after Scotland was safe, a descent from the north upon England; while a Spanish fleet from the south, the Prince of Parma with the Spanish army from the Low Countries on the east, and a Spanish, Italian, and Irish diversion on the west, might crush the power of Elizabeth, and usher in the golden day that the Catholics whispered about. The danger of this combination taking effect had culminated in 1580, when the death of the cardinal king of Portugal opened a more tempting field to Philip's ambition, and made him turn aside the forces which were intended against England, to secure the prize which lay nearer his door, and more immediately answered the ends of his ambition. Cobham, the ambassador at Paris, had, as early as April 8, 1580, duly informed the Queen of the disappointment of the English Catholic refugees, who, he says, wrote from Rome, "That God trieth his people many ways . . . and now, last of all, through the death of the old king of Portugal, whereon the Portugals do continue in their resistance against the Catholic king. . . . When this plot was first laid the young king was yet living; and after him succeeded a most godly man. . . . A league was procured with them of Barbary, and an amity with the Turk" (by means

of which the Order of Malta, set free from its engagements in the Mediterranean, was able to destine its whole forces to the "sacred expedition" of Ireland) "to the intent there should be no impediment . . . Notwithstanding, the death of the late cardinal king is now the only let of so godly an enterprise;"²⁴⁸ which was to destroy Elizabeth, "the usurper of authority, the puddle of lasciviousness, the very Antichrist, and the wicked council and minions."²⁴⁹ Dr. Allen treats this combination as a mere invention of the English politicians; but no man who has read the state papers of the time can doubt that it was then universally believed that the Catholic army maintained by the Pope, the King of Spain, the Grand Duke of Florence, and other princes, was intended for Ireland, Scotland, or England. It was believed in England; warnings were poured in from Italy, Spain, and France. Mariners returning from the Mediterranean or from Spain gave information of vast preparations, all appointed for England; intercepted letters from Catholics conspired in the same tale. Agents in Spain and Italy ascertained that Ireland was claimed by the Pope as his own, and had been surrendered to the King of Spain; one information even went so far as to assert that the Pope had given England to him, upon pain of his curse if he did not enforce his pretensions; and had promised him aid in taking Ireland as well. A nuncio was sent over to Ireland with the papal troops.²⁵⁰ The English government was convinced of its danger and was really frightened. And its fears were not chimerical. Statesmen who knew the circumstances of the case were nearly unanimous in attributing the salvation of Elizabeth's government to the death of the old king of Portugal.

Just before Cobham sent this intercepted letter to Walsingham,^{250*} he had told him: "They write directly from sundry parts, how the Catholic army is prepared for the realms of her Majesty, if the affairs of Portugal do not let him" (the Catholic king). "And to the intent she may not be succoured, they have at Rome excommunicated her; Cardinal Alexandrine, nephew to Papa Pius Quintus, hath caused many copies of the excommunication to be printed, to disperse them among the ambassadors and others of Rome. In their discourses out of Italy they write, that King Philip was moved to procure this excommunication and to gather these forces upon the suspicion of the confederacy he supposeth the Queen is entered into with Monsieur (the Duke of Anjou) for the taking of the protection of the Low Countries. . . . And as the chief potentates are confederated together, so almost now in all the provinces of France there are particular Catholic leaguers and

brotherhoods, which they say is somewhat offered to be framed in England, and to that intent there be divers hallowed small crosses and medals which are to be worn secretly, whereof I send you two couples for patterns.²⁵¹

“The Abbot of Brisenio, a Neapolitan, which was nuncio in Pius Quintus’ time in Florence, and is now King Philip’s agent at Rome, hath been an earnest solicitor to the Pope for the excommunication against the Queen. . . .

“I do send herewith a copy of Pope Pius’ bulla renewed against her highness, and an indulgence procured by Don Bernadine to infect her highness’ subjects.”²⁵² And he further reports the saying of some chief Cardinals, that as Gregory the Great founded the Church in England, so Gregory XIII. should restore it.

It was probably on this information that Burghley in his *Execution of Justice* declared that the excommunication of the Queen had “at sundry times proceeded in a thundering sort,” and was so eager to credit John Nichols’ information that, about Midsummer 1579, “they renewed the bulls of excommunication granted by the Pope Gregory, under the colour and name of Pius Quintus published; that five hundred copies were printed at Rome . . . and published (as he heard at Rome) in the English Seminary at Rheims, and put fast to pillars in the city, and scattered throughout all Italy, Spain, and part of Germany.”²⁵³ Nichols’ information is usually worth very little, as he confessed that he asserted whatever Hopton prompted, moved by his fears of the rack;^{253*} but still in his *Palinodia* he declares “the younger students related to me that the bull of Pius V. was renewed by Gregory XIII., and that it was published at Rheims, and posted on the doors and posts of the city. I wrote on their report; whether it is true or not, I know no more than a child, for I was not at Rheims at the time.” So that, as far as this goes, Nichols must be held to corroborate Cobham. Further, the secular priests in the controversy with Blackwell and Parsons after 1600 affirmed over and over again that the bull had been republished both in 1580 and in 1588 by Sixtus V. (Watson’s *Quodlibets*, 258.)

Other circumstances which must have forbidden English statesmen to consider the bull as dormant were the expeditions into Ireland, from that which had started under the command of Stukeley, to that which came to so miserable an end at St. Mary Wick in Kerry under the lead of Dr. Nicholas Sanders and General San-Giuseppe, with Colonel Cornelio, a Roman and majordomo of the Pope, at the hands of Arthur Lord Grey. Informations in abundance came to the Council

which proved this expedition to have been contrived by the Roman court. It had been known from its very beginnings. Cobham wrote to Walsingham, April 15, 1580,²⁵⁴ that the French king had sent Villeroy to him to communicate the contents of a letter sent by the French ambassador out of Spain, March 25, 1580, which informed him of a messenger from Ireland "despatched by the rebels with a request to have aid, which messenger was directed to the Pope's nuncio; whereon the said nuncio did forthwith intreat the Spanish king to have some soldiers sent thither on the Pope's charge. Order was thereon given that seven hundred soldiers should be presently embarked in Galicia to pass with good munition and provision towards Ireland."²⁵⁵ Two months later Cobham wrote to the Queen, that "they of Rome had bent their counsels against her estates . . . favouring her fugitives and assisting the Irish rebels." The Italians, he says, would not assist Philip with money and forces, except they thought the Catholic army would be bestowed more to their liking, and farther from their coasts than Portugal. He told also how France was temporising, and how Scotland was being won to the Catholic side through D'Aubigny.²⁵⁶ Again, September 18, he had more information on the same subject to impart; and the year after, though the first attempt had ended disastrously, he writes of preparations for a new enterprise, and of intercepted Spanish letters which stated that Cardinal Riario had offered to Philip 600,000 crowns in ready money, to continue and maintain the enterprise pretended in Ireland and England.²⁵⁷ The English government were also acquainted with the fact that on May 13, 1580, the Pope granted to James Fitzgerald and all who joined him the same plenary indulgence as was granted to those who fought against the Turks for the recovery of the Holy Land; perhaps they did not know how the Archbishop of Glasgow had suggested to the General of the Jesuits that the Irish expedition should be committed to the Knights of Malta, how the Pope had entirely approved of the idea, and ordered it to be called the "Holy War;" how the Grand Master refused the expedition for that year, but promised that his knights should undertake it the next; and, if Cradock's evidence at Campion's trial is to be believed, offered the command to Sir Richard Shelley, the prior of England, then seventy-three years of age, who, however, absolutely refused to lead any expedition against his own country.²⁵⁸

The English government, thus aware of the confederacy of Pope and Spanish king, of the continued vitality of the excommunication, and of the Irish crusade, was naturally exceedingly jealous of the seminaries and colleges, which were

all erected in countries which belonged to the Spanish faction. The College at Rome was directly under the Pope and the Jesuits; that at Rheims was under the protection of the Duke of Guise; that at Douay under the protection of Philip himself.²⁵⁹ Burghley declares that the missionaries "with titles of seminaries for some of the meaner sort, and of Jesuits for the stagers and ranker sort," "laboured secretly to persuade the people to allow of the Pope's foresaid bulls," who, once persuaded in their consciences, were forthwith secret traitors, and only wanted opportunity to be so openly. There is no manner of doubt that the heads of the seminaries, Allen at Rheims, and Agazzari at Rome, wished it to be so. But it was on this very point that so many dissensions arose in those colleges. The great majority of students wished to be martyrs, not for a political plot, but for religion; they wished to be Christ's ministers, not Philip's soldiers. And they repudiated honestly and heartily all designs of political meddling. I have already related the acts of the conclave of priests which met in London in July 1581,²⁶⁰ when Campion and Parsons, in their own names and in those of all the priests who had come with them, solemnly declared that their coming was only apostolical, "to treat matters of religion in truth and simplicity, and to attend to the gaining of souls, without any pretence or knowledge of matters of state." When news of this reached Dr. Allen, he seems to have been much disconcerted at it. For William Parry wrote to Burghley from Paris, July 30, 1580,²⁶¹ "Doctor Allen, mistrusting as should seem, the good speed of the clergy, arrived in England, and finding some of the best begin to stagger, contrary to their promises made to the Pope, sendeth his letters daily abroad, excusing himself to be no dealer in matters of state, but wholly occupied in the government of the seminary. The Scotch ambassador received letters from him to that effect; he told me there could be no better fruits looked for from so weak a company, whose ill consents at Rome had shaken their credits, and made every man weary of them."²⁶² The politicians who had sent them over for their own purposes were naturally disappointed when the priests renounced all political action. The Queen and her Council knew well that the missionaries were for the most part honest in their repudiation of interference in matters of state. Camden, whose Annals are said to have been read over by the Queen herself²⁶³ and allowed by her, declared that she did not believe in the treason of the greater part of those condemned with Campion, but that they were merely tools of their superiors, to whom they had vowed obedience.

It was, however, almost an avowed principle of the Tudors that if the real culprit could not be caught or could not be punished, punishment must be inflicted on the first substitute that could be found. Achan's wife and children must be burnt for Achan's sacrilege. It is a venerable principle, and one that Henry VIII. carried out with inconceivable meanness; he was the sot, who when he began to understand that he was being scorned abroad, would go home and beat his wife. When Emperor, King of France, or Pope, treated him as the ox and the ass that his looks honestly confessed him to be, he would revenge himself on his subjects, hanging a few of his favourites, or repudiating his wife, and beheading her if he dared. Elizabeth refined on her father's example, and turned it into a principle of conduct. After each crime she committed, she willingly allowed the tools by whom she committed it to bear its punishment. So she pretended to disgrace Lord Grey for cutting the throats of all his Spanish prisoners in 1580;²⁶⁴ so she had Davison tried for the execution of Mary of Scotland; so Dr. Parry, after being for some years a spy, was at last hanged for a traitor. It was a principle of her government to transform tools into traitors, and to reward them for their suppleness with the gallows. For every offence she gave or received she made some one suffer. And as she could not catch Sanders, or Allen, or the Pope, she was willing to hang Campion instead of them, though she did not believe that he was in the secret of their designs against her.

This nefarious way of aping and abusing one of the most incommunicable prerogatives of God—that of vicarious punishment—was in the sixteenth century not quite so great a sign of wickedness as it would be now; like witch or heretic-burning, it could plead that great excuse, custom, in its favour—custom so often the salt of the earth, but often also

“The queen of slaves,
The hoodwinked angel of the blind and dead.”

There can be little doubt that as the English government seized Campion and all the priests it could catch to make them answer for the rebellion in Ireland, so the Pope, when he heard of it, found excuses in the ill custom of wagering upon the next cardinal, or in the want of proper passports, to make a general razzia on the English in Rome.²⁶⁵ Cobham wrote to Walsingham, Oct. 9, 1581—“The Pope hath given severe order that all Englishmen which shall come to Rome on bargains to return, are to be apprehended, imprisoned, and executed as felons. . . . The execution of this tyrannical order was offered to the English College there, but they refusing it,

the Inquisition hath taken the matter in hand."²⁶⁶ This is partly confirmed by a letter of a Catholic agent in Italy, Anthony Standen, who writes through Father Darbyshire to Mannering, March 23, 1582—"No Englishman cometh to Rome without good testimony that is not cooped up. . . . there is no more coming for wagger men" (who seem to be the same as Cobham calls the men who go "on bargains to return"). . . . "all our countrymen are in a maze there, and each looketh hourly to be caught and imprisoned."²⁶⁷ These were chiefly merchants, as we learn by a letter of Lorenzo Guicciardini to Arthur Throgmorton from Florence, July 12, 1582—"Quelli poveri mercanti Inglesi e altri che son prigioni a Roma non escono di carcere, e Dio sa qual sarà la lor fine, a poi che si vede che il Papa ha indurato il suo cuore, [e] la Inquisizione di Roma è troppo appassionata e interessata."²⁶⁸ How far all this was reprisal, justifiable by the political ethics of the period, and how far it was revenge, or the cruelty of terror, it would not be easy to determine without too long an inquiry.

Neither was the whole Council united in one plan of policy with regard to the punishment of Catholic missionaries. There were some who, in spite of their Machiavellian use of means, were earnestly religious in their end, and, either from conviction or from policy, were determined to establish "the religion," cost what it might. Such a man was Walsingham; such, too, was Burghley. Leicester was now for his own political ends with this party, but he does not seem quite to have forgotten his former relations with the Catholics—of which we read obscurely in "Leicester's Commonwealth," and of which the Earl of Westmoreland, when he was out of credit and a fugitive in France, used to make no secret.²⁶⁹ "They all might curse Leicester," he said; "for he, being one of the chiefest of their conspiracy (in 1569), craved pardon, and disclosed all their pretence," so that the two Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland were left in the lurch. For which, and for other treasons, Westmoreland hoped one day to meet him in the field, and to "lend him a lance in his breast for his labour." But now, besides coveting the temporalities of the English bishops, Leicester was secretly jealous of Anjou, whom he supported openly, and so was a hot Puritan in his policy. Nevertheless, he had an eye to the future as well as to the past; he forecasted the possible toleration of Catholics if the marriage took place; he was careful to watch the changes of his mistress' will; and he was more or less influenced by Sir Philip Sidney and others, who, hating the Spanish faction, were not at all disposed to force all Catholics

into it by an indiscriminate persecution. Burghley and Walsingham made no such distinction; with Bacon they might nominally divide the priests into the two categories, and call the Marian priests priests of superstition, and the Seminarsians priests of sedition; but the distinction was mechanical and geographical, not substantial and real. Really they held with Philip II. that all English Catholics were, if not open traitors, at least persons who held in solution the principles which necessarily effervesce into open treason when the acid of priestly exhortation is poured into them. Hence, while carefully avoiding the open and avowed persecution for religion which had made Mary's reign so odious, and had rendered the Protestant reaction possible, they were determined to make a distinction without a difference, and under the name of treason to repress Catholicism as effectually as Mary's government had repressed Protestantism under the name of heresy. Elizabeth herself was, as usual, irresolute and many-minded. She had to profess to the French court the tolerant principles which France has the honour of having first reduced to form. She had at the same time to guard against a Puritan excitement, on account of her intended marriage with a Catholic prince. The first consideration would lead her to lenient dealing with Campion and his companions; the second would lead her to treat him as barbarously as she had treated Stubbs, or even to sacrifice him to the bloodthirsty bishops and preachers who demanded his death.

As for the nation itself, though perhaps the majority of Englishmen would still have gladly been Catholics, if they could have been so securely and without changing their politics, yet the circumstances of the time were such as to give the Puritans the place of power. Our fathers witnessed a similar combination when the disaffection of Ireland, and its threatened invasion by Napoleon, enabled the "Clapham sect," which was favoured by the prejudices of the king and the influence of Mr. Percival, to attain a position disproportioned to its merits. There were among the people plenty who would justify any severity against conspirators with the Pope or the Spaniard, and who were not indisposed to connive even at injustice when its object was to terrify so dangerous a party. Public opinion was quite as much divided as the Council-chamber was about the doom that ought to be pronounced on Campion.

But though there was this divergence on the ultimate punishment which should be inflicted on Campion, there could be no doubt that it was the Council's part to discredit him with both Catholics and Protestants; to make it appear that his big brag

had nothing but wind for foundation; that he was a coward, hardly secure in his own religion, and therefore untrustworthy as a pillar of others'; a man so inconsiderate and uncharitable that he would not scruple to purchase his own ease by telling everything he knew about the Catholics who had received him into their houses, and by making them suffer instead of himself. Again, they considered that it would not be good to let his challenge remain unanswered. They therefore charged Aylmer, bishop of London, with the task of replying to his book, while another set of divines were to afford him the opportunity of controversy which he had requested, but surrounded with such difficulties as to make it either nugatory, or unfavourable to the Catholic side. This was therefore the first care of the Council. And from henceforth there are two lives of Campion; one his real life in the Tower, the other the false published life, which represented him as his adversaries wished him to be thought.

As for his real life, he was from the first committed a close prisoner, and therefore his friends outside could learn nothing of him except what the authorities chose to publish, or what could be known by corrupting the officers.²⁷⁰ The rules for the close prisoners still remain on record: all their windows were blocked up, and light and air conveyed to them by a "slope tunnel," slanting upwards so that nothing might be seen but the sky, glazed or latticed at the top so that nothing might be thrown in or out; closed also at the bottom with a casement made fast and not to open, save, if need were, one diamond pane with its leaden quarrel. And these openings were to be daily examined, to see whether any glass was broken or board removed, and especially whether any of the pieces of lead with which the glass was tied were taken away to write with. No one was allowed to pass by the Tower wharf without cause, and watchmen were on the look-out to observe whether any of the passengers made any stay, or cast his eyes up to the prison windows. The like watch was also kept over passengers by Tower-hill. The lieutenant himself was always to be present when a keeper held communication with a close prisoner, and the key of his cell was always to be in the lieutenant's own custody. Any servant kept by such a prisoner was subject to the same regulations as his master. Everything sent to him was to be searched, his clothes examined, pies opened, bread cut across, and bottles decanted. The strictest rules were made about admitting strangers, and every keeper and servant in the place was bound by oath to carry no message. This system of secrecy was, however, tempered with bribery. Much of the lieutenant's income was

derived from the prisoners in his custody, and those who paid liberally were treated with some consideration; neither was it possible always to make the watch so strict as to keep the keepers and servants to the letter of the regulations, and bribery, or pity, or favour, would often modify a state which in its strictness would have been intolerable.

And the lieutenant had in his hands terrors as well as palliatives. It is peculiar to the Tower, says Edward Rishton in his journal, that each prisoner is confined in a separate cell, where under the eye of his own keeper he is continually immured, excluded from the sight and conversation of his fellow-captives, and cut off from every means of communication with others, either by letters or messengers. It is from this cell that he is led forth to the various scenes of his sufferings—to the punishments which the caprice of his persecutors is permitted to inflict on him, to his examinations, and to the rack where his confessions are extorted. There are seven means of torture in the Tower. The pit is a subterraneous cave, twenty feet deep, entirely without light. Little-ease is a cell where the prisoner cannot stand or lie at length. The rack is a wooden frame, with rollers at each end, to which the prisoner's ankles and wrists are attached by cords, gradually tightened by turning the rollers, till the bones are ready to start from their sockets. The scavenger's daughter is a broad hoop of iron, opening by a hinge; the hoop being applied to the prisoner's spine, the two ends are put, one between his legs the other over his head, and forced together till they can be fastened. The iron gauntlets after being put on the hands are contracted by screws, by which the wrists are compressed; sometimes the prisoner is suspended by them from two distant points of a beam. The sixth and seventh tortures are manacles for the hands, and fetters for the feet.²⁷¹

Sir Owen Hopton, seeing Campion brought with such derision to his custody, thought he could do nothing more acceptable to his masters than to thrust his prisoner into the narrow dungeon of Little-ease.²⁷² Here Campion remained till the fourth day (July 25), when he was in great secrecy and under a strong guard put on board a boat, and rowed to the house of the Earl of Leicester; here he was received by Leicester, the Earl of Bedford, and two secretaries of state, with all honour and courtesy. They told him they had sent for him to know the plain truth, why he and Parsons had come into England, and what commission they brought from Rome. He gave them a sincere and truthful account of all passages, and then answered their questions one by one with such readiness,

that he seemed to have convinced them his only purpose was the propagation of the Catholic faith and the salvation of souls; so that, seeing, as they said, he had done ill with good intentions, they pitied him, especially the two earls, who had known and admired him in his youth at London and in Oxford. They told him that they found no fault with him, except that he was a Papist—"Which," he replied, "is my greatest glory;" but he spoke with such modesty and generosity that Dudley sent word to Hopton to give him better accommodation, and to treat him more amiably. Nothing more was known at the time concerning this interview; but at the trial it came out that the Queen herself was present; that she asked Campion if he thought her really Queen of England? to which he replied, as he relates in his trial.²⁷³ Whereupon she with great courtesy offered him his life, his liberty, riches and honours; but under conditions which he could not in conscience accept.

When this was told to Hopton, it effected a speedy revolution in his conduct. No man was more anxious to please; he saw that Campion was a man of account, and it came into his fancy that he might cover himself with glory if the famous Jesuit, the best head that the Papists had in England, could be brought to confess as Nichols had done, that he had yielded to Hopton's arguments, and had embraced his religion; knowing also that sunshine was more likely to make a man throw off his cloak than wind, he exhibited extraordinary affection, and made promises which to-day, he said, were only words, but to-morrow should be deeds; the Queen's favour, an ample pension, a place at Court, or if he liked it better, a rich benefice—even the Archbishopric of Canterbury! Hopton, who had neither consciousness nor imagination of a religion which could stand against such temptations, probably believed that he had prevailed, or would soon do so. And he said so publicly. The report exactly suited the intentions of the Council, which were, to undo in any way the work that the Jesuits had done—either by making their persons despicable, or by using their influence in favour of what they had hitherto condemned. So Hopton swore, and so the Court believed, or affected to believe, and committed the good news to the four winds to carry. Campion was at this moment the talk of all England; and when the Queen's ministers declared that he had denied his religion, and was on the point of making a public recantation, the news flew, and grew as it flew; every preacher in London announced from the pulpit that Campion was shortly to make his appearance at Paul's Cross, where he would preach Protestantism, and burn his own book with his own hands.

Walsingham, who, as we shall see further on, knew well what the truth was, just at this time (July 22) was sent on a mission to Paris, where he told the Court that Campion the Jesuit after his capture was soon convinced and brought back from his errors, and had made solemn retractation and become Protestant, to the great content of the Queen; and that there was even talk of his having the See of Canterbury. After a few days, however, when Hopton openly proposed to his prisoner to go over to the Protestant Church, his proposal was received with such disdain that he saw there was no probability of succeeding by the new method, and so, with the consent of the Council, he returned to the old one.

Campion had been just a week in the Tower when the Lords of the Council came to this determination to use him severely. On Sunday, July 30, they ordered a letter to be written to Hopton, Dr. Hammond, Beale, and Norton, advertising them how further to proceed with him. First, they were to demand of him whether he acknowledged himself to be her Majesty's subject or no. Upon his confessing himself to be so, they were to administer an oath upon a Bible of Hierome's translation for avoiding loss of time and further cavil, to answer truly and directly all that was demanded of him. Then, out of his former examinations, such points as he refused to answer, together with some others now added by the Council, were to be again proposed to him; "and in case he continue wilfully to deny the truth," they were "to deal with him by the rack." They were particularly to examine him on his relations with one Rochfort, an Irishman. Ford and Collington were similarly to be examined touching their allegiance, the places where they had lain, and whether a Mass had been said at Mr. Yate's when they were last there; if they halted, they were to be put "in fear of the torture," and then remanded to the Marshalsea. Webley and Mansfield,²⁷⁴ the two serving-men taken at Lyford, had offered to conform. They were to be dealt with by some godly and learned preachers, who were to persuade them to make open renunciation of Popery, and to receive the Anglican sacraments, and then to discharge them on bonds for their good behaviour. There is a postscript to the letter, directed to Dr. Hammond, ordering him to question Campion and the priests upon the points which he had drawn out of Sanders's book *de Monarchiâ Ecclesiæ*, and Bristow's *Motives*, touching the acknowledgment of allegiance to the Queen.²⁷⁵

Allen, in his *Apology for the Martyrs*, notes as one of the refinements of the English Council, that they tortured the priests on Sundays or other great Catholic festivals. Cam-

pion's first racking was either on Sunday 30th of July, or the next day, a great one even then to a Jesuit, as it was the anniversary of St. Ignatius's death, but not as yet a festival, since he was then neither beatified nor canonised. The next day was the festival of St. Peter *ad Vincula*. It was on one of these days that Campion was led to the rack-chamber, where he knelt down at the door, and crossed himself on the breast, and while he was being stripped and bound to the rack invoked the names of Jesus and Mary. The function for which the Council in mockery chose a holy day was to him a function of religion, a glorious confession, which was to win his eternal crown.

The points upon which Campion was interrogated during this first torture pointed to no suspicion then entertained of his being implicated in any treason beyond the general treason of his religion. Who sent him to England? By whose counsel did he come? At whose houses had he been received? Who had comforted and assisted him? Whom had he reconciled, and how? At whose houses had he said Mass? Whose confessions had he heard, where did they live, and what had he talked to them about? Where was his book printed, and to whom had he given it? And, lastly, that "dangerous and ensnaring question"—what did he think of the Bull of Pius V. against Elizabeth?

The articles about Rochfort the Irishman indicate a wish to implicate Campion in Dr. Sanders's expedition. But the Catholic accounts of his life place this accusation much later, and assert that there was no idea of objecting to him any political act of treason till after August or September. Campion, however, some time during his imprisonment, told a friend that he had been examined whether he had not sent over 30,000*l.* to the rebels in Ireland, and racked, to know where the money was collected, to whom paid, how conveyed into Ireland, and when. It is not quite clear what information the government had of such a sum. Some two years before, the Spanish Ambassador had informed the Queen of some 22,000 crowns sent with Stukeley for James Fitzmorris.²⁷⁶ The papers taken by Lord Grey at Smerwick indicated that the money for the Hispano-Papal expedition had been collected from the Spanish and Italian Bishops; and on Feb. 21, 1581, Cobham had written from Paris about 600,000 crowns in ready money offered by Cardinal Riario from the Pope to the Spanish King, to enable him to continue and maintain the enterprise pretended in Ireland and England.²⁷⁷

There is no authentic account of what Campion said or did at this racking, nor at the other which he had to endure

one day in August. From his private life in the Tower I am therefore obliged to pass over to his public life, such as the Lords of the Council gave it out to be, and such as it was during the month of August believed to be both by Catholics and Protestants.

It was at once, before the end of July, declared by the preacher at Paul's Cross, and by the clergy of nearly all the London churches, that Campion was yielding, and was almost sure to become a Protestant. Sir Owen Hopton had said so. Moreover, by the 2d of August the Council had somehow acquired a flood of light about his doings.²⁷⁸ They knew where he had lodged in Lancashire, and where he had left his books.²⁷⁹ It was clear that they might damage his character by giving out that they had acquired all this information by his own confession. Two days after (August 4) they wrote to Lord Huntingdon to search the houses in Yorkshire where Campion had "upon his examination confessed that he had been." They charged Alderman Martin to apprehend one Nash, and one Eden, sometime an attorney in Guildhall, "at whose houses Campion had confessed that he was lodged at his being in London." To Sir Walter Mildmay, to search the house of Mr. Price in Huntingdonshire, "where Edmund Campion confessed that he appointed his man Ralph Emerson to bring certain books and papers which he left at the house of one Richard Houghton of Lancashire." To the keepers of Wisbeach prison, where Pound was then lodged, "that whereas Campion had confessed that he delivered a copy of his challenge to one Norris a priest, commonly remaining about London;²⁸⁰ that he delivered another to one Pound, then prisoner in the Marshalsea, who is thought to have dispersed the same abroad; that one Stephens²⁸¹ brought the said Pound to speak with Campion at Throckmorton House in London, and further that Pound directed Campion by a token to one Dimmock to speak with the Earl of Southampton"—the said keepers were to examine Pound on the matter. Then they wrote to Sir Henry Neville and another, telling them "to repair unto the Lady Stonor's house, and to search for certain Latin books dispersed already in Oxford at the last commencement, which Campion hath confessed to have been there printed in a wood. And also for such English books as of late have been published for the maintenance of Popery, printed also there, as is thought, by one Parsons a Jesuit and others. And further for the press and other instruments of printing, thought also to be there remaining."

Two days afterwards (August 6) another letter was sent

to Sir Walter Mildmay, ordering him to apprehend Lord Vaux, Sir Thomas Tresham, Sir William Catesby, and Mr. Griffith, at whose houses Campion "hath confessed that he hath been." The next day (August 7) letters were written to the Earl of Shrewsbury, to apprehend Mr. Sacheverell of Derbyshire; to Sir Thomas Lucy, to apprehend Sir William Catesby (who had a house in Warwickshire as well as in Northamptonshire); to Robert Drury, to examine Mr. East of Wickham, and Mr. Penn; to Lord Norris, to examine Lady Babington, Mrs. Pollard, and Mrs. Morris, in Oxfordshire, "in whose houses Campion hath also confessed that he hath been;" to Francis Hastings, to examine Mrs. Beaumont of Leicestershire; to Sir Henry Carke, to examine Mr. Griffin of Southmims, Middlesex; to the Bishop of Lichfield, to examine one Worseley of Staffordshire; to the Recorder of London (Fleetwood), to examine Mrs. Brideman, "at whose house in Westminster Campion hath confessed to have been," and to apprehend Barnes of Tothill Street and Biar a priest, whom he also confessed to have repaired to the same house; lastly, there was a letter to Sir Owen Hopton, Dr. Hammond, and Thomas Norton, signifying unto them that their lordships, having perused the examinations of Campion, had thought good to return them for review, and for additional examinations upon matters which Robert Beale had orders to signify unto them. Upon these points, then, Campion and certain of his fellows were to be forced, if possible, to make more plain and direct answer.

The day before (August 6) Lord Burghley had written a private letter to Lord Shrewsbury, two extracts of which are given by Bishop Kennet in vol. 48 of his Ms. collections.²⁸² "There was this week a massing priest named Everard Duckett (Hanse), that, being apprehended, was charged with traitorous words and thereof convinced, maintaining the Pope's action to be lawful in publishing against her Majesty an excommunication and a sentence that she was not lawful queen, nor her subjects bound to obey her, for which fact he was condemned and suffered as a traitor (July 31, 1581). If any of these late apprehended Papists shall do the like, the law is like to correct them. For their actions are not matters of religion, but merely of state, tending directly to the deprivation of her Majesty from the crown."²⁸³ . . . "I think your lordship hath heard how Campion the Jesuit was taken in Bucks, and three more massing priests with him, at one Yate's house. He denieth to any question of moment, having been converted before my Lord Chancellor and my Lord of Leicester."

Two things should be noted in this letter of August 6. First, that the only charge against Campion at present believed by Lord Burghley was his presumed submission to the Bull of Pius V., which Burghley assures Shrewsbury is not matter of religion, but merely of state. And, secondly, that up to this date, four days after the Council had been despatching letters to magistrates and sheriffs all over the kingdom to apprehend parties at whose houses Campion had confessed that he had been, Burghley assures the Earl that he would confess nothing of moment. At the same time it is evident by the letter to Hopton, Hammond, and Norton, that not only Campion, but "certain of his fellows," had been examined; and it is quite possible that the confessions may have been extorted from these "fellows," and then imputed to Campion to serve a purpose. On the same day Burghley wrote to Walsingham in Paris²⁸⁴ about "the discovery of a number of Popish subjects . . . a number of choice persons who being at least but fined upon that *quondam* noble will yield a good sum of money." He does not pretend that Campion discovered these persons, though Walsingham in his reply assumes that he did so.²⁸⁵

All these letters of the Council were effectual. In county after county gentlemen were apprehended, as having, by his own confession, given lodging to Campion since the proclamation of January 1581. To make this impression more authentic, "one of the chief of the Council affirmed to a certain knight then in prison, that Campion had told of him a quantity of matters that had never entered the worthy knight's head. But this was the way they brought their ends about. The knight himself had much difficulty in convincing himself that the report was a calumny. But the lie made a deep impression upon many minds, and was so believed, that one Catholic said he knew that Father Edmund had when upon the rack confessed everything he knew. But a little while after the gentleman owned that he had been too credulous; nevertheless the common people were not so easily undeceived."²⁸⁶ "Besides it was everywhere asserted that Lord Vaux, Tresham, and Catesby had been arrested on his information. For this cause he incurred no small odium not only among Catholics, but among Protestants."²⁸⁷

On the 14th of August the Council had acquired some fresh information which they deemed sufficiently important to make them summon the Bishops of Salisbury and Rochester, the Deans of St. Paul's and Windsor, and Mr. Mullins, to confer touching some matters which tended towards the advancement of Christian religion and suppression of Popery,

which, by means of the Jesuits and seminary priests, had very much increased.

At the same time, they wrote to the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, directing him to weed out Popery from the colleges, and informing him that three Masters of Arts, Russell, Stubbs, and Yates, had been with Campion at Lyford, and that one Jacob, a musician, taken with Campion, had been tolerated at the University many years without going to church; to the Bishop of London, who had removed Pound from the Marshalsea to Stortford, and thence to Wisbeach, ordering him to send his prisoner to the Tower; to Sir Gervase Clifton, ordering him to send up the brothers Pierrepont, at whose house Campion "hath confessed to have been at Christmas last by the space of fourteen days." The same day (August 14) the Council sent another letter to Hopton, Hammond, and Beale, to thank them for their pains in examining Campion, and further ordering them again to examine Campion, Peters (Colleton), and Ford, "who refuse to confess whether they have said any masses or no, whom they have confessed, and where Parsons and the other priests be, touching these points, and to put them in fear of the torture, if they shall refuse to answer directly thereto. And touching Keynes, Hildesley, and Cotton, who have confessed hearing Mass at Mr. Yate's, to understand from them what other persons were present in their company. Touching Paine (the priest accused by Eliot of the conspiracy against the Queen's life), since there are vehement presumptions that he is guilty of the fact wherewith he is charged," he is to be examined by torture. The persons apprehended in Dame C. Stonor's house are to be examined, and Hopton is to receive Pound into his custody, to be jointly examined with Campion upon the matters Campion confessed about him.

On Friday, Aug. 18, Lord Vaux and Sir Thomas Tresham were sent for, and required to make oath whether Campion had been at their houses according to his confession. They refused to swear; on Monday, August 21, Sir William Catesby in like manner refused the oath. All three were committed close prisoners to the Fleet. At the same time, another letter was sent to the Bishops of London and Rochester and the Dean of St. Paul's, to advertise them to meet Hammond and Beale, who would inform them of things confessed by Campion and his fellows, and to desire them to devise some good means to redress the inconveniences late grown to the hindrance of the Church and disquieting of the State. And another letter directed Hammond to repair to the Tower, and there examine Pound, who had now arrived from Wisbeach.

When Pound saw the long list of interrogatories drawn up, as they purported to be, from Campion's confessions, he was wounded to the heart. Could it be that the man whom he had taken for the great champion of Catholicism had turned out to be, next to Eliot, the greatest traitor among them—the one who had furnished the Government with the most names and the best proofs upon which convictions under the penal statutes could be secured? So the same zeal which had before led him to disperse abroad Campion's challenge, which was intrusted to him to keep, now led the impulsive, sanguine Pound to another imprudence, equally grave in its consequences. He wrote a letter to Campion, urging him to behave like a man, telling him of the reports of his backsliding that were everywhere current, and asking him for authentic information of what he had done. This letter he gave to his keeper, who promised, for a fee of four marks, to have it privily delivered to Campion. The man took the money and kept it, but the letter he gave to Hopton. Hopton opened and read it, and closed it again as if it had never been tampered with, and told the keeper to deliver it to Campion, and to bring back the reply. Campion, ever hasty at such matters, and now urged by the treacherous keeper, scribbled off a note to his friend, no authentic copy of which is preserved. The most likely record of it occurs in the reports of the trials of Lord Vaux, Tresham, Catesby, and others, in the Star-Chamber, Nov. 20, 1581;²⁸⁸ and of Campion himself, where there was "a letter produced, said to be intercepted, which Mr. Campion should seem to write to a fellow prisoner of his, namely, Mr. Pound; wherein he did take notice that by frailty he had confessed of some houses where he had been, which now he repented him, and desired Mr. Pound to beg him pardon of the Catholics therein, saying that in this he rejoiced, that he had discovered no things of secret, nor would he, come rack, come rope." What the real meaning of this letter was can only be guessed at; Pound's letter, to which it was a reply, was never produced, and the sketch of it that I have given was probably a guess of Parsons'. The natural meaning of Campion's words is that he discovered nothing that had not been known before by other persons' confessions. And I am disposed to believe this, in spite of the report of what he said on the scaffold, when he desired all to forgive him whose names he had confessed upon the rack (for upon the commissioners' oaths that no harm should come to them, he uttered some persons with whom he had been); and he declared the phrase in his letter, "that he would not disclose the secrets of some houses where he had been enter-

tained," to refer only to masses, confessions, preaching, and other functions of priesthood, and not, as it was misconstrued by the enemy, treason or conspiracy, or any matter else against her Majesty or the State.²⁸⁹ I am, however, forced to believe that this speech was a mere interpretation of Campion's real words, turned by the priest into the best apology he could then think of for excusing the universally-credited report of Campion's weakness and even treachery. The author of the French account of his death (afterwards translated into (dog) Latin by Dr. Laing)—a man who was present at his disputations in the Tower and at his trial, and one who knew him well—declares that to all the questions Campion answered little or nothing, except that he had sent his book to Mr. Richardson, and had given two copies to Mr. Pound; and attributes the knowledge that the Council had obtained concerning Campion's lodging-places to the confessions of his companions.²⁹⁰ And that this was so, there is the irrefragable evidence of the "true report of the disputation, or rather private conference, had in the Tower of London with Ed. Campion, Jesuit, the last of August 1581, set down by the reverend learned men themselves that dealt therein,"²⁹¹ published by authority, January 1, 1583; where we read, in the second page, how Campion declared "he was punished for religion, and had been twice on the rack; and that racking was more grievous than hanging, and that he had rather choose to be hanged than racked." To which Sir Owen Hopton replied "that he had no cause to complain of racking, who had rather seen than felt the rack; and admonished him to use good speech, that he gave not cause to be used with more severity. For although," said he, "you were put to the rack, yet notwithstanding you were so favourably used therein, as being taken off, you could and did presently go thence to your lodging without help, and use your hands in writing, and all other parts of your body, which you could not have done if you had been put to that punishment with any such extremity as you speak of." Then Beale, the clerk of the Council, asked if he had been examined on any point of religion; to whom Campion answered "that he was not indeed directly examined of religion, but moved to confess in what places he had been conversant since his repair into the realm." Beale replied, "that this was required of him because many of his fellows, and by likelihood himself also, had reconciled divers of her Highness's subjects to the Romish Church." Whereunto he answered, "that forasmuch as the Christians in old time being commanded to deliver up the books of their religion to such as persecuted them, refused so to do, and mis-

liked with them that did so, calling them *traditores*, he might not betray his Catholic brethren, which were, as he said, the temples of the Holy Ghost."

Now I hold that if he had betrayed his Catholic brethren, as the Council's letters had insinuated, Hopton and Beale and Hammond and Norton, who were all present at this conference, and who had also been at his racking, would at once have retorted: "But you have betrayed them; and we have your confessions, signed with your own hand, where you declare at whose houses you have been;" for instance, here is one, used at Lord Vaux's trial, the content of which was "that he had been at the house of Lord Vaux sundry times; at Sir Thomas Tresham's house; at Mr. Griffin's, of Northampton, where also the Lady Tresham then was; and at the house of Sir W. Catesby, where Sir T. Tresham and his lady then were; also at one time when he was at Lord Vaux's, he said that Lord Compton was there." But when he said he should have been a traitor to betray his Catholic brethren, not a voice was lifted against him; the matter was suffered to drop, lest perchance he might have given a public denial of the authenticity of all his pretended confessions.²⁹²

The Council would never allow Campion to be publicly interrogated about his confessions. When Sir Thomas Tresham, required to make oath that Campion had never been at his house, asked first "to see Mr. Campion, or hear him speak, where by his face or speech he might call him to remembrance," he was told by the Lord Chancellor that his demand lacked discretion; to which Tresham replied: "If by seeing him I could call him to memory that he had been at my house, then would I have deposed. . . . Your lordship says he stayed little with me, came much disguised in apparel, and altering his name. All which made me refuse to swear, lest haply he might have been in my house and in my company, I not knowing him; and yet the same should be referred to a jury, whether I were perjured or no. Wherefore my desire was that by means of seeing him or hearing him that I the better might remember him." To which the Chancellor again replied: "I can see no reason why it should be granted you."²⁹³

The suspicion that Campion's confessions were forgeries was so fortified by this constant refusal to confront him with those whom he was said to have accused, that these persons at last came entirely to disbelieve in them. Thus, in the same trial, Tresham gives another reason for refusing to swear: "I should greatly sin uncharitably to belie him, to make him and myself both guilty by my oath, who to my knowledge

are most innocent." Such are some of the difficulties that stand in the way of our supposing Campion's alleged confessions to be real. And in proportion to the difficulty of attributing them to him, is the ease of finding other sources whence the Council may have obtained the knowledge of the places where he had been received. For instance, all the facts contained in his supposed confession about Lord Vaux, Tresham, and the rest, may easily have been obtained from Henry Take, serving-man, servant to Lord Vaux, who was committed to the Counter in the Poultry, Feb. 23, 1581, and discharged July 8, 1582.²⁹⁴ When Campion wrote that he had confessed nothing secret, he probably meant he had confessed nothing which had not been previously wormed out of others. When a list of the places where he has been is shown to a man upon the rack, and he sees that the compiler of the list had access to authentic information, it would be either stupidity or superhuman strength of will to refuse acknowledging the truth of it. And that Campion's confessions were merely his acknowledgment of the truth of matters which he perceived were known by his examiners, may be inferred from a paper, partly in Burghley's handwriting,²⁹⁵ containing a list of the places where Campion had been, founded on the joint confession of himself and others. Thus, to all the places where he was taken by Gervase Pierrepoint there is appended a note that either Pierrepoint or some one else had confessed the matter; but then as soon as Pierrepoint hands over his charge to Tempest, Campion "will confess no place of their being but at inns." Again, if Campion had been the first to reveal the places where he had been, he probably would have mentioned all of them, and not singled out special cases for delation. But the list that the examiners made out is full of gaps, which were from time to time filled up by fresh information for the next two or three years. Thus, in 1584 one Betham declares that he was present at Lady Dormer's in Bucks, when Campion said Mass there about midsummer 1581. I do not deny that Campion may have been deceived by the wily officers. "Some men," says Selden, "before they come to their trial are cozened to confess upon examination. Upon this trick they are made to believe somebody has confessed before them; and then they think it a piece of honour to be clear and ingenuous, and that destroys them."²⁹⁶ That this cozenage was familiar to Burghley, we may see by a letter of his to Pucker-ing, Aug. 30, 1592,²⁹⁷ relative to the treatment of Young, a priest, who had revealed all he knew of the Catholics, and through whom the Council hoped to find out more. "The Queen," says Burghley, "would have those charged by him to

be apprehended, and charged with some other things, and not with relieving of Young, of whom she would have a general opinion conceived that nothing can be had of himself. So as he may retain his former credit with his complices." Young's treachery was to be studiously disguised, because they wished to save his credit for future use. The same men wished to destroy Campion's credit, and therefore would studiously exaggerate or invent stories that seemed to prove his treachery.

This falls in exactly with Shakespeare's picture of Polonius—by whom, I suppose, he intended to represent Burghley in his dotage—instructing Reynaldo how to spy out the truth about Laertes' behaviour at Paris :

" Your bait of falsehood takes this carp of truth :
 And thus do we of wisdom and of reach
 With windlasses and with assays of bias,
 By indirections find directions out."²⁹⁸

To return now to the Council-book. Aug. 21,²⁹⁹ Hopton and Hammond were directed to reëxamine Campion on certain points.³⁰⁰ The Earl of Derby and other magistrates of Lancashire were thanked for apprehending Thomas Southworth, Richard Houghton, and Bartholomew Hesketh, with certain papers, in Houghton House. If the parties persisted in denying Campion to have been at their houses, "which at sundry times had been confessed by him," they were to be kept in prison. Houghton and his wife were to be reëxamined touching Campion's being there, and Ralph Emerson his man, and his books; and also touching the books sent down by Rishton, and dispersed in that shire. Lord Norris was charged to confine Lady Babington to her house on bond, "since by Campion it hath been confessed sundry times, that he hath been both in her house in Oxford, and in the Whitefriars in London." And Morris was to be sent up, if he would not confess that Campion had been at his house.

On the 30th of August,³⁰¹ a letter was written to Sir Henry Neville, to thank him for apprehending the printers at Stonor's Lodge, and requiring him to deface the "massing stuff," and give the proceeds to the poor; to send the press, books, and papers to London; and to look out diligently for Hartwell a priest, Father Parsons and his servant, and Robert Seely, servant to John Stonor, "if he shall light upon them, or any others of their disposition." Another letter to Robert Drury told him, as Mr. Penn would not confess Campion's being at his house, to examine Mrs. Penn, and others of the family; and to search Mrs. Griffin's house near Uxbridge, where Campion was once or twice.

There is no further mention of Campion in the Council-book, except an order to examine him and others on the 29th of October, "and to put them unto the rack, &c.;" a command which was given to the Attorney and Solicitor-General, Hopton, Hammond, Wilkes, and Norton, and was executed with all barbarity.

CHAPTER XIII.

IN the last chapter I traced the means used by the government to discredit Campion's moral superiority. In the present I have to show how they tried to disparage his intellect. In their own hearts their fear, perhaps, caused them to overrate his powers; but publicly they ludicrously contemned him as a fool.

When the *Decem Rationes* was dispersed abroad, the Establishment was in a flutter. Burghley wrote about it to Aylmer, Bishop of London, who replied:³⁰² "I have not Campion's book, and yet have I sent to Oxford and searched in other places for it. And if I had it, yet my ague being now so sore fallen down to my leg, I am not able to travail in study without great danger. Nevertheless if I can get the book, I will do what my health will suffer me. But I guess that the things wherewith he reproacheth our ancient learned men are nothing else but such railing accusations as are gathered against them by the Apostata Staphilus."³⁰³ This note was answered by Burghley the same day; and Aylmer wrote again:³⁰⁴ "Since I received your letters, I gave thought of those reproaches which the Jesuit objecteth against our learned men, and know there be divers *nævi* in them, as lightly be in all men's writings; as some things spoke of Luther hyperbolically, and some of Calvin." Then he retorts that the same blots may be found in Catholic divines; then, after a compliment to Burghley, on whom comes the care of all the churches as well as that of the State, he proposes "to have a letter sent from the Lords of the Council to my Lord of Canterbury or to me, to enjoin the deans, archdeacons, and doctors to make some collections for these matters. For such as have not great dealings in the Church, as they have not,—yea and some bishops also,—might, having that leisure, help well to this building: wherefore else have they their livings? And for books, it were not amiss to point such a number as should serve for that purpose. *Sed sus Minervam.*" Then he annexes a schedule of the divines whom he would commission to reply to Campion. They are—the Deans of

Paul's (Nowell), Winton, York, Christ Church, Windsor (Day), Sarum, Ely, Worcester, and Canterbury; the Archdeacons of Canterbury, London, Middlesex, Essex (Dr. Walker), Lincoln, Coventry (Dr. James), Sudbury (Dr. Styll); and three more to be "doers in writing," Dr. Fulke, Dr. Goode, and Dr. Some.

After this portentous list of commissioners to answer Campion, it is amusing, but not surprising, to find two of them, Nowell and Day,³⁰⁵ opining that his book "was none of his writing, much less penned by him as he was in his journey; but that it was elaborate before, by the common and long study of all the best learned Jesuits, to serve at all opportunities." If the mother, says the old saw, had not been in the oven, she had never sought her daughter there.

Two days after the date of Aylmer's last letter, he writes again³⁰⁶ to thank Burghley for Campion's pamphlet, and to promise to read it, and set some others awork. "For his collections in the chapter *Paradoxa*,³⁰⁷ I think none of our Church mean to defend Luther's hyperbolas, or all things that have passed the pens of Calvin and Beza." Similar collections might be made from Catholic divines; Campion follows the LXX. and not the Hebrew, so "his credit will be small." Then a text is quoted to suggest to Burghley the proper treatment for his prisoner—"Ambitio ligata est in corde pueri, sed virga disciplinæ fugabit eam." . . . "It is the property of a spider to gather the worst and leave the best. If this toil of mine were not, I could gladly occupy myself in searching out of his vanities. Truly, my lord, you shall find them but arrogant vanities of a Porphyrian or a Julian."

Besides the committee named above, Aylmer wrote to the Regius Professors of Divinity at the two Universities to reply at once to Campion. Whitaker did so in a Latin pamphlet; of which Aylmer wrote to Burghley, Sept. 29, 1581: "The translating of Whitaker's book and the publishing thereof I mean to stay, if it come to my hands."³⁰⁸ I suppose it was too abusive; for two years later, on occasion of his publishing his book against Duræus, Whitaker wrote³⁰⁹ to Burghley that he had followed his advice in sticking to his theme, and avoiding personalities. Humphrey, the Oxford divine, was slower; he published the first part of his *Jesuitism* only in 1582, where he thus excused himself for his tardiness:³¹⁰ "It was a matter of time and difficulty to get Campion's book; it was late in August when I received the letter which laid this task on me; I was in the country, away from books and friends, and ill. I was long in doubt whether to answer, for

I like gentler studies, and do not willingly mix up in strife and quarrels; and I should not have entered on this, if I had not been called by those whom I was obliged to obey, and more than once hastened by those whom I would not displease.³¹¹ While I was at work, I, among others, was summoned by a letter of Bishop Aylmer to dispute with Campion on the 13th of October; this somewhat retarded my writing; and I was ready to start, when another letter countermanded my journey. It was then, perhaps, smelt out (*subolfactum*) that a different course was to be taken with the Jesuits, and that they would have to plead not for religion but for life, and be accused not of heresy but of treason."

While Aylmer was thus tasking the best pens at his command to answer Campion, he thought it good policy to speak slightly of him in public. For which the Catholics³¹² reprehended his folly, in that he, "a man of known wisdom and judgment, notwithstanding the known learning of Campion, was not ashamed at a sessions at Newgate to say openly that Mr. Campion was unlearned, and that a note-book or two of his fellows' being taken from him, he had nothing in him . . . and much more to the discredit of Mr. Campion."

The anxiety of Ministers and Bishops about the effects of Campion's book was not without some justification. There is a letter from Dr. John Reynolds of C. C. C.—(the man who, being nearly Catholic himself, undertook to convert his brother William of New College, and succeeded, but lost his own faith in the process)—to his pupil George Cranmer, one of the most rising Englishmen of the last quarter of the 16th century, which affords curious evidence of the enthusiasm excited by the style of the *Decem Rationes*. Cranmer had written to Reynolds comparing Scotus with Aquinas, and Cicero with Campion: Reynolds replies; "In your second parallel, wherein you join Campion with Cicero, I much more dissent from you, nor can I own that I think either your affection therein is sober, or your judgment sound. For when you say you always have him at hand when you write, and praise him as a new son of Æsculapius, and (as though it were a little thing to rank him next to Cicero) declare him absolute in words, sentences, metaphors, figures, and indeed in every branch of eloquence, I cannot deny that you seem to me to study more industriously than decently a most virulent enemy of religion, and to admire more vehemently than justly a barbered and dandified rhetorician (*calamistratum rhetorculum*). But I judge not your judgment. Grant him to be terser than Isocrates, more pointed than Hyperides, more nervous than Demosthenes, more subtle than Lysias, more co-

pious than Plato—grant that our age has produced one greater than Lactantius, whom antiquity called the Christian Cicero—yet your affection pleases me not, my George, in reading with such pleasure a writer who covers truth with falsehood, piety with reproaches, religion with slanders, and the votaries of truth, piety, and religion with evil speaking and bitter contumely. But you will say, ‘Suppose he is impure in his matter; I will drain out the dirt, and drink the pure water.’ But from that dirt there rises a pestilential smell, noxious to health, specially to those weak in body. Are you so sure of your strength as to have no fear of perils? Your uncle, when he asked me as usual what George was about, and I showed him your letter, groaned. Perhaps he feared more than he needed, for love is ever anxious and afraid; but still he groaned. God grant that the event may prove him to have been too fearful, not you too imprudent! But you should remember Cicero’s sage saying, ‘They that walk in the sun’³¹³ . . . you know the rest. I think Fabius did quite rightly in forbidding boys to read the immoral poets.³¹⁴ Why so, Fabius?—‘Because I set good life above even best speech.’ He only valued good life; do you think less of right faith?”—and so on for a page more of polished phrases, in which he clearly strives to rival Campion, and to compete with him for Cranmer’s admiration. Cranmer is warned not to be too fond of Campion’s style, lest in listening to his words he is captured by his arguments, like Augustine the Manichæan, who, while he only wished to take a lesson from the honied rhetoric of St. Ambrose, was caught by the truth which underlay the words. After the admiration of Cranmer, we can hardly wonder at that of Muretus, who, according to Sir William Hamilton, wrote Latin as well as Virgil, and who calls Campion’s book “a golden one, really written by the finger of God;” or at Possevin, who wondered that while it was compendious as an index, it was eloquent as an oration, and called it a gem, which the Calvinists had in vain endeavoured to bury out of sight. Neither, again, can we wonder at the frantic attempts of the contrary party to discredit both the writer and his writing.

The Council seems to have felt that it would not suit its purpose to treat the author of such a book with the same lordly superiority with which they had treated the replies of Harding and Stapleton to Jewel. These books, written in the old scholastic style, had no attractions for the new scholars; they had been stayed at the frontiers, and no one, but here and there a dry student, had read them. The absent are always wrong; and a book that nobody reads is easily dis-

credited, especially when it is a misdemeanor to express any doubt of the validity of the refutation. It was a period when views and opinions were dictated by those who held a knife at your throat; when facts were propounded by proclamation, and all means cut off for testing their truth, or, much more, for publicly denying it,—a time when men were wronged, and then compelled to justify the wrong done them. But *Campion's* book was in too many hands, it appealed too loudly to all the lovers of the new learning, to be exploded with inarticulate arguments; moreover the courtiers, always on the lookout for some new intellectual excitement, and already becoming exquisite critics of artistic exercises, vehemently desired to hear the renowned author speak. To this wish the Bishop of London opposed himself in vain. Some higher will, probably the Queen's, ruled *Burghley* and the Council; and *Campion* was to be allowed the public disputation he had so often demanded.

It belongs to the highest authority to command, to the inferior agents to execute. No imperial edict is strong enough to force officials to more than a literal compliance: the Bishop of London obeyed; he ordered that on the last day of August a public conference should be held in the chapel of the Tower; he deputed *Nowell* dean of Paul's and *Day* dean of Windsor to be the disputants. The conference was to be public, but every advantage was to be taken to secure the victory to the right side. The two deans were to be the attacking parties; *Campion* was to reply to their objections, but to start none of his own. They were to have all the time and all the assistance they required for preparation; *Campion* was to be apprised neither that there was to be a conference, nor (of course) of the time of it, nor of the subjects in dispute, till an hour or two before he was led, under strong guard, to the chapel. No allowance was to be made for his racked and tortured body and distressed mind; no comfortable chair to rest in, not even a table to lean against; no books to refresh his memory were to be furnished for him. When the day came, *Campion*, *Sherwin*, *Bosgrave*, *Pound*, and others of the Catholic prisoners, were led forth. They found the place as full as it would hold. The two sides of the chapel were fitted up for the tournament. At one side were two seats for the two deans, in front of them a table covered with books; to their right and left a quantity of lower seats for the assistants of the principal combatants. At the opposite side, a stage of some grandeur was erected for the ministers and courtiers. Between the two was another table, likewise covered with books, with seats for *Chark* the preacher of

Gray's Inn, and Whitaker the Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, who were to act as notaries. In the middle of the chapel were a number of little stools, with a strong guard of soldiers around them, for the Catholic prisoners. Behind the guards the people were allowed to find what room they could. Among them was a Catholic who was bold enough to take notes of this and of the other conferences. His reports of the later ones are still preserved in Ms. in the British Museum. They were given to John Fox the martyrologist by Topcliffe the priest-catcher, who found them in the house of Carter the printer, who was hanged in 1584 for publishing a prayer-book in which Catholics were exhorted to imitate Judith, and exterminate the wicked demon Holofernes. I have not been able to see a copy of his report of the first conference, but one existed in the English College at Rome, and was used by Bombinus, who gives copious extracts from it. There was another Catholic present, who wrote the life of Campion, afterwards translated by James Laing at Paris. The chief things he noticed in Campion were his sickly face and his mental weariness: "worn with the rack, his memory destroyed, and his force of mind almost extinguished." Yet for all this he thanks God that he was present at the discussion; for there, he says, "I heard Father Edmund reply to the subtleties of the adversaries so easily and readily, and bear so patiently all their contumely, abuse, derision, and jokes, that the greatest part of the audience, even the heretics who had persecuted him, admired him exceedingly." Each day's discussion began at eight and continued till eleven, and was renewed in the afternoon from two till five.

Nowell opened the conference. They had come to seek the truth; not for themselves, for they had found it, but to help Campion and his fellows, and to do them good, if God permitted. Not that they had much hope of a man so proudly impudent as, like a new Goliath, to challenge all the divines of England—a challenge which he clearly thought ever to avoid, for he could never be found; but the *miles gloriosus* had been caught, and now had to make good his boast. And he need not complain of being unprepared, because the matter of disputation would be taken from the beginning of his bragging book which he had just written. They asked him first, then, how he dared to charge the Queen's most merciful government with *inusitata supplicia*,³¹⁶ strange cruelty, and the Bishops with preparing for him *tormenta non scholas*, tortures instead of conference, when the greater cruelties of Mary's reign were still remembered by all Englishmen. Campion, in his reply, first answered the objection to

his modesty, by reciting a passage from his preface : “ *Ego, si fretus ingenio, literis, arte, lectione, memoriâ, peritissimum quemque adversarium provocavi, fui vanissimus et superbissimus, qui neque me, neque illos inspexerim; sin causam intuitus, existinavi satis me valentem esse qui docerem hunc solem meridie lucere,*” my fervour may be pardoned. As to his hiding, every one knew it was not for fear of arguments : as to the conditions of the discussion, though they were clearly most unjust, yet he accepted them ; he had challenged them ; they had met him on the field he had indicated ; but they had taken care to deprive him of his arms ; for the arms of the disputant are books and meditation. No time had been given him for thought ; as for books, even his notes had been taken from him. Was it an answer to his challenge to rack him first, then to deprive him of all books, and to set him to dispute ? When life was in question, with the gallows before and the rack behind, the mind was hardly free for philosophy. He did not compare the cruelty of the English with that of others ; he only complained of the positive tortures inflicted. He never persecuted ; and it was folly to make distinctions when there was no difference, for the Elizabethan racks were as bad as the Marian executions ; he had experience, and he had rather be hanged than racked.

Upon this ensued the conversation which I quoted in the last chapter, to show the impossibility of believing the confessions ascribed to *Campion*. The account quoted by *Bombinus* adds a few characteristic touches. *Campion* told *Hopton* he did not complain of what he had suffered, he only deplored the sufferings of Catholics, who were daily treated in the prisons like thieves and murderers. The audience was sensibly moved at this, when *Beale* interposed, and said that the racking and torture was not for religion, but for treason ; whereupon *Campion* rose, and with indignation cried out, “ If any of you can prove me guilty of any crime except my religion, I will willingly agree to suffer the extremest torments you can inflict.” On this a significant silence ensued, and *Campion* went on to say what questions had been put to him on the rack, and why he had refused to answer them, as quoted in the last chapter.

There are only two points in this conference which are of much importance. We have seen that *Campion* was denied all books. His adversaries cunningly took advantage of this to lead the disputation to a question of correctness of quotation. *Campion* had written, “ what made the flagitious apostate *Luther* call the *Epistle* of *St. James* contentious, tumid, dry straw, and unworthy the apostolic spirit ? Desperation.” After a few cavils, he was bidden to find the places he had

referred to, and the books were handed to him. He could find nothing nearer than this: "some affirm that the Epistle of James is unworthy of the apostolic spirit." This he said indicated Luther's mind; the quotations he had made were taken from the Jena editions; the editions used in England were those of Wittenburg or Strasburg, which had been corrected and purged. If he might be allowed to send to Germany for copies, he would show the places referred to: the Emperor and the Duke of Bavaria would take care to send the editions he asked for. On this they unceremoniously called him a liar, an impudent mouther, a falsifier and forger, and laughed at him for talking of emperors and dukes, as if they cared for him and his controversies. Campion's only resource was to appeal to the Catholics around him, whether it was not notorious that Luther had written what he had alleged; and their unanimous assent was all he could oppose to the dishonest triumph of the two deans. Of course Campion's Catholic apologists exposed the dishonesty, but I suppose that the assertions were believed even to our own day, or Sir William Hamilton would not have taken pains to refute them. He gives us the passages from Luther.³¹⁷ "The Epistle of James I count the writing of no apostle" (standing preface to Luther's version), "truly an epistle of straw, . . . with no evangelical character" (Fragmentary preface to N. T. 1524), "wholly inferior to the apostolic majesty," "unworthy of an apostolic spirit," and so on. Campion, in his weak state of body, seems almost to have lost his temper when the deans called him *gloriosus miles*; if they are to be believed, he rose up from the form on which he was sitting, cast up and flung about his hands and arms, knocked and beat upon the book at every other word, with loud voice and sharp countenance affirming that all their printed books were false. And Nowell, as a persecuted innocent, complains of "Pound's odious interpellations (as, 'we know you to be a good Terence man'), and his most scornful looks through his fingers, staring at him (Nowell) continually, whilst he was reasoning with Master Campion, to put him out of his memory;" whereupon Nowell broke out with *os impudens*.

I suppose that Campion, who never had much reason to think that the object of this debate was to sift the truth, conceived some scruple about his impatience in this encounter, and resolved to embrace the next humiliation that offered itself. It was not long in coming. A text was in dispute; they offered him the Greek Testament; he, finding the print too small, put it away from him: the deans nodded at one another, *Græcum est, non legitur*. It is Greek to him. Campion

only smiled, and accepted the rebuff, thus allowing it to be imagined that he was no Greek scholar. I have myself copied his own letters from the Stonyhurst manuscripts, wherein are sundry apposite Greek quotations, written in a scholarlike hand, which leaves no doubt of his familiarity with Greek. Yet when, in the subsequent parts of the conference, the deans handed to him the texts of St. Basil and St. Gregory of Nazianzum, it seems he only read them in a whisper, audible to Mr. Stollard, who held the books for him, whom he called on to witness that he could read. Mr. Stollard did not refuse at the time, but after Campion's death he authorised the deans to say that "if he did read at all, he read the worst that ever he heard." Perhaps he read as they read at Prague, with the Bohemian pronunciation. Anyhow, Campion rested as quietly under this childish imputation of ignorance as Hooker did under a much more serious charge, till the fraud was detected by his friends Sandys and Cranmer.³¹⁸ The result was not unfavourable. Campion's meekness was, perhaps, more effectual than his logic, and, as the two deans complain, "divers gentlemen and others, neither unlearned nor of themselves evil affected," even considered that he had the best of the argument; an opinion which they designed to correct by their publication, though they suspected some might still "cavil at it, as their biting of a dead man, whom being alive they could not all match." One of the illustrious converts that Campion made on this occasion was Philip Earl of Arundel. He was at that time a Protestant and a courtier, quite immersed in pleasures and extravagance; yet "by what he saw and heard then, he easily perceived on which side the truth and true religion was, though at that time, nor till a year or two after, he neither did, nor intended to, embrace and follow it; and after he did intend it, a good while passed before he did execute it."³¹⁹

Campion's conduct in this controversy is completely in accordance with the view of his character which I have given above (p. 65). To him the foremost question was ever, not the settlement of controversy, but the peace of his own soul. In spite of the dithyrambic confidence of his *Decem Rationes*, and his trenchant condemnation of all Protestant doctrines, there was in him a conciliatory vein which would have made him agree with Possevin or Bossuet, and he would have been one of the first to hold out the olive-branch of an *eirenikon*, if he could have found any desire of peace in his opponents. The two deans declare that, at the end of the conference, "Master Campion and they were now come to a very near point of agreement in the question of justification." For

Campion's line was not to quarrel about words, but to see whether an inaccurate formula might not cover an honest sense. He really saw the root of the evil; it was the spirit of party, which divided men into factions who were determined to quarrel, and to erect any question into a matter of dispute. Butler characterises such men as "so perverse and opposite as though they worshipped God for spite." They scanned their opponents' words with the benevolence of an advocate cross-examining an adverse witness. Controversy was a passion.³²⁰ The sermons at Paul's Cross were attended by prince and court, the magistrates of the city, and a vast conflux of common people.³²¹ The women and shopkeepers argued of predestination and church-government, and determined perplexed cases of conscience; they were mad for a super-fetation of reforms, and went on whetting the ecclesiastical knife till there was scarce any steel left. At the sermons in the Temple, where³²² Canterbury was preached in the morning and Geneva in the afternoon (I am now speaking of 1585), there were almost as many writers as hearers. Even grave benchers like Sir Edward Coke were not more exact in taking instructions from their clients than in writing notes from the mouths of their ministers. All this controversial bias took its complexion from an ingrained political animosity to the Pope, who must needs be Antichrist, and if not wrong in one point, must be so in another; no peace with Rome was a principle of faith and morals. Campion did nothing towards eradicating this false idea, which really turned "religion into rebellion and faith into faction;" his *cirenikon*, on the matter of justification, was construed into a confession of defeat, his meekness was mere ignorance covering a pride more than Typhonic. For he had to do with a religion, the first dogma of which was that all its opponents were the brood of the devil, and that their very virtues were a snare of the evil one transforming himself into an angel of light. So when he and the deans had continued disputing very long, and the August sun shone in on their faces at the south windows, and the throng was great, and the heat intolerable, the conference was closed as it began.

In Nowell and Day's book it is made to appear that the only parties aggrieved by the reports which were made of this first day's disputation were the Protestants, whom everybody for some days after supposed to have got the worst of it. Under this imputation they rested quite contentedly for more than two years after Campion's death, when they published their own account, by which they trusted "that all those Catholiques that had any spark of shamefastness left might

blush for Master Campion's sake, being so manifestly reprehended in so many lies so braggingly avouched."³²³

No other conference was held till Monday, Sept. 18. These eighteen days must have presented to Campion a wonderful contrast to the turmoil of the previous month. Whether it was merely the monotony of the prison, or whether his memory was impaired through sickness, he had lost his account of time, and the eighteen days had been but a week to him.³²⁴ "About a sennight past," he said, "there came hither some who disputed with me about the first part of my book, they being thereunto prepared, and I brought hither altogether unprovided." Then he went on to make the same complaint as Nowell and Day had done, but in a contrary sense; "there were at that time such as did note, and afterwards reported our conference; but I understand there be many things published thereof more than truth, and that I am belied in print." He therefore demanded a notary on his own part. In the report published by authority, this complaint is made much more general, so as seemingly to apply to everything that had been reported of his acts in the prison.³²⁵ "I have been ill dealt withal already, and things heretofore spoken by me have been mistaken, and published in print otherwise than I ever meant."

This second conference was held in Hopton's hall, that the people might be more easily excluded than they could be from a public church, and only about thirteen persons were present. Among them were Lord Clanricard, Sir Owen Hopton, Sir William (Ferdinando?) Gorge, Sir Thomas Henneage, Sir Nicholas Poynds, and others. Dr. Goode and Dr. Fulke, the disputants, were at a table, and had certain books about them; Charke and Field sat as notaries; opposite them, on a stool, sat Campion, having only his Bible. Fulke began with prayer, that the solemn act might confirm the faithful, and convert or confound the blind. Campion prayed by himself, and made the sign of the cross on his forehead and breast. Then, not to avoid the conference, but to make the audience understand the conditions of it, he complained of his want of preparation.³²⁶ "I wish," he said, "you would consider it to be God's cause, and dispute to have the truth known, rather than to have victory. And if you did so, the better I came provided for the disputation, the better the truth should be sifted and discussed. But I hope the truth is so plain that it will suffice at this present to defend itself." He protested, as in the first conference, that the kind of disputation he requested was not this, but one under equal conditions before the Universities.

The dispute was whether the Church was visible or invisible. Campion of course maintained the former. Fulk objected the Church in heaven; Campion said that he was only speaking of the Church militant. Fulk told him that this was quibbling, eating his own words, and so on. In the Ms. report there are many homely illustrations, telling and rhetorical, used by Campion, and much winning speech; as when he said to Goode, who had been quoting Jerome, "I would that you and I might shake hands of St. Jerome's religion, that we might meet together with him in heaven." "No," said the other, "I will not be of man's religion, further than he is of Christ's." And when he urged his opponents inconveniently, and they had told him "that he vaunted himself too much, and had deceived them of their opinion of modesty which they had conceived and heard of him," he answered that "for humility he would be content to kiss their feet, but in the truth of Christ could yield nothing," he seems to declare the rule he had imposed on himself at the first conference, when he refused to exhibit his knowledge of Greek, as a matter completely foreign to the argument in hand. During this conference many ticklish points about persecution were mooted; and when Campion, urged to say how the rule *dic Ecclesie*, "tell it to the Church," can be observed in times of persecution, and answering, "though persecution be in one place, yet can complaint be made in other places, as the Protestants in Queen Mary's days, being persecuted in England, might have their remedy in Germany where their religion was used," certainly seemed to justify the appeal of Allen and Parsons to Philip and Gregory to avenge their brethren in England. Indeed, the difficulty was inseparable from the idea of church-government as then conceived, and it required the *reductio ad impossibile* of the last three centuries to eradicate it.

The afternoon's conference was a rambling one, and the two doctors asserted dogmatically the extremest Puritan tenets, whereat Campion marvelled. About communion under both kinds he said: "I allow it may be so received, so that a man do it in humility and by license; for so have I seen myself" (there was such a license in Bohemia), "and I confess that in the primitive Church it hath been used to be received sometimes under one kind, and sometimes under both, and so may be received again, at the appointment and discretion of the Church." Yet it was just upon this point that Possevin's reconciliation of Sweden failed; he had made the concession, but the Court of Rome refused to ratify it.³²⁷ When he illustrated St. Peter's dissimulation at An-

tiocli by the fact that some Catholics held it unlawful to converse with Protestants, and others held the contrary, Goode said, "Take heed of dissuading men from companying together, lest you incur the danger of some statufes;" on which Campion hoped that Goode came not to threaten, but to argue. The chief point in this conference was, whether the Church militant could err in defining faith. Goode asserted that some council had decreed that angels had bodies; Campion answered that the opinion was no matter of salvation, therefore no matter of faith. Goode held it to be matter of faith, though not of salvation. "That is strange," said Campion; "show me one such matter of faith;" and he went on to class this assertion with the other strange paradoxes he had heard: "That baptism taketh not away original sin; that if a man be once of the Church, he shall never be out of the Church; that every temptation is a sin; that David in the act of committing adultery and murder was not the servant of sin." *Per contra*, we find Campion calling a Greek tense by a wrong name, re-affirming some of his old Oxonian physics, and offering to prove that the heavens are hard as crystal. When Field the notary published his report of this conference, Jan. 1, 1584, he had the impudence to say in his preface: "If Campion's answers be thought shorter than they were, thou must know that he had much waste speech, which, being impertinent, is now omitted."

He had another conference with Fulke and Goode on the 23d of September, on the real presence and on transubstantiation, and he complained often that he was only allowed to solve objections, and not to prove his point. He was told that at the former conference he had been suffered to use a multitude of words, similitudes, comparisons, and definitions; but that now he was to be cut shorter. He begged, if he was not allowed to dispute in words, to be allowed to controvert in writing; but Fulk refused to prefer any request to the Council for any such man as he. The fourth dispute was held in Sir Owen Hopton's hall on the 27th of September; this time Dr. Walker and Charke disputed, and Norton acted as notary. These men treated Campion more brutally than any of the former disputants. Walker began the conference with words like these:³²⁸ "This man having departed this realm hath joined himself to the man of Rome, our common enemy, Antichrist, and now hath returned again into the realm, where he hath wandered from place to place through the greatest part thereof, and in the north country and Yorkshire he hath sown such sedition that they now cry out of him and curse him; and now he hath proceeded further, and hath

charged us most impudently and falsely with mangling and cutting of the Scriptures ;” and with this preface they began their dispute about the canon and the sufficiency of Scripture. Dr. Walker, who at first had protested that he had long left the University, and was no longer dexterous in using his logic and philosophy, did not make a very good figure when, because Campion would not accept his caricature of Catholic doctrine as a good exposition thereof, he declared, in the bitterness of his soul, “I have been these two or three days turning and seeking of books to prove that all things necessary to salvation are contained in the Scriptures; and now by this subtle shift” (Campion had agreed to the proposition, with the condition “subject to the interpretation of the Catholic Church”) “and distinction, he hath avoided all; for it is the practice of them to preach one thing, and when they come to defend it, to deny it, and maintain another thing.” In the afternoon the matter handled was justification by faith alone. In both these conferences Campion was as successful as a man can be who has to follow the lead of two illogical bunglers, answering their miscellaneous and disjointed objections, but never allowed to build up any harmonious apology for his own system.

It is of this fourth conference that Parsons³²⁹ tells us how Charke outfaced Campion by his high place, gay apparel, great words, assistance of friends, countenance of authority, and applause of Protestants standing by.³³⁰ He describes his contemptuous usage of so learned a man in open audience, with barbarous threatening of that further cruelty which was then had in mind, and had been since put in execution. Charke would turn to the people and ask them to rejoice and thank the Lord that He had given him such an argument against the Papists as he was going to propose. Norton the rackmaster was at his elbow to repeat and urge his argument for him. When the argument grew dull, and Charke had no more to say, and the people were beginning to depart, he had the doors shut, and forced them to stay, and with one consent to thank the Lord for his victory that day gotten upon Campion. Most of the audience were laughing in their sleeves, some even hissed;³³¹ and it was the common opinion that if the Protestant opponents had fancied they had got the best of it, they would immediately put their triumph in print. Dr. Fulke had but looked into Wisbeach Castle the year before, and framed to himself but the imagination of a victory, because the prisoners refused conference, and, behold, he presently printed a pamphlet in his own praise; what, then, would Charke and Fulke and Walker and Goode and Nowell and

Day have done about their conferences with Campion, if they had thought them any way able to abide the view? And yet how unequally Campion was dealt with! He was but one, unbooked, unprovided, wearied with imprisonment, almost dismembered with the rack, threatened and terrified with death to come, appointed only to answer, never to oppose. "All this," continues Parsons, "we know, and the world abroad knows and wonders; but we wonder not, who know you; for we are sure that you will never deal with us at even hand or upon equal conditions while you live."

But by this time the Council had come round to the opinion of Bishop Aylmer, that these conferences did no good to the Protestant cause.³³² "Touching the conference with Campion in the Tower," writes the Bishop to Burghley, Sept. 29, "I wrote unto Mr. Lieutenant of my misliking that so many were admitted to it, whose authority is not to be directed there by me, but by her Majesty and your lordships. And for the ill opinion that I had of it, I sent to stay it." Hereupon the Council deliberated; and Norton, who had been notary at the last conference, was told to send in his report, which he did Sept. 30, with his observations on the amendment of the order used with that Jesuit.³³³ "I think the course hitherto taken, either by lack of aid (Campion being without books and preparation) or moderation³³⁴ (on the third day Hopton was ready to allow any learned man present to moderate, but none would undertake it) or convenient respect of admitting men to be hearers, hath been both fruitless and hurtful, and subject to great harm by reports." And he says that on the fourth day he took down each question and answer, and then read it over to the disputant, thus avoiding all cavil. It does not appear, however, that this is printed in the "true report," where Norton's name is not mentioned in connection with the fourth conference. The result of the Council's deliberation was that the conferences were discontinued, and the divines who had been summoned to dispute in October were bidden to remain where they were.

And now the popular voice began to make itself heard. All through August Campion was only known as the betrayer of his friends, the man whose faith was hardly secure, who might perhaps one day appear at Paul's Cross to make his recantation. All these ideas were overthrown root and branch by his public appearances at the four conferences; and when they were suppressed, the voice of the people was heard in ballads,³³⁵ which were none the less effectual for their lack of melody and grammar.

I.

Campion is a champion,
Him once to overcome,
The rest be well drest
The sooner to mumm.

He looks for his life,
They say, to dispute,
And doubts not our doctrine
He brags to confute.

If instead of good argument,
We deal by the rack,
The Papists may think
That learning we lack.

Come forth, my fine darling,
And make him a dolt;
You have him full fast,
And that in strong holt.

II.

A Jesuit, a Jebusite? wherefore, I you pray?
Because he doth teach you the only right way?
He professeth the same by learning to prove,
And shall we from learning to rack him remove?

His reasons were ready, his grounds were most sure,
The enemy cannot his force long endure;
Campion, in camping on spiritual field,
In God's cause his life is ready to yield.

Our preachers have preached in pastime and pleasure,
And now they be hated far passing all measure;
Their wives and their wealth have made them so mute,
They cannot nor dare not with Campion dispute.

III.

Let reason rule, and racking cease,
Or else for ever hold your peace;
You cannot withstand God's power and His grace,
No, not with the Tower and the racking-place.

Such libels were clearly intolerable; like Mambrino's helmet in *Don Quixote*, the replies given to Campion were to be held as sufficient, whether they would endure proof or not. Those who thought otherwise did so at their peril. There was one Cawood,³³⁶ who "talked very liberally, extolling Campion's learning, and attributing the victory to him." Him Aylmer clapped up in the Clink. There was another, Oliver Pluckett,³³⁷ one of the wardmote of St. Andrew's, Holborn, who affirmed that "Campion was both discrete and learned, and did say very well, and would have convinced them if he

might have been heard with indifferency." Whereupon the foreman of the wardmote inquest requested Oliver to resign; which he was contented to do with all his heart. But the case was reported to Fleetwood the recorder, and the person was committed to ward. I shall have afterwards to record a still more vindictive punishment inflicted on Vallenger, who printed some poetry on Campion's life and death.

CHAPTER XIV.

ALL attempts to disparage Campion's religious and moral character, or his talents and learning, having thus failed, only one course was left—to disparage his patriotism, and to hold him up as a traitor to the scorn of his countrymen.

It was generally supposed that the first man who afforded grounds for the notion that all seminary priests were really traitors was John Nichols, who in his recantation sermon, preached Feb. 5, 1581, before the priests in the Tower, gave information concerning the republication of the bull of Pius V., and concerning the treasonable speeches which were the usual utterances of teachers and scholars in the seminaries.³³⁸ "One of your readers in divinity positive, before two hundred scholars at least, said that it was lawful for any man of worship in England to give authority to the vilest wretch to seek the Queen's death." "Father Pais, reader in scholastic theology in the Roman College, said: 'The good will of the Pope is manifest, and his purse ready; but King Philip is either turned aside by fear, or prevented by want of means, and dares not lead his army into England.'"³³⁹ And the scholars used to miscall their sovereign lady, and say they would burn her bones, and those of her Council that favoured not their attempts, whether alive or dead. And he gave a long list of those against whom the threats were uttered—among them were Lords Burghley, the Earl of Huntingdon, Knowles and Walsingham; and a long litany of bishops, deans, and doctors of divinity. Moreover he said that they wished their country to be destroyed with fire, sword, and famine, so as to bring back the Catholic religion.

It was nearly half a year after this that George Eliot gave his information about a plot of fifty priests to murder the Queen, Leicester, Burghley, and Walsingham. And it was probably on this or some similar information that Walsingham was on the 14th of July³⁴⁰ set to work by the Queen in the examination of certain persons charged to have conspired against her majesty's person, and who turned out to be runaway priests brought up in Rome and Douai. These and

similar informations tended to connect all the seminary priests with the Irish rebellion, which the Pope stirred up not only with men and money, but specially through Dr. Sanders, who did better in the professor's chair than in the charge of an army. The English ministers had obtained a copy of his letter to the Irish, the tone of which much resembles the suppressed placard of Cardinal Allen, which was to have been distributed in England if the Armada had effected a landing in 1588.³⁴¹ Sanders tells the "Catholic lords and worshipful gentlemen of Ireland" that Elizabeth is a reproach to the crown, and they poltroons for abetting her. Her successor must be a Catholic, for the Pope will take order that the crown shall rest in none but Catholics; and he will punish them for having supported her. "What will ye answer to the Pope's lieutenant, when he, bringing us the Pope's and other Catholic princes' aid, as shortly he will, shall charge you with the crime and pain of heretics for maintaining an heretical pretended Queen, against the public sentence of Christ's Vicar? Can she, with her feigned supremacy, which the devil instituted in Paradise when he made Eve Adam's mistress in God's matters, absolve and acquit you from the Pope's excommunication and curse?" and so on. There was no doubt of the danger in which England then stood. There was no doubt either that the law recently enacted gave the government full power to treat any Jesuits or seminary priests whom they could catch in England as *ipso facto* traitors. There was no need of any laborious endeavour to connect this or that individual with the great Hispano-papal scheme. But, on the other hand, public opinion did not altogether run with the statute. It was easier to say than to make men believe that the Catholic religion was not really a religion, but merely a political institution; that the Mass was not a sacrifice to God, but a treasonable practice against the Queen; that confession was not a means of cleansing the conscience from sin, but only of enrolling oneself in a secret association, pledged to support the Pope when his invasion of England came off. It was this scrupulous public opinion that gave the Council pause, and made them argue the case for and against putting their prisoners to death.³⁴² Fuller gives in parallel columns the chief reasons alleged in these debates. One side, that the breath of all such priests was contagious; the other, that some of them might be amended. One, that it was foolish to make severe laws and not execute them; the other, that the law need not be repealed, but only the execution thereof mitigated. One, that such pity would be interpreted to be either fear of vengeance, or an acknow-

ledgment that the law was wicked; the other, that no one should be frightened by scarecrows from what is honourable, that it was better to be abused for lenity than for cruelty. One, that Jesuitism could be best extirpated by the gallows; the other, that to make martyrs would be to propagate their opinions. One, that dead men cannot bite, but that men in prison are a standing provocative to a rescue; the other, that the greater penalty will move greater revenge, and sharpen zeal. One asserted that no priest or Jesuit was ever converted by imprisonment; the other, that some had been so, and more had been half converted, and had renounced the treasonable part of their profession. Finally, the one declared that if they were put to death, it would be not for religion but for rebellion; the other, that if their death was the child of their rebellion, it was the grandchild of their religion; for their obedience to their superiors put them on the propagation of their religion, and thus made them offenders to the State.

Elizabeth herself was inclined to the side of mercy; but among her Council were several of that peculiar sour leaven of Puritanism which was always found to be biassed towards cruelty and blood, and to make the sincerest men the severest and bitterest. These men naturally had their senses most sharpened to the dangers that were gathering round Protestantism, and were willing to protect it by the most decisive measures. They were in terror lest the French match should bring about toleration of Popery, and toleration lead to supremacy. And, religiously, they were opposed to all toleration, to any compromise with Belial. Their aim was the extirpation of Popery. A carefully secured toleration of Catholics was to them almost as abominable as a restoration of their supremacy. Yet, on the contrary, they could not afford to renounce the French match, for that would be to throw France into the arms of Spain.³⁴³ Indeed Cobham wrote that the Queen-mother was persuading Anjou to give up all idea of Elizabeth, and to marry one of Philip's daughters. In this dilemma the priests in prison were a great commodity to them.³⁴⁴ If the marriage was to take place, the Queen might be persuaded to sacrifice these men, in order to show that in marrying she had no intention to bring about a change of religion, or a toleration of Popery. On the other hand, if the cruelty could be carried far enough to shock the tolerant policy of the French court, or the feelings of the French people, there was a secret hope that it might delay, if not altogether prevent the marriage.³⁴⁵ Again, the Queen had somewhat offended the Londoners by the vindictive and cruel punishment of Stubbs, and it might be represented to her

that it was wise to redress the balance with the blood of a few Papists; but of course no one would tell her that as she had already offended the Puritans, so she might by her farther cruelty offend the more judicious part of her subjects, as well as her French allies. Then, again, Campion and his companions, by a combination of circumstances, were deprived of all protection; the Spanish ambassador could not aid them, without exciting more suspicion of their complicity with the Hispano-Papal designs; the French ambassador could not, for fear of proving that the French match tended towards toleration of Popery—and would not, because he suspected the Jesuits of a design to traverse the French alliance in favour of Spain. Sir Philip Sidney, who had promised his help to Campion, if he was ever in danger, was himself in disgrace for his letter to the Queen against the match; and though admitted to see her in October, was yet so “wholly out of comfort” that he could not venture to intercede for any other person; and the continual fears of a Spanish invasion stopped the mouths of those moderate men who in other circumstances would have counselled moderation.³⁴⁶

Hence it was that Walsingham and the others who wished to put Campion to death had not a very difficult part to play. They had merely to persuade the Queen and people that he and his fellows had really conspired against her, had been guilty of particular treasons, besides the general one of their reconciling her Majesty's subjects to the Pope, and then they might be hanged with general approbation. Walsingham doubtless thought it unlucky that just at this time, indeed the very day that Campion was paraded through London (July 22), he was sent to France on a special mission connected with the match. The first letter that he wrote from Paris to Burghley testified his anxiety:³⁴⁷ “I pray God her Majesty may take profit of Campion's discovery, by severely punishing the offenders, for nothing hath done more harm than the overmuch lenity that hath been used in that behalf.” Perhaps these men had already satisfied their consciences that Campion and the rest might justly be hanged on the late statute, and that policy required them to be put to death. Hence that it would be no murder if they used false pretences to cajole the reluctant Queen into allowing them to be hanged.

Three such pretences suggested themselves. One was due to Dr. Hammond. Let the prisoners be asked what they thought of divers treasonable passages collected out of the works of Sanders, Allen, and Bristow, three Catholic theologians, whom it would be equally difficult for them to defend

or to condemn. And let them be asked what they thought of the validity of Pius's Bull, and of the Queen's title to the crown, and (afterwards) what they would do in the event of the Pope invading England. The passages that Hammond collected were published in 1582, with the replies of Campion and the rest, in a tract entitled "A particular Declaration or Testimony of the undutiful and traitorous affection borne against her Majesty by Edmund Campion, Jesuit, and other condemned priests, witnessed by their own confessions," which has been often reprinted.³⁴⁸ These passages refer in terms of praise to the mission of Dr. Morton and to the rebels of 1569, to the Bull of Pius V., to the excommunication of the Queen, and to the martyrs Felton and Story. We first hear of them in the letter of Council, of July 30, which consigned Campion to his first racking. "Whereas we are given to understand that you Mr. Dr. Hammond have, out of Sanders' and Bristow's books, drawn certain points touching the acknowledgment of their allegiance towards her Majesty; we think it good that you propound the same to Campion and the priests, requiring their direct answer to the same."

The reply, testified by Hopton, Beale, Hammond, and Norton, and dated August 1, is published in the tract just named. "Edmund Campion, being demanded whether he would acknowledge the publishing of these things before recited by Sanders, Bristow, and Allen, to be wicked in the whole or in any part; and whether he doth at this present acknowledge her Majesty to be a true and lawful Queen, or a pretensed Queen, and deprived, and in possession of her crown only *de facto*. He answereth to the first, 'That he meddleth neither to nor fro, and will not further answer, but requireth that they may answer.' To the second he saith, 'That this question dependeth upon the fact of Pius Quintus, whereof he is not to judge, and therefore refuseth further to answer.'" These answers show how resolutely he refused to enter the field of politics. He could not satisfy his conscience either of the Pope's right to depose the Queen, or of his own right to judge the Pope. He determined therefore, as far as he might, to confine himself to the merely religious aspect of the controversy, to meddle neither to nor fro with questions of state or ecclesiastical policy, and to refuse to make himself umpire between two high contending parties so far above him as Pope and Queen.³⁴⁹ So even

" Upon the rack,
Where men enforced do speak any thing,"

he would commit himself to neither side. His was not a dog-

matic, but a practical mind. He was in himself the demonstration that the political theories of Catholics need have no influence on their practice; but to condemn those theories as wicked in themselves was a thing that he felt he had no right to do, and no racking could force his conscience. But he lived in an age which was not satisfied that questions should remain in abeyance; it was a dogmatic, pedantic age, that forced a man to make up his mind prematurely, and if he could not do so, to profess that he had done it. He was held captive by contradicting authorities, and between the two he had no other alternatives than silence and death on one side, and professing what he did not believe on the other; and he chose to die rather than violate his conscience.

But when the Council had this "confession" of Campion's, they had not advanced matters: there was no treason in a man refusing to qualify other traitors. He was therefore to be examined about his dealings with one Rochfort, an Irishman. When the Spaniards and Italians were massacred by Lord Grey, at Smeriwick in Kerry,³⁵⁰ the letters taken in their baggage discovered that the Bishops of Spain and Italy had contributed the money for the expedition. Laing's *Life of Campion* tells us that he was examined at the rack about the conveyance of this money into Ireland; probably the Irishman Rochfort was the carrier of the 30,000*l.* (the sum named by Laing), and the Council determined to rack out of Campion some confession that he knew the man; perhaps, if they were lucky, that he was the very man, *mutato nomine*. For they knew, and it was one of the *gravamina* against him, that he had often changed his name and dress, going about in hat and feather like a ruffian. But though all the ingenuity of the rackmasters was employed to involve him in this real rebellion; and though, according to Laing, an indictment was drawn up on the strength of their suspicions, yet it was allowed to fall through, because not a shadow of proof could be vouched for it. And we shall see, when we come to the trial, with what shadowy proof Campion's judges were contented.

Having failed to implicate Campion in any real conspiracy, it remained still possible to suborn false witnesses to prove him to have engaged in an imaginary one. Campion was the man in whose behalf this policy was invented. "These subtle machinations and figments of conspiracies," says Dr. Allen,³⁵¹ "were not invented by the ingenious counsellors, till they had Campion in their power, whose blood they thirsted for and were determined to shed, if they could possibly find any other occasion than religion, and extort a

confession of it by torture, or any other way." Camden, in effect, says the same thing, when he admits that the Queen did not believe in the guilt of the men she hanged. But the charge does not rest on the suspicious authority of Allen, or on a questionable inference from Camden. It is quite clear from documents in the State Paper Office, that Walsingham busied himself at Paris in searching for plots which might involve the Catholics, and when he could not find any that would suit his purpose, in inventing them, and suborning false witnesses to swear to them. Lord Burghley seems to have been his accomplice in this proceeding.³⁵² Walsingham writes to him from Paris on the 20th of August: "I am, by secret intelligence, given most assuredly to understand that about a two months past there was a plot (*i. e.* plan) sent out of Spain to the Pope, showing him upon the alienation of religion what way is to be taken for the conquest of Scotland," which the Pope approved and earnestly recommended. Out of this, Walsingham probably hoped to get some matter to accuse Campion of; but after a conversation with the giver of the intelligence he found that it would not suit his purpose, whereupon he threw discredit upon this first information, and suggested another which would serve his turn better, and for which he offered his man twenty crowns, if he would depose to it in a court of justice. This may be gathered from a letter of this anonymous informer, who by his style of ending seems to be a Catholic, probably one of those epileptic-minded brethren like John Nichols, with whom the English seminaries abroad were much infested. This letter Walsingham had the effrontery to send to Burghley and the Council, among whose papers it is still preserved, to prove their complicity in the conspiracy.³⁵³ "Touching the plot—be out of doubt—I would it were but false and sophistical The last part of your letter you answered not in effect as you did in words. Believe me it is not twenty crowns that shall make me a bondman, or make me say a false tale. But to what end these words? But only that you may (and as I think do) know them that for less will sell their country and all that is in it." And he ends his letter by hinting to Walsingham the danger that all his spies ran; Walsingham, he says, is surrounded by such lynx eyes that every body that goes near him is marked. Such eyes marked³⁵⁴ "Egremund Radlyffe going up to Hampton Court to you, and afterwards made him lose his head for it." Whether or not this was the plot on which Campion was condemned, it is clear that at this period, when his fate was hanging in the balance, Walsingham was not only throwing all his influence into the scale

of death, but was also forging "false tales" of Catholic conspiracies, and trying to suborn false witnesses to prove them.

I do not think that all the Council were guilty of this. The following letter from Sir Francis Knowles to Leicester and Burghley, the two Chancellors of the Universities, proves that though he was an advocate of severity, he would have acted openly and honestly, without losing himself in the Machiavellian labyrinth of Walsingham.³⁵⁵ He is comparing the Anabaptists and Family of Love with the Catholics. "This difference is between the Papists and these sectaries, touching their practices here in England. These sectaries are more hypocritical, and will sooner deny their doctrine and assertions to avoid punishment than the Papists will; but the Papists' secret practices, by these Jesuits, in going from house to house to withdraw men from the obedience of the Queen to that of the false Catholic Church of Rome, hath and will endanger her person and state more than all the sects of the world, if no execution shall follow upon the traitorous practisers that are for the same apprehended; or, at the least, if execution shall not follow upon such of them as will not openly and plainly recant."

I do not think that the final determination to put Campion to death was made till the end of October, when the coming of the Duke of Anjou (he arrived Nov. 1) seemed to require the blood of a few Catholics to reassure the Puritans; but before putting him on his trial they determined, if possible, to rack out of him and his fellows some evidence on which they might be hanged, without too great a show of iniquity. Accordingly, on Sunday the 29th of October,³⁵⁶ the Council ordered a letter to be written "to the Attorney and Solicitor-General, Hopton, Hammond, Wilks, and Norton, for the examining of Campion, Ford, and other prisoners in the Tower, upon certain matters, and to put them unto the rack, &c." This order took effect on Tuesday, Oct. 31,³⁵⁷ when Campion was for the third time placed upon the rack, and treated more cruelly than ever: with him, Payne the priest, accused by Eliot of conspiring against the life of the Queen, was also tortured; for the Council wished to make it appear that they were both in the same boat.³⁵⁸ This time he was so cruelly rent and torn upon the torture, that he told a friend who found means to speak with him, that he thought they meant to make him away in that manner. Lord Hunsdon said that one might sooner pluck his heart out of his bosom, than rack a word out of his mouth that he made conscience of uttering. (More, iii. 38.) When his keeper asked him the next day how he felt his hands and feet, he answered,

“Not ill, because not at all.” Even when he was brought to the bar, Nov. 22, he could not lift his hand.³⁵⁹ “It was his own fault,” writes Dr. Humphrey, “because he would not use the ointment which the Lieutenant of the Tower, more charitable than others, is wont to supply. These Papist prisoners in the Tower and elsewhere have all that is necessary, perhaps more than they ought to have, for their enjoyment, more than the Pope’s prisoners at Rome would ever get.” After Campion’s death these cruelties excited a European indignation, and Burghley defended them in a tract which he calls “A Declaration of the favourable Dealings of the Government with the Traitors.”³⁶⁰ Those who revere his memory, says Hallam, must blush for this pitiful apology. The passages which Hallam quotes were transcribed by Burghley from Norton’s letters in defence of his conduct, for which, in conformity with the Elizabethan practice, he was disgraced, to make it appear that the subordinates, not the principals, were answerable for all that was cruel and illegal in these proceedings.

The reaction in the public mind against torture after this period was decisive. Beale, the clerk of the Council, who had himself been one of Campion’s rackmasters, wrote, about 1585, a vehement book against the ecclesiastical system, in which he condemned, without any exception, all racking of offenders, as cruel, barbarous, contrary to law and to English liberties. Whitgift, the Archbishop of Canterbury, thought this condemnation monstrous. The torture-chamber was one of the institutions on which Anglicanism seemed to rely most securely.

CHAPTER XV.

THE documents connected with Campion's trial would be, by themselves, sufficient evidence of the vacillation of the Council about the grounds on which they should make him guilty.³⁶¹ The first indictment on which they proposed to try him simply recites that "on the — day of June, in the 23d year of the Queen, at — in Oxfordshire, he did traitorously pretend to have power to absolve the subjects of the said Queen from their natural obedience to her majesty, and with the intention to withdraw the said subjects of the said Queen from the religion now by her supreme authority established within this realm of England to the Roman religion, and to move the same subjects of the said Queen to promise obedience to the pretended authority of the Roman See to be used within the dominions of the said Queen.

"Also, that the same Edmund Campion did, with the intention of withdrawing a certain —, being a subject of the said Queen, and born within this realm of England, from his natural obedience, then and there wickedly, falsely, and traitorously persuade the same — from the religion now established; and did then and there wickedly, falsely, and traitorously move the same — to promise obedience to the pretended authority, &c., against the form of a statute in this case made and provided, and to the evil example of all other subjects in such wise offending."

But if they hanged Campion on such an indictment, they could never clear themselves from the charge of putting him to death for religion and not for treason. They therefore forged a plot, and in accordance with their forgery they drew up a new indictment.³⁶²

"The jury present in behalf of the Queen, that William Allen, D.D., Nicholas Morton, D.D., Robert Parsons, clerk, and Edmund Campion, clerk"—(these were all whom they first thought of accusing; but on second thoughts they determined that the plot was quite capacious enough to include all the priests whom they then happened to have in durance; so they added, in the margin)—"James Bosgrave, William Filby,

Thomas Ford, Thomas Cottam, Lawrence Richardson, John Collyton, Ralf Sherwin, Luke Kirby, Robert Johnson, Edward Rushton, Alexander Briant, Henry Orton a civilian, and — Short, that being traitors against the Queen, not having the fear of God in their hearts, nor weighing their due allegiance, but led astray by the devil, intending altogether to withdraw, blot out, and extinguish the hearty love and true and due obedience which true and faithful subjects should bear and are bound to bear towards the Queen, did, on the last day of March, A° 22° (1580), at Rome in Italy, in parts beyond the sea, and on the last day of April in the same year at Rheims in Champagne, and on divers other days and occasions before and after, both at Rome and Rheims, and in divers other places in parts beyond the seas, falsely, maliciously, and traitorously conspire, imagine, contrive, and compass, not only to deprive, cast down, and disinherit the said Queen from her royal state, title, power, and rule of her realm of England, but also to bring and put the same Queen to death and final destruction, and to excite, raise, and make sedition in the said realm, and also to beget and cause miserable slaughter among the subjects of the said Queen throughout the realm, and to procure and set up insurrection and rebellion against the said Queen, their supreme and natural lady, and to change and alter according to their will and pleasure the government of the said realm, and the pure religion there rightly and religiously established, and totally to subvert and destroy the state of the whole commonwealth of the realm, and to invite, procure, and induce divers strangers and aliens, not being subjects of the said Queen, to invade the realm, and to raise, carry on, and make war against the said Queen; and in order to bring to pass the said wicked and traitorous designs, the said Allen, Morton, Parsons, and Campion did, on the last day of March at Rome, and on the last day of April at Rheims, and on other days, falsely and traitorously conspire, treat, and debate by what ways and means they could compass the death of the said Queen and raise a sedition in the realm; and with the said intent and purpose the said Allen, Morton, Parsons, and Campion did afterwards, on the 20th of May 1581 at Rome aforesaid, and on divers other days before and after, both by persuasions and letters, move, exhort, and comfort divers strangers and aliens to invade the realm and raise war against the Queen. And further, that the same Allen, Morton, Parsons, and Campion did, on the 20th day of May at Rome, and on the last of the same month at Rheims, traitorously agree that the said Parsons and Campion should go into England, there to move and persuade such subjects

of the Queen as they could come at to aid and assist such strangers and aliens as they should traitorously bring into the realm to make war and rebellion against the Queen, and to change and alter the religion established. And that the said Parsons and Campion did after, to wit on the first day of June 1580, by the treason, procurance, comfort, and command of Allen and Morton at Rheims, set out to come into England to perform their aforesaid treasonable intents against their due allegiance, and against the peace of the said Queen, her crown and dignity, and in manifest contempt of the laws of this realm, and against the form of divers statutes in this case made and provided."

According to this indictment, Allen, Morton, Parsons, and Campion, and the thirteen others afterwards added, were together in Rome, March 31, 1580; were together in Rheims, April 30, 1580; were back again in Rome, May 20, 1580; and again at Rheims, May 31; and Parsons and Campion started from Rheims on the 1st of June. Of course it was impossible to prove a tale so clumsily constructed; but the law officers of the Crown were directed to obtain a conviction by any means that might be necessary—packing the jury, suborning false witnesses, overruling evidence adduced for the defendants, confounding all the cases into one, and general bullying and unfairness in the conduct of the cause.

On Tuesday, Nov. 14, Campion, Sherwin, Kirby, Bosgrave, Cottam, Johnson, Orton, and Rushton were taken to Westminster Hall, and arraigned before the grand jury. After the indictment Campion said: "I protest, before God and His holy angels, before heaven and earth, before the world and this bar whereat I stand, which is but a small resemblance of the terrible judgment of the next life, that I am not guilty of any part of the treason contained in the indictment, or of any other treason whatever." Then, while the jury was being impanelled for the next Monday, he lifted up his voice and added: "Is it possible to find twelve men so wicked and void of all conscience in this city or land that will find us guilty together of this one crime, divers of us never meeting or knowing one the other before our bringing to this bar?" Sherwin added: "The plain reason of our standing here is religion, and not treason." On this Sir Christopher Wray, the chief-justice of the King's Bench, said: "The time is not yet come wherein you shall be tried, and therefore you must now spare speech, and reserve it till then, at which time you shall have full liberty of defence, and me to sit indifferent between her Majesty and yourself; wherefore now plead to the indictment whether you be guilty or not." They were then commanded,

as the custom is, to hold up their hands; but both Campion's arms being pitifully benumbed by his often cruel racking before, and he having them wrapped in a furred cuff, he was not able to lift his hand so high as the rest did, and was required of him; but one of his companions, kissing his hand so abused for the confession of Christ, took off his cuff, and so he lifted up his arm as high as he could, and pleaded "not guilty," as all the rest did. They were then carried back to the prisons from whence they came.

The next day in like manner were arraigned Collington, Richardson, Hart, Ford, Filby, Briant, and Shert, and similarly remanded to their respective prisons.

On the 20th of November following Campion was again put into a boat under a strong guard, and taken from the Tower to Westminster Hall to be tried, where, "notwithstanding what commandment soever or order taken to the contrary, there was such a pressure of people, and that of the more honourable, wise, learned, and best sort, as was never seen or heard of in that court in ours or our fathers' memories before us. So wonderful an expectation there was of some to see the end of this marvellous tragedy, containing so many strange and divers acts of examining, racking, disputing, subornations of false witnesses, and the like; of others to behold whether the old honour of law and justice, wherein our nation hath of all the world had the praise, could or durst now stand its ground, notwithstanding any violent impression of power and authority to the contrary. Whether there were any Markhams³⁶³ left in the land that would yield up coif, office, and life, rather than give sentence against such as they knew in conscience to be innocent and untouched by the evidence. But this one day gave that assembly and all the world full proof of the sad fall of equity, law, conscience, and justice, together with the Catholic faith, in our poor country." The man who wrote thus was doubtless a partisan; but Hallam,³⁶⁴ who was no partisan, confirms him. "The prosecution was as unfairly conducted, and supported by as slender evidence, as any, perhaps, that can be found in our books."

The first indication of the kind of judgment they were to expect was to be found in the constitution of the jury. On the previous Wednesday, the panel that was called included three esquires, who, "doubting that justice should have no free course that day in these men's cases, whose blood was so earnestly thirsted after, appeared not when the day came." The rest of the panel consisted of a set of men whom the prisoners did not challenge, only because they knew them not. One William Lee was foreman. He was a man of wealth;

but, as may be seen by his letters to the Government,³⁶⁵ an informer and a fanatic, and he doubtless well understood his duty. The names of the others I have not found.

The presiding judge was Chief-Justice Wray; a man who in criminal proceedings exhibited calmness and forbearance, and abstained from all show of intemperance and impartiality; an appearance of virtue, Lord Campbell suggests, dexterously assumed by him for the purpose of obtaining convictions against the parties arraigned. But he was considered in his day to be a Catholic at heart, unwillingly performing a hateful task, which is said to have embittered all his remaining days, and even to have brought him prematurely with sorrow to the grave in 1592. The other judges of the court were John Southcote, who is not likely to have been on the bench at this trial, as he was one of the persons whose names Hopton dictated to John Nichols to set down in the list of those whom he knew to be Papists,³⁶⁶ Thomas Gawdy, and William Ayloff. The last—probably the two last—were present with the chief-justice at the trial. The prosecution was conducted by Edmund Anderson, the Queen's serjeant, who was made chief baron of the Common Pleas in May 1582, and held the post till his death in 1605. He was assisted by John Popham, the attorney-general, afterwards (in 1592) chief-justice of the Queen's Bench, and by Thomas Egerton, master of the Rolls in 1594, and lord keeper in 1596, when he was raised to the peerage as Lord Ellesmere and Viscount Brackley.

When the prisoners were at the bar and the jury in their box, the clerk of the crown read the indictment and declared the charge to the jurors, which was, that if they found the parties here indicted guilty of the treasons, or to have fled for any of them (this of course referred to Allen, Morton, and Parsons), they should then inquire what lands, tenements, goods, and chattels they had at the time of the treasons committed, or at any time since; and if they found them not guilty, then to say so, and no more.

Campion was the first to speak.

My lord, forasmuch as our surmised offences are several, so that the one is not to be tainted with the crime of the other, the offence of one not being the offence of all,—I could have wished likewise that, for the avoidance of confusion, we might also have been severally indicted, and that our accusations carrying so great importance, and so nearly unto us as our lives, each one might have had one day for his trial. For albeit I acknowledge the jurors to be wise men and much

experienced in such cases, yet all evidence being given or rather handled at once, must needs breed a confusion in the jury, and perhaps such a misprision of matters, as they may take evidence against one to be against all, and consequently the crime of the one for the crime of the other, and finally the guilty to be saved and the guiltless to be condemned; wherefore I would it had pleased your lordship that the indictments had been several, and that we might have several days of trial.

Hudson. It seemeth well, Campion, that you have had your counsel.³⁶⁷

Campion. No counsel but a pure conscience.

Lord Chief-Justice. Although, if many be indicted at once, the indictment in respect of them all containing all their names be joint, yet in itself being framed against several persons, it cannot be but several at the trial, whereof evidence shall be particularly given against every one, and to the matters objected every one shall have his particular answer, so that the jury shall have all things orderly; notwithstanding I could have wished also that every one should have had his special day assigned him, had the time so permitted; but since it cannot be otherwise, we must take it as it is.

Whereupon the Queen's Counsel, Mr. Anderson, Mr. Popham (Attorney-General), and Mr. Egerton (Solicitor-General), prepared to give in evidence, and first Mr. Anderson spake in effect as followeth:

Anderson. With how good and gracious a prince the Almighty has blessed this island, continuing the space of twenty-three years; the peace, the tranquillity, the riches, and abundant supplies, but especially the light and success of the Gospel, wherewith since her Majesty's first reign this realm hath flourished above all other, most evidently doth manifest; the which, notwithstanding they ought to have stirred us up into a most dutiful affection and zealous love unto her crown, for whose sake and by whose means, next under God, we enjoy these prosperities; yet hath there not, from time to time, been wanting amongst us mischievous and evil-disposed enemies of her felicity, which, either by insolent and open denouncing of war, or by secret and privy practices of sinister devices, have ambitiously and most disloyally attempted to spoil her of her right, and us of these blessings. Yet such hath been God's incomparable puissance against them, so tender his care over her, so favourable his mercy towards us, that neither they thereby have been bettered, nor her estate impaired, nor our quiet diminished; for who knoweth not of the rebellions and uproars in the North, who remembereth not

the tragical pageant of Storie, who still seeth not the traitorous practices of Felton? Prevailed they against her? was not their strength vanquished? were not their policies frustrated? and did not God detect them and protect her, to her safety and their perdition? The matter is fresh in remembrance. Their quarters are yet scarce consumed; they were discovered, they were convicted, they suffered; we saw it. If you ask from whence these treasons and seditious conspiracies had their first offspring, I ask from whence they could have it but from the well itself—the Pope? For if we inspect the northern seditions, he it was that was not only the encouragement, but also, being put to flight, was their refuge. If we mean Storie, he it was that was the sworn liege and lord of so perjured a subject; if we look to Felton, he it was that excommunicated the Queen and all the commonalty that did her obedience. Finally, if we recount all the treasons and rebellions that have been conspired since the first hour of her coronation, he it was, and principally he, that suborned them. What then, are we to think these latest and present conspiracies to have been done either unwitting or unwilling the Pope? Shall we deny either Campion or his companions, without the Pope's assent or consent, to have conspired these matters beyond the seas themselves? Why? had they no entertainment at his hands? Did he bestow nothing upon them for their maintenance? Was there no cause why he should either do for them, or they for him—they Papists, he Pope; they flying their country, he receiving them; they Jesuits, he their founder; he supreme head, they sworn members; he their chief provost, they his dearest subjects; how can it be but he was privy—privy! nay, the author and onsetter? We see that other treasons have been squared to his platforms, and yielded he no direction in this? came all the rest from him, and came not this near him? It is impossible. An enemy to the Crown, a professed scourge to the Gospel, envying the tranquillity of the one, impatient of the success of the other, what would he not do to subvert them both? He hath been always like to himself—never liker in aught than in this. He knew well enough no foreign hostility was convenient. The Spaniard would be discovered; the Frenchman would be suspected; the Roman not believed. How then? Forsooth, men bred and born in our own nation, perfect in our own tongue and languages, instructed in our own Universities,—they, and only they, must endeavour our overthrow. In what order? They must come secretly into the realm; they must change their habit and names; they must dissemble their vocation; they must wander unknown—

To what ends? to dissuade the people from their allegiance to their prince, to reconcile them to the Pope, to plant the Romish religion, to supplant both prince and province. By what means? By saying of Mass, by administering the Sacrament, by hearing confessions. When all these things were purposed, endeavoured, and practised by them, whether were they guilty of these treasons or no? If not, then add this further: they were privy and parties to the rebellion in the North, they were instruments to the practices of Storie, they were ministers to execute the Bull sent from Pius Quintus against her Majesty. How appeareth that? How?—how should it appear better than by your own speeches and examinations? They highly commended the rebellion in the North; they greatly rejoiced in the constancy of Storie; divers of their counsel and conferences was required for the Bull. Yea, and which is more, and yet sticketh in our stomachs, they afforded so large commendations to Sanders, liking and extolling his late proceedings in Ireland, that it cannot be otherwise intended but that thereof they also have been partakers. To conclude: what loyalty may we hope for from the Pope; what fidelity from their hands that have bowed themselves unto him; what trust may the country repose in them that have fled and renounced their country? How can their return be without danger, whose departure was so perilous? Note all circumstances, note all probabilities, not one amongst all but notes them for traitorous; and so being, it is reason they should have the law and the due punishment ordained for traitors, the which, in her Majesty's behalf, we pray that they may have, and that the jury, upon our allegation, may pass for the trial.

This speech, very vehemently pronounced and gestured, with a grim and austere countenance, dismayed them all, and made them very impatient and troublesomely affected; for it seemed by their temperature that it sounded very grievously to their trial; and therefore, utterly denying all that was alleged, they protested themselves true and faithful subjects; only Campion bare it out best, and yet, somewhat amazed, demanded of Mr. Anderson whether he came as an orator to accuse them, or as a pleader to give in evidence.

Lord Chief-Justice. You must have patience with him, and the rest likewise; for, they being of the Queen's Council, they speak of no other intent than of duty to her Majesty; and I cannot but marvel that men of your profession should upon any such occasion be so much distempered; for as concerning the matters which my brother Anderson hath alleged, they be but inducements to the point itself, and thereto everyone shall have his several answer.

Whereupon Campion, for himself and his companions, answered unto Mr. Anderson's speech as followeth :

Campion. The wisdom and providence of the laws of England, as I take it, is such as proceedeth not to the trial of any man for life and death by shifts of probabilities and conjectural surmises, without proof of the crime by sufficient evidence and substantial witness; for otherwise it had been very unequally provided that upon the descant and flourishes of affected speeches a man's life should be brought into danger and extremity, or that, upon the persuasion of any orator or vehement pleader without witness *viva voce* testifying the same, a man's offence should be judged or reputed mortal. If so, I see not to what end Mr. Serjeant's oration tended, or if I see an end, I see it but frustrate; for be the crime but in trifles, the law hath his passage; be the theft but of a half-penny, witnesses are produced; so that probabilities, aggravations, invectives, are not the balance wherein justice must be weighed, but witnesses, oaths, and apparent guiltiness. Whereto, then, appertaineth these objections of treason? He barely affirmeth; we flatly deny them. But let us examine them; how will they urge us? We fled our country; what of that? The Pope gave us entertainment; how then? We are Catholics; what is that to the purpose? We persuaded the people; what followeth? We are therefore traitors. We deny the sequel; this is no more necessary than if a sheep had been stolen, and to accuse me you should frame this reason: my parents are thieves, my companions suspected persons, myself an evil liver, and one that loveth *mutton*; therefore I stole the sheep. Who seeth not but these be odious circumstances to bring a man in hatred with the jury, and no necessary matter to conclude him guilty? Yea, but we seduced the Queen's subjects from their allegiance to her majesty! What can be more unlikely? We are dead men to the world, we only travelled for souls; we touched neither state nor policy, we had no such commission. Where was, then, our seducing? Nay, but we reconciled them to the Pope. Nay, then, what reconciliation can there be to him, since reconciliation is only due to God? This word soundeth not to a lawyer's usage, and therefore is wrested against us unaptly. The reconciliation that we endeavoured was only to God, and, as Peter saith, *reconciliamini Domino*. What resteth, then, against us? That we were privy to the rebellion in the North, instruments to Storie, ministers to Felton, partakers with Sanders. How so? forsooth, it must be presumed. Why, because we commended some, some we rejoiced at, concerning some we gave counsel and conference.

How appeareth that? By our own speeches, nothing less. God is our witness we never meant it, we dreamed it not. These matters ought to be proved and not urged, declared by evidence and not surmised by fancy. Notwithstanding it ought to be so, yet must all circumstances note us for traitors. Indeed, all yet that is laid against us be but bare circumstances, and no sufficient arguments to prove us traitors, in-somuch that we think ourselves somewhat hardly dealt with, that for want of proof we must answer to circumstances. Well, circumstances or other, as I remember, this was all; and if this were all, all this were nothing. Wherefore, in God's behalf, we pray that better proof may be used, and that our lives be not brought in prejudice by conjectures.

This answer, says Anthony Munday, was smoothly delivered, with coy looks and protestation of action, showing prompt and ingenious capacity; for he had won a marvellous goodly report to be such a man as his like was not to be found either for life, learning, or any quality that might beautify a man; and so in very quaint and familiar eloquent glosses he stood upon quirks and fine device of speech. I do not know that we could expect an enemy of that period to give higher praise than this. When the case was thus opened, the evidence for the prosecution was given in.

Queen's Counsel. It is the use of all seminary men, at the first entrance into their seminaries, to make two personal oaths,—the one unto a book called Bristow's motives for the fulfilling of all matters therein contained; the other unto the Pope, to be true to him and to his successors,³⁶⁸—of the which oaths there is neither but is traitorous; for how can a man be faithful to our State, and swear performance to those motives; a true liege to his sovereign, and swear fealty to the Pope, forasmuch as the one is quite contrary to our laws and government, the other the most mortal enemy her majesty hath?

Campion. What oaths seminary men do take at their first entrance, or whether Bristow's motives be repugnant to our laws or no, is not anything material to our indictment, for that we are neither seminary men nor sworn at our entrance to any such motives. But were it so that any seminary men stood here for trial, this matter could prove no great evidence against them, for that none are sworn to such articles as Bristow's but young striplings that be under tuition; whereas unto men of riper years and better grounded in points of religion (as most of England are before they pass the seas) that oath is never administered; and then many a study else flourisheth in Rome, wherein both seminary men and others are far better

employed than they otherwise could be in reading English pamphlets.

Kirbie. I think of my conscience there be not four books of those Bristow's Motives in all the seminaries.

Thereupon they all cried, that whereas they were indicted of treason, they feared lest under vizard of that they should be condemned of religion; and to prove that Campion framed a reason in manner following:

Campion. There was offer made unto us, that if we would come to the church to hear sermons and the word preached, we should be set at large and at liberty; so Pascall and Nicolls, otherwise as culpable in all offences as we, upon coming to the church and acceptance of that offer, were received to grace and had their pardon granted; whereas, if they had been so happy as to have persevered to the end, they had been partakers of our calamities. Wherefore, if liberty were offered to us on condition to come to church and hear sermons,—and that could we not do by professing our religion,—then, to change our religion and to become Protestants, that, forsooth, was that that should purchase us liberty. So that our religion was cause of our imprisonment, and, *ex consequenti*, of our condemnation.

Attorney-General Popham. All these matters at the time of Nicolls' enlargement were altogether unknown, and not once suspected; neither can we now conjecture that he was guilty of any such drift or purpose, in that he stood not, as you do, stubbornly in that religion which might be any cloak or colour of such treasons.

Queen's Counsel. All you jointly and severally have received money of the Pope to spend in your journeys. Some two hundred crowns, some more, some less, according to your degrees and conditions. Was such liberality of the Pope's without cause? No, it had an end; and what end should that be but by your privy inveighings and persuasions to set on foot his devices and treacheries?

Campion. We received of him according to the rate he thought best to bestow it. We saw neither cause why to refuse it, nor means how to come hither penniless; it was his liberality, it supplied our need. What would you have us do? We took it, was that treason? But it was to an end: I grant, had it been to no end, it had been in vain; and what end should that be? Marry, to preach the Gospel; no treachery, no such end was intended.

There was a witness produced, named H. Caddy or H. Caddocke, who deposed, generally, against them all, that being beyond the seas he heard of the holy vow made be-

tween the Pope and the English priests for the restoring and establishing of religion in England; for the which purpose two hundred priests should come into the realm, the which matter was declared to Sir Ralph Shelley, an English knight, and captain to the Pope, and that he should conduct an army into England, for the subduing of the realm unto the Pope, and the destroying the heretics. Whereto Sir Ralph made answer, that he would rather drink poison with Themistocles than see the overthrow of his country: and added further, that he thought the Catholics in England would first stand in arms against the Pope before they would join in such an enterprise.³⁶⁹

Queen's Counsel. The matter is flat: the holy vow was made, two hundred priests had their charge appointed, the captain-general was mentioned, our destruction purposed. If, then, we confer all likelihoods together, what is more apparent than that of those two hundred priests you made up a number,—and therefore be parties and privy to the treason?

Campion. Two hundred priests made an holy vow to labour for restoring of religion. It seemeth, by all likelihood, that we made up the number, and therefore privy and parties to the treason: here is a conclusion without any jot of affinity to the premisses; first, an holy vow, then an establishing of religion. What colour is there here left for treason? All the treason rehearsed was reputed to Sir Ralph Shelley; not one syllable thereof was referred to the priests. But granting, and which the witnesses have not deposed, and namely, that we are some of the two hundred priests; you see Sir Ralph Shelley, a Catholic, the Pope's captain, a layman, would rather drink poison than agree to such treason; it is like that priests, devotaries and dead men to the world, would in any wise consent unto it. This deposition is more for us than against us.

Then was order taken that every man's evidence should be particularly read against himself, and everyone to have his several answer; and first against Campion.

Queen's Counsel. About ten years since, you, Campion, were received into conference with the Cardinal of St. Cecilia concerning the Bull wherein Pius Quintus did excommunicate the Queen, the nobility, and commonalty of this realm; discharging such of them as were Papists from their obedience to her majesty, the which conference cannot otherwise be referred than to the putting in execution of the Bull; so that the Bull containing manifest treason, whereto you were privy, doth flat prove you a traitor.

Campion. You, men of the jury, I pray you listen. This concerneth me only, and thereto this I answer. True it is that at my first arrival into Rome (which is now about ten years past) it was my hap to have access to the said Cardinal, who, having some liking of me, would have been the means to prefer me to any place of service whereunto I should have most fancy; but I, being resolved what course to take, answered, that I meant not to serve any man, but to enter into the Society of Jesus, thereof to vow and to be professed. Then being demanded further, what opinion I had conceived of the Bull, I said it procured much severity in England, and the heavy hand of her Majesty against the Catholics. Whereunto the Cardinal replied, that he doubted not it should be mitigated in such sort as the Catholics should acknowledge her highness as their queen without danger of excommunication. And this was all the speech I had with the Cardinal, which can in nowise be construed as an offence, much less as the least point of treason.

Queen's Counsel. We can impute no more by your words than a mitigation of the Bull against the Catholics only; so that the principal, which was the excommunication of her Majesty, was still left in force, not detected by you, and therefore your privy thereto concludeth you a traitor.

Campion. My privy thereto enforceth not my consenting; nay, rather, it proved my disagreement, in that I said it procured much severity; and therefore, being here published before I could detect it (for who knew not that the Queen of England was excommunicated?), it excused my privy and exempted me from treason.

Queen's Counsel. You had conference with the Bishop of Ross, a professed papist and a mortal enemy to the state and crown of England; and to what end should any such communication be had, but for the practising of such treasons as had been conspired?

Campion. What the Bishop of Ross is, either for religion or affection, I think little pertinent to me, much less to this purpose; but as for the conference passed between him and me, I utterly deny that ever there was any, and therefore let that be proved.

The clerk of the crown read a letter sent from Dr. Allen unto Dr. Sanders in Ireland,³⁷⁰ wherein Allen showeth why the insurrection in the north prevailed not, was in two respects; either that God reserved England for a greater plague, or for that the Catholics in other places had not intelligence of the purpose; for otherwise that could not so badly have succeeded. In this letter, moreover, was contained, that —

feared the war as a child doth the rod, and that — at all times will be ready with 2000 to aid him.

Queen's Counsel. What an army and host of men the Pope, by the aid of the King of Spain and the Duke of Florence, had levied for the overthrow of this realm, the destruction of her Majesty, and the placing of the Scottish Queen as governess in England, could not any ways have escaped your knowledge; for being sent from Prague, where your abode was, to Rome, and then being by the Pope charged presently towards England, what other drift could this such a sudden ambassage pretend than the practising and execution of such a conspiracy? Whereof you are also the more to be suspected forasmuch as in your coming from Rome towards England you entered into a certain privy conference with Dr. Allen at Rheims, to whose letters above mentioned, touching the estate, it cannot be but by means of that conference you were privy, for the furtherance of which platforms and devices yourself came as procurator from the Pope and Dr. Allen to break these matters to the English papists, to withdraw the people from their due allegiance, and to prepare men ready to receive those foreign powers.

Campion. When I was first received into the Order of Jesuits, I vowed three things incident to my calling—chastity, poverty, and obedience: chastity, in abstaining from all fleshly appetites and concupiscences; poverty, in despising all worldly wealth, living upon the devotion of others; obedience, in dutifully executing the commandments of my superiors. In respect of which vow enjoining obedience, I came, being sent for, from Prague to Rome, having not so much as the smallest inkling of those supposed armies, nor the least inclination to put any such thing in practice; but there rested for eight days attending the pleasure of my provost, who at last, according to my vow (which, by the grace of God, I will in no case violate), appointed me to undertake this journey into England, the which accordingly I enterprised, being commanded thereto, not as a traitor to conspire the subversion of my country, but as a priest to minister the sacraments and to hear confessions; the which ambassage I protest before God I would as gladly have executed, and was as ready and willing to discharge, had I been sent to the Indians or uttermost regions in the world, as I was being sent into my native country. In the which voyage I cannot deny but that I dined with Dr. Allen at Rheims, with whom also after dinner I walked in his garden, spending a time in speeches referred to our old familiarity and acquaintance; during the whole course thereof (I take God to witness) not one jot of our talk

glanced to the crown or state of England; neither had I the least notice of any letters sent to Sanders, nor the smallest glimmering of these objected platforms. Then, as for being procurator from the Pope and Dr. Allen, I must needs say there could no one thing have been inferred more contrary; for as concerning the one, he flatly with charge and commandment excused me from matters of state and regiment; the other I owed no such duty and obedience unto as to execute matters repugnant to my charge. But admitting (as I protest he did not) that Dr. Allen had communicated such affairs unto me, yet for that he was not my superior, it would have been full apostasy in me to obey him. Dr. Allen, for his learning and good religion, I reverence; but neither was I his subject or inferior, nor he the man at whose commandment I rested.

Queen's Counsel. Were it not that your dealing afterwards had fully bewrayed you, your present speech had been more credible; but all afterclaps make those excuses but shadows, and your deeds and actions prove your words but forged; for what meaning had that changing of your name? whereto belonged your disguising in apparel? Can these alterations be wrought without suspicion? Your name being Campion, why were you called Hastings? You a priest and dead to the world, what pleasure had you to royst it? A velvet hat and a feather, a buff leather jerkin, velvet venetians,—are they weeds for dead men? Can that beseem a professed man of religion which hardly becometh a layman of gravity? No, there was a further matter intended; your lurking and lying hid in secret places concludeth with the rest a mischievous meaning. Had you come hither for love of your country, you would never have wrought a hugger-mugger; had your intent been to have done well, you would never have hated the light; and therefore this budging deciphereth your treason.

Campion. At what time the primitive Church was persecuted, and that Paul laboured in the propagation and increase of the Gospel, it is not unknown to what straits and pinches he and his fellows were diversely driven; wherein, though in purpose he were already resolved rather to yield himself to martyrdom than to shrink an inch from the truth which he preached, yet if any hope or means appeared to escape, and that living he might benefit the Church more than dying, we read of sundry shifts whereto he betook him to increase God's number and to shun persecution; but especially the changing of his name was very oft and familiar, whereby, as opportunity and occasion was ministered, he termed himself now Paul, now Saul; neither was he of opinion always to be known, but

sometimes thought it expedient to be hidden, lest being discovered, persecution should ensue, and thereby the Gospel greatly forestalled. Such was his meaning, so was his purpose, when, being in durance for points of religion, he secretly stole out of prison in a basket. If these shifts were then approved in Paul, why are they now reprov'd in me?—he an Apostle, I a Jesuit. Were they commended in him, are they condemned in me? The same cause was common to us both; and shall the effect be peculiar to the one? I wished earnestly the planting of the Gospel; I knew a contrary religion professed; I saw if I were known I should be apprehended; I changed my name; I kept secretly; I imitated Paul. Was I therein a traitor? But the wearing of a buff jerkin, a velvet hat, and such like, is much forced against me, as though the wearing of any apparel were treason, or that I in so doing were ever the more a traitor. I am not indicted upon the Statute of Apparel, neither is it any part of this present argument; indeed, I acknowledge an offence to Godwards for so doing, and thereof it did grievously repent me, and therefore do now penance as you see me. (He was newly shaven, in a rug-gown, and a great black nightcap covering half his face.)

The clerk of the crown read a letter sent from Campion unto one Pound, a Catholic, part of the contents whereof was this: "It grieveth me much to have offended the Catholic cause so highly as to confess the names of some gentlemen and friends in whose houses I had been entertained; yet in this I greatly cherish and comfort myself that I never discovered any secrets there declared, and that I will not, come rack, come rope."

Queen's Counsel. What can sound more suspiciously or nearer unto treason than this letter? It grieveth him to have bewrayed his favourers the Catholics; and therein he thinketh to have wrought prejudice to religion. What, then, may we think of that he concealeth? It must needs be some grievous matter, and very pernicious, that neither the rack nor the rope can wring from him. For his conscience being not called in question, nor sifted in any point of religion, no doubt if there had not been further devices intended, and affairs of the state and the commonwealth attempted, we should as well have discovered the matter as the person; wherefore it were well these hidden secrets were revealed, and then would appear the very face of these treasons.

Campion. As I am by profession and calling a priest, so I have singly vowed all conditions and covenants to such a charge and vocation belonging, whereby I sustain one office and duty of priesthood that consisteth in shriving and hearing

confessions, in respect whereof, at my first consecration (as all other priests so accepted must do) I solemnly took and vowed to God never to disclose any secrets confessed; the force and effect of which vow is such as whereby every priest is bound and endangered, under pain of perpetual curse and damnation, never to disclose any offence opened nor infirmity whatsoever committed to his hearing. By virtue of this profession, and due execution of my priesthood, I was occasioned to be privy unto divers men's secrets, and those not such as concerned state or commonwealth, whereunto my authority was not extended, but such as surcharged the grieved soul and conscience, whereof I had power to pray for absolution. These were the hidden matters, these were the secrets, in concealing of which I so greatly rejoiced, to the revealing whereof I cannot nor will not be brought, come rack, come rope.

Thereupon the clerk of the crown read certain papers containing in them oaths to be administered to the people for the renouncing their obedience to her Majesty, and the swearing of allegiance to the Pope, acknowledging him for their supreme head and governor; the which papers were found in divers houses where *Campion* had lurked, and for religion been entertained.

Queen's Counsel. What can be more apparent than this? These oaths, if we went no further, are of themselves sufficient to convince you of treason; for what may be imagined more traitorous than to alien the hearts of the subjects from her Majesty, renouncing their obedience to her, and swearing their subjection to the Pope? And therefore these papers thus found in houses where you were do clearly prove that for ministering such oaths you are a traitor.

Campion. Neither is there, neither can there be anything imagined more directly contrary or repugnant to my calling than upon any occasion to minister an oath; neither had I any power or authority so to do; neither would I commit an offence so thwart to my profession for all the substance and treasure in the world. But, admit I were authorised, what necessity importeth that reason, that neither being set down by my handwriting nor otherwise derived by any proof from myself, but only found in places where I resorted, therefore I should be he by whom they were ministered? This is but a naked presumption (who seeth it not?), and nothing vehement nor of force against me.

Anderson. It could not otherwise be intended but that you ministered these oaths; and that being found behind you, it was you that left them. For if a poor man and a rich man come both to one house, and that after their departure a bag

of gold be found hidden, forasmuch as the poor man had no such plenty, and therefore could leave no such bag behind him, by common presumption it is to be intended that the rich man only, and no other, did hide the bag. So you, a professed Papist, coming to a house, and then such reliques found after your departure, how can it otherwise be implied but that you did both bring them and leave them there? So it is flat they came there by means of a Papist, *ergo* by your means.

Campion. Your conclusion had been necessary if you had also showed that none came into the house of my profession but I; but there you urge your conclusion before you frame your minor, whereby your reason is imperfect; *ergo* it proveth not.

Anderson. If here, as you do in schools, you bring in your minor and conclusion,³⁷¹ you will prove yourself but a fool: but minor or conclusion, I will bring it to purpose anon.

Queen's Counsel. You refuse to swear to the supremacy, a notorious token of an evil willer to the crown, insomuch as, being demanded by the commissioners whether the Bull wherein Pius Quintus had excommunicated her Majesty were in your opinion of force, and the excommunication of effect or no, you would answer nothing but that these were bloody questions, and that they which sought these sought your life: also resembling the commissioners unto the Pharisees, who to entrap Christ propounded a dilemma, whether tribute were to be paid to Cæsar or no; so that in your examination you would come to no issue, but sought your evasions and made answers aloof, which vehemently argueth a guiltiness of conscience, in that the truth would never have sought corners.

The two commissioners, Mr. Norton and Mr. Hamon, were present, and verified the matter as the Queen's Counsel had urged.

Campion. Not long since it pleased her Majesty to demand of me whether I did acknowledge her to be my queen or no. I answered, that I did acknowledge her highness not only as my queen, but also as my most lawful governess; and being further required of her Majesty whether I thought the Pope might lawfully excommunicate her or no, I answered, I confess myself an insufficient umpire between her Majesty and the Pope for so high a controversy, whereof neither the certainty is as yet known, nor the best divines in Christendom stand fully resolved. Albeit I thought that if the Pope should do it, yet it might be insufficient; for it is agreed, *clavis errare potest*; but the divines of the Catholic Church do distinguish of the Pope's authority, attributing unto him *ordinatam et inordinatam potes-*

tatem : ordinatam, whereby he proceedeth in matters merely spiritual and pertinent to the Church, and by that he cannot excommunicate any prince or potentate; *inordinatam*, when he passeth by order of law, as by appeals and such like, and so, some think, he may excommunicate and depose princes. The self-same articles were required of me by the commissioners, but much more urged to the point of supremacy, and to further supposals than I could think of. I said, indeed, they were bloody questions, and very pharisaical, undermining of my life; whereunto I answered as Christ did to the dilemma, "Give unto Cæsar that which is due to Cæsar, and to God that to God belongeth." I acknowledged her highness as my governess and sovereign; I acknowledged her majesty both *facto et jure* to be queen; I confessed an obedience due to the crown as to my temporal head and primate. This I said then, so I say now. If, then, I failed in aught, I am now ready to supply it. What would you more? I will willingly pay to her majesty what is hers, yet I must pay to God what is his. Then, as for excommunicating her majesty, it was exacted of me—admitting that excommunication were of effect, and that the Pope had sufficient authority so to do—whether then I thought myself discharged of my allegiance or no? I said this was a dangerous question, and they that demanded this demanded my blood. Admitting—why admitting? *ex-admissis et concessis quid non sequitur*—if I would admit his authority, and then he should excommunicate her, I would then do as God should give me grace; but I never admitted any such matter, neither ought I to be wrested with any such suppositions. What then, say they, because I would not answer flatly to that which I could not, forsooth I sought corners; mine answers were aloof. Well, since once more it must needs be answered, I say generally that these matters be merely spiritual points of doctrine and disputable in schools, no part of mine indictment, not to be given in evidence, and unfit to be discussed at the King's Bench. To conclude: they are no matters of fact; they be not in the trial of the country; the jury ought not to take any notice of them; for although I doubt not but they are very discreet men and trained up in great use and experience of controversies and debates pertinent to their callings, yet are they laymen, they are temporal, and unfit judges to decide so deep a question.

Elliot, a witness, deposed against *Campion* that he made a sermon in Berkshire, his text being of Christ weeping over Jerusalem, wherein *Campion* showed many vices and enormities here abounding in England, and namely heresies, where-with he was sorry that his countrymen were so blinded; but

hoped shortly there would hap a day of change comfortable to the Catholics, now shaken and dispersed, and terrible to the heretics here flourishing in the land. Elliot added that in his sermon Campion had persuaded his audience to obedience to the Pope; but on being urged by Campion he confessed that he did not remember the Pope being named once in the sermon.³⁷²

Queen's Counsel. Lo, what would you wish more manifest? The great day is threatened, comfortable to them, and terrible to us; and what day should that be but that wherein the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Florence have appointed to invade this realm?

Campion. O Judas, Judas! No other day was in my mind, I protest, than that wherein it should please God to make a restitution of faith and religion. For as in all other Christian commonwealths, so in England, many vices and iniquities do abound, neither is there any realm so godly, no people so devout, nowhere so religious, but that in the same very places many enormities do flourish, and evil men bear sway and regiment. Whereupon, as in every pulpit every Protestant doth, I pronounced a great day, not wherein any temporal potentate should minister, but wherein the terrible Judge should reveal all men's consciences, and try every man of each kind of religion. This is the day of change, this is the great day which I threatened; comfortable to the well-believing, and terrible to all heretics. Any other day than this, God he knows I meant not.

Munday, a witness, deposed that he heard the Englishmen, as the doctors and others, talk and conspire of these treasons against England, and that Campion and others afterwards had conference with Dr. Allen.

Campion. Here is nothing deposed against me directly; and as for my conference with Dr. Allen, it hath appeared when and what it was.

Evidence was next given against Sherwin, who before the commissioners had refused to swear to the supremacy, neither would answer plainly what he thought of the Pope's Bull, but confessed that his coming into England was to persuade the people to the Catholic religion.

Queen's Counsel. You well knew that it was not lawful for you to persuade the Queen's subjects to any other religion than by her highness's injunctions is already professed; and therefore, if there had not been a further matter in your meaning, you would have kept your conscience to yourself, and yourself where you were.

Sherwin. We read that the Apostles and Fathers in the

primitive Church have taught and preached in the dominions and empires of ethnic and heathen rulers, and yet not deemed worthy of death. The sufferance, and perhaps the like toleration, I well hope for in such a commonwealth as where open Christianity and godliness is pretended; and albeit in such a diversity of religion it was to be feared lest I might not discharge my conscience without fear of danger, yet ought I not therefore to surcease in my functions, although that conscience is very wavering and unsteady, which with fear of danger draweth from duty.

One of the Justices. But your case differeth from theirs in the primitive Church, for that those Apostles and preachers never conspired the death of those emperors and rulers in whose dominions they so taught and preached.

The clerk of the crown read a letter, which showed that, by the fireside in the English seminary beyond the seas, Sherwin should say that if he were in England he could compass many things, and that there was one Arundell in Cornwall, who at an instant could levy a great power; and that if an army were to be sent into England, the best landing would be at St. Michael's Mount.

Sherwin. I never spake any such matter, God is my record; neither was it ever the least part of my meaning.

Bosgrave's opinion was read, wherein he had denied the supremacy, and staggered without any perfect answer to the Bull; but said that he came into England to persuade and teach, acknowledging her Majesty his queen and temporal head. In the which examination he confessed that beyond the seas he heard^d it reported how the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Florence, would send a great army into England to deprive the Queen's majesty both of life and dignity, for the restitution of the Catholic religion.

Queen's Counsel. The keeping close and not detecting of treason maketh the hearer of it to become a traitor; and therefore, inasmuch as you concealed what you heard, and made not information of it to her Majesty, the council, nor the commonwealth of this realm, you became thereby privy and party unto it, and therefore in these respects you are a traitor.

Bosgrave. What! am I a traitor because I heard it spoken?

But Campion, perceiving Bosgrave merely daunted with the matter, spake to excuse him in manner as followeth:

Campion. My lord, it is not unknown to your honour how brittle and slippery ground fame and reports are wont to be built on; the which, as for the most part they are more false than credible, so ought they always to make men wary and fearful to deal with them, insomuch as the broacher of ru-

mours and news is he that getteth commonly least credit or thanks for his labour. The cause is the property and nature of fame, which is never but uncertain, and sometimes but forged; for who findeth it not by daily experience, how that in every city, every village, yea and in most barbers' shops, in all England, many speeches, both of estates and commonwealths be tossed, which were never meant nor determined of in the court. If it be so in England, shall we not look for the like in Italy, Flanders, France, and Spain? Yes, truly; for though the countries do differ, yet the nature of the men remaineth the same, namely, always desirous and greedy of news. Many things there be diversely reported and diversely canvassed by the common sort, which were never intended by the bearers of rule and principality. Were it not, then, a great point of credulity for a man divided from England with a many seas and lands, upon a matter only blazed among the vulgar people, either by journey or letter to certify the Queen's council or commonalty of things never purposed, much less put in practice? I rather think Mr. Bosgrave's discretion to have been greater in passing such dangerous occasions with themselves, than otherwise it had been in using means to bewray them. But, supposing he had done as you would have had him, and what he heard there he had signified here, what had come of it? Marry, then, greater danger for slandering the realm, and how little thanks for his false information! So that, if he would deal either wisely or safely, how could he deal better than to do as he did?

Attorney-General. There is no cloth so coarse but Campion can cast a colour upon it. But what, was it not Bosgrave's own confession that he arrived into England to teach and persuade the people, and what persuasions should they be but to prepare a readiness for these wars?

Campion. These be but faint and bare implications, which move but urge not, affirm but prove not; whereas you ought not to amplify and gather upon words when a matter concerneth and toucheth a man's life.

Cottam, in his examination, would neither agree to the supremacy, nor answer directly concerning the Pope's authority.

Queen's Counsel. You came into England at or near the time that the rest came; so that it must needs be intended a match made between you, for the furtherance of those affairs which were then a-brewing; and how answer you thereunto?

Cottam. It was neither my purpose nor my message to come into England; neither would I have come had not God otherwise driven me; for my journey was appointed to the

Indians, and thither had I gone had my health been thereto answerable; but in the meanwhiles it pleased God to visit me with sickness, and being counselled by the physicians for my health's sake to come into England,—for otherways, as they said, either remaining there or going elsewhere, I should not recover it,—I came upon that occasion, and upon no other, into this realm.

Campion. Indeed, the physicians in Rome do hold for a certainty that, if an Englishman shall fall sick amongst them, there is no better nor scant any other way for his health than to repair into England, there to take his natural air, which agreeth best with his complexion.

Cottam. And that only was the cause of my coming, and not any determinate intent either to persuade or dissuade, being otherwise by my provost charged to the Indians. Neither, after my arrival here, did I hide myself, nor dealt otherwise than might beseem any man that meddled no more than I did. I lay for the most part in Southwark; I walked daily in Paul's; I refrained no place, which betokened my innocency.

Queen's Counsel. Did you neither persuade nor dissuade? Was there not a book found in your budget, the contents whereof tended to no other purpose? the which book was made by one D'Espignata, entitled *Tractatus Conscientiæ*, containing certain answers to the supremacy, and how sophistically to frustrate any kinds of demands; with a further method how you ought to demean yourself in every sort of company, whether it were of Protestants or Puritans, and what speeches you should use to convert them both; as unto the Protestants highly commending them and showing that they are far nearer the right way than the Puritans, and whom you should utterly dispraise unto the Puritans; likewise in commending the Protestants and persuading them to the obedience of the Pope. To what end, then, should you carry this book about you, if you were not purposed to do as it prescribeth?

Cottam. I protest before God I knew nothing of that book, neither how nor when it came to me.

Then *Campion*, seeing him driven to so narrow an exigent as to deny that which was manifest, answered for him to this effect following:

Campion. Many casualties and events may happen whereby a man may be endangered ere he be ware by the carrying of a thing he knoweth not, as either the malice of others that privily convey it amongst other his provisions, or his own negligence or oversight which marked not attentively what he took with him; whereof both are to be judged errors, yet not

deemed an offence; and therefore this cannot be maintained to be done by Mr. Cottam on purpose which we see flatly to be out of his knowledge. But suppose that purposely he brought the book with him, yet what can that make against him for treason? It treateth of conscience; it toucheth good demeanour; it showeth how to make the unbelieving faithful: matters wholly spiritual, points of edification, preparing to Godwards; where is, then, the treason? But were these reasons impertinent, yet it is a custom with all students beyond the seas, when any man learned or well thought of draweth a treatise touching either conscience or good behaviour, to copy it out and to carry it about with them, not thereby aiming at any faction or conspiracy, but for their own proper knowledge and private instruction.

Johnson would neither grant to the supremacy, neither yield any resolute opinion of the Pope's authority in his Bull and excommunication.

Elliot, a witness, deposed against Johnson, that at Christ's Nativity come two years, being at my Lady Peter's house, he fell into acquaintance with one Pain, a priest, that exercised the office of a steward in the house, who by reason that he was appointed to be his bedfellow grew into a further familiarity with him, insomuch that at length he ventured to dissuade him from his allegiance to her Majesty and to become subject to the Pope; affirming that her highness could not live for ever, and that shortly after her days the Catholic religion should be restored; for the furtherance whereof the Catholics beyond seas had already devised a practice, which is this: that fifty of them (whereof either should know other) should come to the court furnished with privy coats, poggets, daggs, and two-handed swords, attending until her Majesty should take the air or go on some petty progress, and then some of them should set upon her Majesty, some upon the lord-treasurer, some upon the Earl of Leicester, some upon Sir Francis Walsingham, and others upon others the favourers of this heretical religion, there to kill her Majesty and to tie her by the hair of the head unto a horse, to be lugged and haled up and down to the joy of all Catholics and distress of all heretics; of the which, so Pain offered this deponent, if he would he should be one, adding further, that if he had place and opportunity convenient, he should stab her Majesty with a dagger himself, for he thought it no more unlawful to kill her than to kill a horned beast. After which communication, Pain, finding this deponent not so conformable unto him as he hoped, and receiving a bitter and flat refusal of his ungracious proffer, conveyed himself away, and was no more to

be heard of. Whereupon this Johnson, now arrived, came to the deponent, and inquired what was become of Pain, to whom he answered that he knew not. Then said Johnson, "he is gone beyond the seas, fearing lest you would discover his secrets; and therefore I forewarn and conjure you not to disclose anything that Pain hath told you; for if you do you stand in state of damnation."

Johnson. I never in my life had any such talk with him, nor uttered any such speeches tending to any such matter.

Bristow's examination was read, wherein he had acknowledged her Majesty his lawful queen and governess, and that notwithstanding aught that the Pope had done or could do, she was his supreme head.

Queen's Counsel. What was, then, the cause of your coming into this realm? for it seemeth by your sudden arrival and journeying with the rest that you were also a party and furtherer of their purpose.

Bristow. I have to my mother a poor widow, who besides had one other son, with the company of whom during his life she was well appayed; but it pleased God afterwards to dispose him at His mercy, and to deprive my mother of his further succour. She, taking the matter very heavily, used what means she could possibly for my return. She sent letters after letters, and those so importunate, that, will I nill I, I must needs come home; the which was the only cause of my arrival, and not any other, God is my witness.

Anthony Munday deposed against Bristow, that he should say he was cunning in fireworks, and that shortly he would make a confection of wildfire, wherewith he would burn her Majesty when she were on the Thames in her barge; and the deponent swore further, that he heard it spoken beyond the seas that whosoever had not the watchword, which was "Jesus Maria," should be slain.

Bristow. I call God to witness I never suffered such thoughts, nor never had any such cunning in fireworks; and therefore he sweareth the greatest untruth that may be.

Kirbie, in his examination for the supremacy and the Pope's authority, was of no other opinion than was Campion.

Sledd, a witness, deposed against Kirbie, that being sick beyond the seas, this Kirbie came unto his bedside and counselled him to beware how he dealt with any matters in England; for there would come a great day wherein the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Florence should make as great an alteration as ever was. He deposed that Kirbie was at a sermon of Dr. Allen's, who then persuaded the priests and seminary men to take their journey into England, to remove

the Englishmen from their obedience to her highness, and to persuade them to aid the Pope and his confederates. He deposed, moreover, that beyond the seas he spake with one Tedder, a familiar friend of Kirbie's, of whom he, deponent, demanded whether he were of kin to her Majesty, for that his name was Tedder; whereunto he answered that if he knew himself to be kin to that Whore of Babylon, that Jezebel of England, he would think the worse of himself as long as he lived; but one day he would make a journey into England, and, if it were possible, despatch her out of the way.

Kirbie. As I hope to be saved at the last doom, there is not one word of this deposition that concerneth me either true or credible; neither at any time made I the least mention of that alleged day; neither was I present at any sermon so preached; but I always bore as true and faithful heart to her Majesty as any subject whatsoever did in England, insomuch that I never heard her Majesty evil spoken of but I defended her cause, and always spake the best of her highness. It is not unknown that I saved English mariners from hanging only for the duty I bore to her Majesty, with the love and goodwill which I bore to my country. But you that have thus deposed, when was then this sermon that you talk of so preached? at what time of the day?

The witness answered that the same day there were three philosophical disputations, after the which the sermon was preached.

Orton would neither agree to the supremacy, or openly affirm what authority the Pope had, nor whether he thought the excommunication of Pope Pius V. to be of force or no.

Anthony Munday deposed against Orton, that he being at Lyons in France, said unto this deponent, that her Majesty was not lawful queen of England, and that he owed her no kind of obedience. The deponent said further that this Orton made suit unto Dr. Allen that he might be one of the Pope's pensioners, whereunto Dr. Allen would not agree unless Orton would become a priest or seminary man, which he refused.

Orton. I utterly deny that I ever had any speech with the witness, either at Lyons or elsewhere; but he manifestly forsweareth himself, as one that having neither honesty nor religion, careth for neither.

The same all the parties did affirm, and that he was an atheist; for that beyond the seas he goeth on pilgrimage, and receiveth the sacrament, making himself a Catholic, and here he taketh a new face, and playeth the Protestant; and therefore is an unfit and unworthy witness to give in evidence or to depose against life.

Munday, the witness, answered, that in France and other places he seemed to favour their religion, because he might thereby undermine them and sift out their purposes. The prisoners took exceptions to another of the witnesses, which of them I know not, for that he was a murderer (and had slain two men), already well known by his own confession and acknowledgment; for the which reason he was no sufficient nor allowable witness.

These matters thus sifted, and that the jury should pass, one of the justices said to the jurors, All the matter resteth in that, either to believe the prisoners that speak for their lives, or the witnesses that come freely to depose as they are demanded: the witnesses affirm sufficient proof against them; they deny whatsoever is alleged.

Lord Chief-Justice. You that be here indicted, you see what is alleged against you. In discharge whereof, if you have any more to say, speak, and we will hear you till to-morrow morning. We would be loth you should have any occasion to complain on the court; and therefore, if aught rest behind that is untold, that is available for you, speak, and you shall be heard with indifference.

They all thanked his lordship, and said they could not otherwise affirm but that they had found of the court both indifference and justice. Whereupon *Campion* made this speech to the jurors:

Campion. What charge this day you sustain, and what accompt you are to render at the dreadful Day of Judgment, whereof I could wish this also were a mirror, I trust there is not one of you but knoweth. I doubt not but in like manner you forecast how dear the innocent is to God, and at what price He holdeth man's blood. Here we are accused and impleaded to the death; here you do receive our lives into your custody; here must be your choice, either to restore them or condemn them. We have no whither to appeal but to your consciences; we have no friends to make there but your heeds and discretions. Take heed, I beseech you, let no colours nor inducements deceive you; let your ground be substantial, for your building is weighty. All this you may do sufficiently, we doubt not, if you will mark intently what things have been treated, in three distinct and several points. The speech and discourse of this whole day consisteth, first, in presumptions and probabilities; secondly, in matters of religion; lastly, in oaths and testimonies of witnesses. The weak and forceless proof that proceedeth from conjectures is neither worthy to carry the verdict of so many, nor sufficient evidence for trial of man's life. The constitutions of the realm exact a necessity,

and will that no man should totter upon the hazard of likelihoods; and albeit the strongest reasons of our accusers have been but in bare and naked probabilities, yet are they no matters for you to rely upon, who ought only to regard what is apparent. Set circumstances aside, set presumptions apart, set that reason for your rule which is warranted for certainty. But probabilities were not the only matters which impertinently have been discussed; there were also points of doctrine and religion, as excommunications, books, and pamphlets, wherein a great part of the day hath been as unfitly consumed. Insomuch as this very day you have heard not only us, but also the Pope, the King of Spain, the Duke of Florence, Allen, Sanders, Bristow, Espigneta, and many more arraigned. What force excommunications be of, what authority is due to the Bishop of Rome, how men's consciences must be instructed, are no matters of fact, nor triable by jurors, but points yet disputed and not resolved in schools; how then can they be determined by you, though wise, laymen otherwise experienced, yet herein ignorant? Yet were it so, that for your knowledge and skill in divinity ye might seem approved censurers of so high a controversy, yet are they no part of all our indictments, and therefore not to be respected by the jury. You perchance would ask of me, If these prove naught against us, what then should you inquire of; for those set aside, the rest is almost nothing? Pardon me, I pray you, our innocency is such, that if all were cut off that have been objected either weakly or untruly against us, there would indeed rest nothing that might prove us guilty; but I answer unto you, that what remaineth be oaths, and those not to rest as proofs unto you, but to be duly examined and fully considered, whether they be true and their deposers of credit. In common matters we often see witnesses impealed, and if at any time their credit be little, it ought then to be less when they swear against life. Call, I pray you, to your remembrance how faintly some have deposed, how coldly others, how untruly the rest; especially two who have testified most. What truth may you expect from their mouths? the one hath confessed himself a murderer, the other well known a detestable atheist—a profane heathen—a destroyer of two men already. On your consciences, would you believe them—they that have betrayed both God and man, nay, that have left nothing to swear by, neither religion nor honesty? Though you would believe them, can you? I know your wisdom is greater, your consciences uprighter; esteem of them as they be. Examine the other two, you shall find neither of them precisely to affirm that we or any of us have practised aught that might

be prejudicial to this estate, or dangerous to this commonwealth. God give you grace to weigh our causes aright, and have respect to your own consciences; and so I will keep the jury no longer. I commit the rest to God, and our convictions to your good discretions.

After this the jury considered of their verdict; and then there happened a thing which Parsons, whose eyes, like those of all the other Catholics of the time, were ever on the watch for supernatural events, relates as a miracle. Judge Ayloff was "sitting to keep the place when the other judges retired, while the jury consulted about the condemnation of Father Campion and his company, and pulling off his glove, found all his hand and his seal of arms bloody, without any token of wrong, pricking, or hurt; and being dismayed therewith, wiping, it went not away, but still returned; he showed it to the gentlemen that sat before him, who can be witnesses of it till this day, and have some of them upon their faiths and credits avouched it to be true."

The pleadings had taken about three hours, and the jury consulted for nearly an hour before they agreed on their verdict. In this interval some one brought Campion a glass of beer to refresh him after his labours. The greater part of the lawyers and gentlemen present thought an acquittal was certain, at least for Campion; "but judges and jury," says Laing, "had all been bought; and the desire to gratify Cæsar prevailed;" Mr. Popham, the attorney-general, having plainly signified to them what the Queen's will was. Edward Plowden, the famous lawyer, himself a Catholic, had come with the rest to see the trial; but one of the judges, not liking that he should report it, or even witness it, sent word to him to leave the court. As he was himself in question for religion, he thought it prudent to obey. One of the jurymen, according to Laing, afterwards excused himself by saying that if he had not found the prisoners guilty, he had been no friend of Cæsar's. The consultation, then, was a mere blind to put a decent veil on a foregone conclusion; but it did not avail to deceive the public, who in their ballads accused the jury of undue haste:

"They pack'd a jury that cried guilty straight."

"You bloody jury, Lee and all th' eleven,
Take heed your verdict, which was given in haste,
Do not exclude you from the joys of heaven."

And Lee himself, in 1595, being once more "a prisoner restrained from bodily travel," wrote to Lord Keeper Pucker-

ing, "I have been persecuted by them" (the Papists) "for my verdict, given in haste, as Vallenger rhymed, against Campion and his traitorous companions." When they returned they pronounced all to be guilty. "The most unjust verdict," says the old writer whom Challoner follows, "that ever I think was given was given up in this land; whereat already (1582) not only England but all the Christian world doth wonder, and which our posterity shall lament and be ashamed of." When the verdict was given, Anderson said, "Forasmuch as these prisoners here indicted and arraigned undertook to be tried by God and their country, and by the verdict of a whole jury, directly and by most sufficient and manifest evidence, are found guilty of the said treasons and conspiracies, we pray your lordships to accept of the verdict, and in her majesty's behalf to give judgment against them as traitors."

Lord Chief-Justice. Campion and the rest, what can you say why you should not die?

Campion. It was not our death that ever we feared. But we knew that we were not lords of our own lives, and therefore for want of answer would not be guilty of our own deaths. The only thing that we have now to say is, that if our religion do make us traitors, we are worthy to be condemned; but otherwise are and have been as true subjects as ever the Queen had. In condemning us you condemn all your own ancestors—all the ancient priests, bishops, and kings—all that was once the glory of England, the island of saints, and the most devoted child of the See of Peter. For what have we taught, however you may qualify it with the odious name of treason, that they did not uniformly teach? To be condemned with these old lights—not of England only, but of the world—by their degenerate descendants, is both gladness and glory to us. God lives; posterity will live: their judgment is not so liable to corruption as that of those who are now going to sentence us to death.

Never, says Fitzherbert, was Campion's face more noble; his conduct during the day had been full of calmness and dignity, and his arguments of point and conclusiveness; but in this last speech he surpassed himself. His eloquence made his fellow-prisoners forget the fate that hung over them; and Cottam, on his return to the Tower, told Briscoe that now he was quite willing to die, after hearing Campion speak so gloriously.

Lord Chief-Justice. You must go to the place from whence you came, there to remain until ye shall be drawn through the open city of London upon hurdles to the place of execution, and there be hanged and let down alive, and your privy

parts cut off, and your entrails taken out and burnt in your sight; then your heads to be cut off, and your bodies to be divided in four parts, to be disposed of at her Majesty's pleasure. And God have mercy on your souls.

All the prisoners, says the reporter of the trial, after this judgment, stormed in countenance, crying, they were as true and faithful subjects as ever the Queen had any. Only Campion suppressed his affection, and cried aloud, "Te Deum laudamus, Te Dominum confitemur." Sherwin took up the song, "Hæc est dies quam fecit Dominus, exultemus et lætemur in illâ;" and the rest expressed their contentment and joy, some in one phrase of Scripture, some in another; whereby the multitudes in the hall were visibly astonished and affected. Campion was taken to the barge, and rowed back to the Tower; and the rest were sent back to their own prisons, where, being laid up in irons for the rest of their time, they expected God's mercy and the Queen's pleasure.

The next day, the remaining priests—Collington, Richardson, Hart, Ford, Filby, Briant, and Shert—were similarly condemned. But on this occasion, after the verdict was given, one Mr. Lancaster witnessed that he was in company with Collington in Gray's-inn the very day that he was charged with plotting at Rheims, where indeed he had never been in his life, as he had been sent from Douai. He was afterwards banished, and lived to be the first dean of the English chapter erected by the Bishop of Chalcedon.

Among the spectators there was a priest named Nicholson, who, seeing the success of Lancaster's testimony about Collington, and being able to give similar witness about Ford, offered his evidence; but he was apprehended by the judge's order, and sent to prison, where he was well-nigh starved to death.

Father Parsons' commentary on this assize is as follows:³⁷³ "The chief charge was, that they had conspired with the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Florence to invade England; their chief accusers were three young men who had been sometime at Rome—Munday, Sledd, and Caddy—whose age and condition were such as would have been an effectual bar against any such thing being communicated to them if it had been true. But the answers of the prisoners, their deeds, and the event itself, proved that no such action was thought of: and the three men acted exactly as false witnesses do, confining themselves to generalities, or to things which had no reference to the accusation; for instance, that the Pope had favoured them, that some of them had had conversations with certain cardinals, and the like. All this

showed that it was either for fear or for money that they appeared as witnesses. It seemed, however, a predetermined matter that all were to be condemned; and so no defence could avail, but after some hours of altercation sentence of death was passed upon all of them."

Cradock or Caddy hardly seems to be the Lawrence Caddy whose *palinodia* is published with those of Nichols, Baines, and Osburn in Bridgewater; for that Caddy, like Nichols, expressly disclaims having appeared as witness against the martyrs, or indeed of having harmed them at all. The information he had is confused and only founded on fact. He talks of the "holy vow" between the Pope and the English priests. This clearly refers to the Irish invasion, of which the general of the Jesuits had told the Bishop of Glasgow, and which the Pope had approved of, ordering it to be called *la sacrée expédition*. That the Pope intended the great mission of priests into England to subserve the purposes of this invasion there can be little doubt; but there is not the least evidence that this purpose was known to any of the priests except Parsons and Holt; indeed, as such knowledge would only be an incumbrance to them, they would naturally be kept in ignorance of it, especially since the opinion in Rome was that all Catholics would naturally take the Pope's part when it came to war. Caddy, then, may have been right in saying that two hundred priests were to be sent into England. His examination before Sir Richard Shelly is very probable, as the Prior and Bishop Goldwell seem to have been employed in investigating the characters of the Englishmen who arrived in Rome in 1579 and 1580.³⁷⁴ His information about the command of the army having been offered to Sir R. Shelly is probably correct. Negotiations were pending with the Knights of Malta for the transference of their order into Ireland; and though they did not agree to the whole proposal, yet they promised in 1581 to send some of their best men to that country. That Sir R. Shelly would have been the chief, I have no doubt. He had been Turcopolier, the highest military officer in the order; and even yet, in spite of his advanced age, he was held in such estimation by the King of Spain as to be named his ambassador to the Shah of Persia in 1581.³⁷⁵ Moreover, that he would have refused such a command is clear from his character—"after the old manner, friend to all the world and neutral," as Anthony Standen, a partisan, writes;³⁷⁶ or as Shelly paints himself in his own letters to Burghley and Walsingham,³⁷⁷ where he boasts of his fidelity to the Queen during an exile of twenty-three years, and of his having constantly refused to receive any pension from the King of Spain, which

it was always in his power to have; not, however, without entering into his policy, which he never would do; for "the late tragedies in England" (he means the executions of Campion and the rest) "and the war in Ireland were caused by a generation that he never liked."

The two witnesses whom Campion impeached—the one as an atheist, the other as a murderer—were Munday and Eliot. The charge of atheism against the former rested on his confession that he had feigned himself a Catholic abroad in order to discover the secrets of the Catholics. This seemed to imply an indifference to all religion, and at least a practical atheism. Pound described him as "cogging Munday," "who first was a stage-player, no doubt a calling of some credit" (Pound himself had been in great credit for his acting at Court and at Kenilworth), "after an apprenticeship, which time he well served with deceiving of his master; then wandering towards Italy, by his own report became a cozener in his journey. Coming to Rome, in his short abode there was charitably relieved, but never admitted in the seminary, as he pleaseth to lie in the title of his book; and being weary of well-doing, returned home to his first vomit again. I omit to declare how this scholar out of Italy did play *extempore*; those gentlemen who were present can best give witness of his dexterity, who, being weary of his folly, hissed him from the stage. Then, being thereby discouraged, he set forth a ballad against plays; but yet, O constant youth! he now begins again to ruffle upon the stage. I omit, among other places, his behaviour in Barbican with his good mistress and mother, from whence our superintendent" (Pound always called the Anglican bishops superintendents) "might fetch him to his court, were it not for love (I would save slander) to his gospel."

Munday was the chief reporter of the executions of the priests condemned at this assize, and it is his story of the death of Campion which Holingshed printed in his chronicles, and which Hallam condemns for "a savageness and bigotry which I am very sure no scribe of the Inquisition could have surpassed."³⁷⁸ Munday attended the executions of these priests, and disturbed them as much in him lay in their deaths. He afterwards attached himself to the arch priest-catcher Topcliffe, by whom he was employed to guard and to take bonds of recusants. Topcliffe spoke of him to Puckering as "a man who wants no wit;" and indeed he was one of the best dramatists of the day, perhaps the best inventor of plots. When Shakespeare's Falstaff had covered the name of Sir John Oldcastle with a certain amount of ridicule, it was

Munday who, with two other playwrights, undertook to rehabilitate the Protestant martyr's good name; and he impudently ascribed his play to Shakespeare himself, who, however, made him immediately cancel his lying title. He was not more honest in his account of Campion's capture and martyrdom, which was "disproved by George or Judas Eliot, who showed these things were done for lucre's sake, and not for the truth." He had previously been controlled in much the same way by "one of his own batch" in his pamphlet about the death of Everard Hanse.

The following description of Munday's way of dealing with recusants is from a report of one of Walsingham's men, who signs himself PHS.: "He hath been in divers places where I have passed; whose dealing hath been very rigorous, and yet done very small good, but rather much hurt; for in one place, under pretence to seek for Agnus Deis and hallowed grains, he carried from a widow 40*l.*, the which he took out of a chest. A few of these matches will either raise a rebellion, or cause your officers to be murdered."³⁷⁹

Of George Eliot and the charge of murder against him I have already spoken. That charge had, however, now been entirely wiped out by his good service. He had captured Campion, and had been the means of taking nine other priests; he had been made a yeoman of her Majesty's guard, and had come flaunting into court with his red coat. He had shown too well how intimate he was with the secrets of priests, and his testimony, though evidently forged, was too valuable to lose. Campion took nothing by his impeaching this man's witness.

Sledd, according to Allen, was the man who published the news at Rome about a Spanish fleet being prepared to invade England; and he told one Jerome Vane in Paris that he had published it on the persuasion of some men of great name in England. At Rome and Rheims he was a daily communicant, while he was making his observations with the intention of betraying his companions. Even when he started for England to put his design into execution, he duly made his confession first. He communicated his observations in France to the English ambassador at Paris, who sent over his informations to the Council. It is possible, but hardly probable, that he was Walsingham's anonymous plot-finder, since his treachery had already been discovered nearly a year before, when he informed against Orton.

It would be rash to admit as true all that Campion in his pleadings forbore to deny. It is plain, by the line of defence he adopted for Cottam and Bosgrave, that his cue was not to

deny allegations, but to show their irrelevancy. Thus he did not deny that trumped-up story about the manuscript oaths found in the houses where he had been; he only showed there was no proof that he had left them there, or had administered them.³⁸⁰ So in his explanation of his letter to Pound. If he had explained it then, according to his declaration in the Tower chapel on the 31st of August,—that he had not betrayed any Catholic, that he had discovered no secret, that is, had told of no one who was not already found out,—he would only have given cause for a stricter search; he therefore allowed it to be understood that he had confessed all their names, that nothing remained untold except the confessions which they had made, and those, come rack come rope, he would never reveal. It clearly would have been a gratuitous cruelty on his part to say, “You pretend that you have got out of me the names of all who gave me hospitality. You are mistaken; I only told what I saw you knew; the names that were still secret I would not tell, nor will I.” Such a declaration would have opened a vista for informers and pursuivants, and would have subjected the whole Catholic society to endless annoyance.

CHAPTER XVI.

WHEN Campion was carried back to the Tower after his condemnation, he was put into irons, and otherwise hardly used. But he showed such patience, and spoke so gently to those who had to deal with him, that his keeper Delahays, having afterwards Mr. Norton the rack-master in his custody, and comparing the two prisoners' behaviour, declared that, where he had a saint in his keeping before, now he had a devil.

It was not even yet too late for the Protestants to tempt their victim with proffers of life and liberty if he would go over to them, or at least take some steps towards them; and Hopton the lieutenant sent Campion's sister to her brother, three days before his death, with a message, that if he would but yield to change his religion he should have a benefice of an hundred pounds a year.

He received also a visitor of another kind. "Judas" Eliot, when he saw that he was condemned, came to him and said, "If I had thought that you would have had to suffer aught but imprisonment through my accusing of you, I would never have done it, however I might have lost by it." "If that is the case," replied Campion, "I beseech you, in God's name, to do penance, and confess your crime, to God's glory and your own salvation." Then Eliot said he was in great danger, and feared much lest the Catholics should slay him for his treason. "You are much deceived," said Campion, "if you think that the Catholics push their detestation and wrath so far as revenge; yet to make you quite safe, I will, if you please, recommend you to a Catholic duke in Germany, where you may live in perfect security." This interview had such an effect on Delahays, Campion's keeper, who was present, that he afterwards became a Catholic.

Outside the prison walls there were various conjectures how the affair would end. Most men thought that the Duke of Anjou would intercede, and that the prisoners' lives would be spared; others, with more knowledge of the man, said that the Duke was occupied in quite other affairs, and had not a

thought to bestow on Campion. Others, again, spread the report that Campion had killed himself in despair.

In the council-chamber itself there was still indecision. Some of the councillors considered that a man of Campion's genius, knowledge, scholarship, European reputation, gentleness of manner, and integrity of life could not be executed without rousing the indignation of Europe, without wantonly sacrificing one of the ornaments of the English name, or without disgracing the fair fame of English justice, since the trial had been public, and had convinced everybody except the jury that he was innocent of treason. As for the pretence of the Queen wishing him to be put to death, it was notoriously untrue; she wished to save him, especially for the sake of the Duke of Anjou, her accepted suitor, who was then in court, and whom she did not wish to disgust by this exhibition of fury against the teachers of his own religion. Instead, then, it was said, of Campion's death being satisfactory to her Majesty, it would probably bring down her anger on those who had contrived it. On the other hand, the advocates of the execution urged the ridicule of first spending so much care on securing a sentence, and then being afraid to carry it out; it would be a tacit confession of his innocence and their own guilt; they would have to meet the disgrace of having kept an innocent man so long in prison, and of having subjected him to illegal tortures. As for the indignation of Europe, that had been already incurred by his condemnation; they were now only to look at home, and consider how they could expect to find the judges again so pliable, if they failed to support them in this instance. As for the Queen and Anjou, they were too much occupied in their amusements to make great case who was hanged. In fine, firmness even in a questionable course was better than hesitation and instability. Lord Burghley took this side, and clenched the matter by saying that Campion and Sanders were in the same boat; and as they could not catch Sanders, they must hang Campion instead. The Attorney-General had said nearly the same thing at the trial.

When the Council had settled that he should be executed, there still remained the question of the time. Some were for putting it off till Anjou had gone away, for fear of the offence the French king might take at the manifest insult to his brother; others thought that Anjou's presence was exactly the reason for carrying out the sentence, as a public profession that the marriage would bring in no change of the religious policy of the government. Besides, they said, any delay in the execution will give time for the most influential of the

English nobles and gentry and for the foreign courts to intercede for the prisoners' lives, and the Queen would never resist their united prayers. Moreover it was an excellent occasion for striking terror into the seditious Catholics, who fancied themselves secure under the protection either of Spain or of France. Such were the reasons alleged: the secret reason was, that all the puritanical part of the Council, together with Hatton, who himself aspired to Anjou's place, wished to put an insult upon the French duke, and by some means or other to stop the marriage for which they pretended to be so anxious. Burghley, therefore, again carried the Council with him when he fixed on the following Saturday, the 25th of November, for the execution. In order to make the lesson more complete, he selected two other victims from the condemned priests; Sherwin to represent the seminary at Rheims, and Bryant to represent the Roman college; and in order to throw still greater disgrace on Campion's cause, he had already tried (on Wednesday, Nov. 15th) Lord Vaux, Tresham, Catesby, Powdrell, Griffith, and others, before the Star-Chamber, for giving him hospitality, on his own confession, and had inflicted upon them fines varying from one thousand pounds to five hundred marks.

The uncertainty of the Council was once more exhibited in deferring the execution till the next Wednesday. When this decision was announced to the prisoners, they congratulated each other that they were to die on the vigil of the Feast of Andrew the Apostle; and they comforted one another with the Apostle's salutation to his cross—*O bona crux!* When this came to the ears of the Council, they once more changed the day, and fixed Friday, the 1st of December, for the execution. Campion had long esteemed himself dead to the world, and it would seem difficult to die to it more perfectly than he had hitherto done; but from the Saturday when he was at first appointed to die, he seems to have found means to increase his mortifications; for then must have begun "his five days' fast from temporal and bodily sustenance;" and then, again, on the Wednesday he must have begun "his abstinence from sleep and bodily rest, which was by credible report of some continued two nights, bestowed in meditation and prayer."

In the mean time the Catholics had been busy with Anjou, imploring him to use his influence with the Queen to stay the execution of the sentence. He willingly promised every thing, and is supposed to have made some attempts at performance. When the day was at last fixed, the Catholics again besieged his doors. He was just about to begin a game

at tennis. His confessor, an abbé, came out to speak with the petitioners; they exposed their case; the martyr would only suffer in body, but the duke's fame and honour would be lost, if he permitted this foul tragedy to proceed. The abbé went to the duke and delivered his message. The duke stood hesitating, like a man just awakened from deep sleep, stroking his face with his left hand. After a while he raised his right hand with the racket in it, and said to his companion, "Play!" That was all the answer the petitioners could get from him.³⁸¹

In the splash and mud of a rainy December morning Campion was brought forth from his cell, clad in the same gown of Irish frieze which he had worn at his trial, and was taken to the Coleharbour tower, where he found Sherwin and Briant waiting for him. Here they had some respite for spiritual conversation; for Hopton, wishing to throw as much ridicule and disgrace upon Campion as was possible, caused search to be made for the buff jerkin which had been objected to Campion at his trial as a military and highly unbecoming disguise, and which was stowed away somewhere in the Tower. Much time was spent in the fruitless search, and the morning was fast slipping away, when Hopton determined that he should go as he was; so the three were brought out to be tied on their hurdles. Outside the Tower a vast crowd was already collected. Campion, nothing daunted, looked cheerfully around and saluted them: "God save you all, gentlemen! God bless you, and make you all good Catholics!" Then he knelt and prayed, with his face towards the east; concluding with the words, *In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum*. There were two hurdles in waiting, each tied to the tails of two horses. On one Sherwin and Briant were laid and bound, Campion on the other. As they were dragged through the gutters and filth, each hurdle was followed by a rabble of ministers and fanatics, calling upon them by the way for their subversion. Charke,³⁸² as a conqueror, followed Campion "with big looks, stern countenance, proud words, and merciless behaviour; fierce and violent upon God's saints in death and torments, and pompous in gait and speech unto the people for gathering or retaining some credit to his cause." But even Charke's vigour was not proof against the mud and the rain and the pace of the horses. There were intervals during which sundry Catholics spoke to Campion of matters of conscience, and received comfort. One gentleman, like Veronica in another *via dolorosa*, "either for pity or affection, most courteously wiped his face, all spattered with mire and dirt, as he was drawn most miserably through

thick and thin ; “ for which charity,” says the priest who saw it done, “ or haply some sudden-moved affection, God reward him and bless him !”

The procession took the usual route by Cheapside and Holborn. A crowd of men followed it, and the women stood at their doors to see it pass by.³⁸³ “ Helen Allen, wife of William Allen, linendraper and citizen of London (she and Ralph Sherwin being brothers’ children), the same day that Sherwin was executed, and passing on the hurdle by Helen’s house, hard by St. Martin’s (le Grand), Helen being at that time great with child and sore dismayed with the sight of her kinsman, after the throng of people were gone by, she went over the way to one of her neighbours’ houses called Richard Amyas, who presently said unto her, ‘ I am sorry for the heaviness you take for your cousin Sherwin ;’ and she answered, ‘ Indeed I am sorrowful ; but it is for that he hath led so evil a life as to deserve this death.’ And Amyas said, ‘ Hold you content ; for they that have procured their deaths will come to a worse end. And she that is the cause of it, one mischief or other will happen unto her ; and then the world will amend, and until then it will not.’ ”

A little farther, and the hurdles were dragged under the arch of Newgate, which crossed the street where the prison now stands. In a niche over the gate stood an image of the Blessed Virgin, that was yet untouched with the axes and hammers of the iconoclasts. Campion, as he passed beneath, with a great effort raised himself upon his hurdle and saluted the Queen of Heaven, whom he so soon hoped to see. Christopher Issam, a priest, who saw the martyrs on their way, always declared that they had a smile on their faces, and as they drew near Tyburn actually laughed. There was a cry raised among the people, “ But they laugh ; they don’t care for death.”³⁸⁴

There was throng on Tower-hill, there was throng through all the streets ; but the throng at the place of execution at Tyburn exceeded all that anyone could remember. They had been gathering all the morning in spite of the rain and wind ; and now, when the hurdles were driven up, the clouds divided, and the sun shone out brightly. There were present many good Catholic gentlemen desirous to be eye-witnesses of that which might happen in the speech, demeanour, and passage of those three rare patterns of piety, virtue, and innocency, and amongst them a Catholic priest, who pressed in to observe and mark that bloody spectacle, with mind upon occasion to refer sincerely and truly (to his power) this tragedy, with such accidents as should happen in the manner,

course, and end thereof. He got up very near the gallows, hard by Sir Francis Knowles, Lord Howard, Sir Henry Lee, and the other gentlemen who were officially present, and just "behind the two gentlemen who, before the beginning of the tragedy, were disputing whether the motion of the sun from east to west was violent or natural"—a discussion which, perhaps, was not without reference to Campion, who, at the close of his second day's conference in the Tower, offered to prove, against all the philosophy of Cambridge, that the heavens were hard, made of crystal, and (doubtless) whirling the sun, moon, and stars round with them, either by their own natural course or by some external impulse impressed upon them. After slowly working through the press and multitude of people not to be numbered, Campion was first put into the cart under the gallows, and was ordered to put his head into the halter, which he did with all obedience; and then, after some small pause, while he waited for the mighty murmur of so many people to be somewhat stilled, with grave countenance and sweet voice stoutly spake out, "*Spectaculum facti sumus Deo, angelis, et hominibus*. These are the words of St. Paul, Englished thus: 'We are made a spectacle or a sight unto God, unto His angels, and unto men;' verified this day in me, who am here a spectacle unto my Lord God, a spectacle unto His angels, and unto you men." Here he was interrupted by Sir Francis Knowles and the sheriffs, earnestly urging him to confess his treason against the Queen, and to acknowledge himself guilty. He answered: "As to the treasons which have been laid to my charge, and for which I am come here to suffer, I desire you all to bear witness with me that I am thereof altogether innocent."

On this one of the Council replied that he might not seem to deny the things objected to him, having been proved by sufficient evidence: "Well, my lord," said he, "I am a Catholic man and a priest; in that faith have I lived, and in that faith do I intend to die. If you esteem my religion treason, then am I guilty; as for other treason, I never committed any, God is my judge. But you have now what you desire. I beseech you to have patience, and suffer me to speak a word or two for discharge of my conscience." But not being suffered to go forward, he was forced to speak only to that point which they always urged, "protesting that he was guiltless, and innocent of all treason and conspiracy; craving credit to be given to this answer, as to his last answer made upon his death and soul. The jury might be easily deceived; . . . but he forgave all, as he desired to be forgiven; and he desired all them to forgive him whose

names he had confessed upon the rack." For, the writer goes on to explain, upon the commissioners' oaths that no harm should come unto them, he had uttered the names of some persons with whom he had been. "Farther, he declared the meaning of the letter that he sent, in time of his imprisonment, to Mr. Pound, himself also then a prisoner in the Tower, wherein he had written that 'he would not disclose the secrets of some houses where he had been entertained;' affirming, upon his soul, that the secrets he meant in that letter were not, as it was misconstrued by the enemy, treason or conspiracy, or any matter else against her Majesty or the state, but saying of Mass, hearing confessions, preaching, and such like duties and functions of priesthood. This he protested to be true, as he would answer before God."

Then he desired Sir F. Knowles and some others of the nobility to hear him touching one Richardson, condemned about a book of his, and earnestly besought them to have consideration of that man, saying he was not that Richardson who brought his book; and this he affirmed with vehement protestation upon his death.

Then one Hearne, a schoolmaster, stood forth, and with a loud voice read to the people the new advertisement published only to colour so manifest an injustice, and declaring in the Queen's name that the men were executed not for religion, but for treason. The people, however, were not much moved, but seemed rather to conceive some suspicion at this new and unusual course. Campion all the while was devoutly praying. Notwithstanding this advertisement in defence of their policy, the Lords of the Council, both because they distrusted their wisdom in taking such a novel step as this publication was held to be, and because they desired some better colour and faster vizard for their proceedings, pressed him to declare his opinion of the Bull of Pius Quintus and the excommunication of the Queen. Campion would give no answer. It was, says Laing, a question of deep import, and Campion could not answer it without offending one or the other judge. They expected him to declare that the people ought not to obey Elizabeth, which was the proper conclusion, but treasonable to the Queen. But to affirm that they ought to obey would have involved the peril of disobedience to the Pope. Here once more the great question of the day surged up before Campion's mind, and he was unable to solve it. He refused to cut the knot by any trenchant reply, by any decision of his own; and he died for the right of a conscience to hold itself in suspense. Hallam, who is otherwise perfectly just to Campion, does not recognise the consistency of his having

acknowledged Elizabeth as his queen both at his trial and on the scaffold: "It is more honourable to his memory that we should reject these pretended declarations than imagine him to have made them at the expense of his consistency and integrity; for the Pope's right to deprive kings of their crowns [for heresy] was in that age the common creed of the Jesuits; and the Continent was full of writings of Sanders, Bristow, Parsons, and Allen against Elizabeth's unlawful usurpation of the throne." Hallam forgot to observe that Campion absolutely refused to give any answer about the Pope's right to issue the Bull. All that he did was to use the liberty given to him by the "mitigation," which had suspended the Bull so far as the Catholics were concerned, and had made it for the time as though it had never been issued, to own Elizabeth as the lawful queen. This was only a political tenet, which, as we have seen, is perfectly and thoroughly consistent with all we know of Campion's opinions. They next asked whether he renounced the Pope. He answered, he was a Catholic; whereupon one inferred, saying, "In your Catholicism all treason is contained." At length, when he was preparing himself to drink the last draught of Christ's cup, he was interrupted in his prayer by a minister, willing him to say, "Christ, have mercy upon me," or such-like prayer, with him; unto whom, looking back with mild countenance, he humbly said, "You and I are not one in religion, wherefore I pray you content yourself. I bar none of prayer; but I only desire them of the household of faith to pray with me, and in mine agony to say one creed,"—to signify that he died for the confession of the Catholic and apostolic faith.

Then he again turned to his prayers; and some called out to him to pray in English—for it had grown to be quite a superstition in those days that prayer in a foreign language was a mockery of God; but he pleasantly answered "that he would pray God in a language that they both well understood." Once more he was interrupted, and bidden to ask the Queen forgiveness, and to pray for her. He meekly answered, "Wherein have I offended her? In this I am innocent. This is my last speech; in this give me credit—I have and do pray for her." Then the Lord Charles Howard asked of him for which queen he prayed, whether for Elizabeth the queen. To whom he answered, "Yea, for Elizabeth, your queen and my queen, unto whom I wish a long quiet reign with all prosperity." While he was speaking these last words the cart was drawn away, and he, amid the tears and groans of the vast multitude, meekly and sweetly yielded his soul unto his Saviour, protesting that he died a perfect Catholic.

Anthony Munday relates this last answer somewhat differently: "‘She is my lawful princess and queen.’ Then somewhat he drew in his words to himself, whereby was gathered that somewhat he would have gladly spoken, but the great temerity and unstable opinion of his conscience wherein he was all the time, even to the death, would not suffer him to utter it." When he had hung a few moments the hangman was about to cut him down, but was bidden by some in authority to hold till he was dead. Then his body was cut down and stripped, and the butchery proceeded with. There was standing beside the block where Campion was being cut into quarters a young man named Henry Walpole:³⁸⁵ he was still a Protestant, and had gone merely to see. As the hangman was throwing the quarters into the caldron of boiling water a drop of the bloody mixture splashed out upon Walpole’s clothes, who afterwards declared to Father Ignatius Basselier, S.J., that he at once felt he must be a Catholic. On his conversion he joined the Society, was ordained priest, and sent into England, where he was apprehended, and like Campion condemned and executed as a traitor.

While Campion was being chopped to pieces, the Catholic gentlemen who stood around were contriving in some guise to steal a few relics of him;³⁸⁶ but the greatest precautions were taken to prevent it. A young man who dropped his handkerchief into the blood on the ground was taken and committed. In the tumult that ensued another was quick enough to cut off a finger and carry it away. The loss was presently discovered, but the thief could not be found. Another, finding that nothing could be stolen, offered twenty pounds for a single joint of a finger; but the hangman reluctantly refused: he was afraid. Large sums were offered for the clothes; but when Parsons wrote nothing had been gotten, and it was supposed that everything was to be burnt to prevent the Catholics obtaining any relics.

When he had done with Campion, the hangman, with his hands and bare arms all bloody, seized hold on the next victim, saying to him, "Come, Sherwin, take thou also thy wages." But the martyr, nothing dismayed, reverently kissed the blood on his hands, and climbed up into the cart, where he stood some moments in prayer, with his eyes shut and hands lifted up to heaven. Then he asked if the people looked for any speech from him. Many of the people and some of the more honourable sort crying out "Yes," he began, with a manly courage and loud voice, first to render thanks to each of the three Persons of the Eternal Trinity for the mercies and blessings bestowed upon him; and then was about to

give an account of his faith, when Sir Francis Knowles bade him confess his treason. "I am innocent of any such crime," was his reply. Being farther pressed, he said, "I have no occasion to tell a lie: it is a case where my soul is at stake; and although in this short time of mortal life I am to undergo the infamy and punishment of a traitor, I make no doubt of my future happiness through Jesus Christ, in whose death, passion, and blood I only trust."

Upon this, the ministers present said he was a Protestant; but Sherwin took no notice of them, but went on with his prayer, acknowledging the imperfection, misery, and sinful wickedness of his own nature, and still protesting his innocence of all traitorous practices. When Sir Francis Knowles again interrupted him, he said, "Tush, tush! you and I shall answer this before another Judge, where my innocence shall be known, and you will see that I am guiltless of this." Whereupon Sir Francis said, "We know you are no contriver or doer of this treason, for you are no man of arms; but you are a traitor by consequence." But Mr. Sherwin boldly answered, "If to be a Catholic only, if to be a perfect Catholic, be to be a traitor, then am I a traitor." Then, being debarred further speech, he only added, "I forgive all who, either by general presumption or particular error, have procured my death." Then, as he would have prayed, he was asked his opinion of the Bull, but would give no answer. Then, being willed to pray for the Queen, he said he did so. "For which queen?" said Lord Charles Howard again. To whom Sherwin, somewhat smiling, "Yea, for Elizabeth, Queen, I now at this instant pray my Lord God to make her His servant in this life, and after this life co-heir with Jesus Christ." To this some objected that he meant to make her a Papist; to whom he replied, "God forbid otherwise!" and so recollecting himself in prayer he put his head into the halter, repeating the ejaculation, "Jesu, Jesu, Jesu, be to me a Jesus!" the multitude crying out to him, "Good Mr. Sherwin, the Lord God receive your soul!" And so they kept crying, and could not be stayed even after the cart had been drawn away, and he had been some time dead.

After his butchery it was Briant's turn. He spoke little, making only a brief profession of faith and protestation of innocence from all offence, not only in deed but in thought, against the Queen. But with his innocent and angelic face—he was a very fair young man, not more than twenty-eight years of age—he greatly affected all who saw him, especially when he said that he rejoiced exceedingly that God had chosen him and made him worthy to suffer death for the Catholic faith in

company with Father Campion, whom he revered with all his heart. And, indeed, it was only his intimacy with the Fathers, and his refusal, amidst the most exquisite tortures, to reveal anything about them, that was the real cause of his death.

Not everyone in the vast crowd looked upon these events in the same light as the writers I have followed. Most of those present were Protestants; and they, in their endeavour to reconcile the behaviour of the victims with the justice of their sentence, must have thought in the same puzzled and inconsistent guise as Munday writes. "This man," he says of Campion, "always directing the course of his life to a vainglorious imagination, and covetous to make himself famous, now made a perfect discovery of himself; for being somewhat learned, he bore away all matters with a majestical countenance, the visor of vanity aptly fitting the face of hypocrisy. He set a courageous countenance on every slight reason, whereby he perverted many, deceived more, and was thought such a champion as the Pope never had the like. But now invincible fear had caught hold of this brave boaster. The outward protestations of the man urged some there present to tears, not entering into the conceit of his hypocrisy. He was always addicted to a marvellous suppose of himself; of ripe judgment, prompt audacity, and cunning conveyance in his school-points, through which he fell into a proud and vainglorious judgment; practising to be eloquent in phrase, and so fine in his quirks and fantastical conjectures that the ignorant he won by his smooth devices, and some other, affecting his pleasant imaginations, he charmed with subtlety and choked with sophistry. The learned, however, pitying his folly, yet loved the man for Christian charity.

"This glorious Thraso having by his libels made himself famous, and under show of great learning—though really very simple—subdued many to affect him very much, when he was taken he knew it stood him upon not to lose the credit openly which he had won secretly; wherefore, in his former ridiculous manner, both in prison, at his arraignment, yea, and at his death, he continued the same in all points, which the foulness of his treasons blemished every way. Many, seeing the gifts of God so well bestowed on the man, and by him applied to so great abuse, through natural kindness bemoaned his case."

In this sketch, by a heartless scribbler, a false witness and apostate, we can read the true character of the victim; we see there his simple truth miscalled simplicity; his modesty, and his refusal to pronounce judgment in a case which his conscience could not decide, misnamed invincible fear; his confi-

dence in his cause mistaken for self-confidence, boastfulness, and brag; his gentleness misinterpreted into smooth device and subtle affectation; and his unconquerable constancy misread as hypocrisy. And we find the efficacy of his genius and the ascendancy of his character fully conceded, though only to be explained away.

When all these persons, Catholic or Protestant, whom Campion had thus moved to tears, returned home from the pitiful spectacle, and were told of the wonderful tide of that morning, they naturally enough considered that Nature had sympathised with the tragedy, as it had once with the Passion on Calvary, and that the river Thames had in some obscure way felt and uttered its protest against the injustice that day committed by the city which sat as a queen on its waters.

“The scowling skies did storm and puff apace,
They could not bear the wrongs that malice wrought;
The sun drew in his shining purple face;
The moistened clouds shed brinish tears for thought;
The river Thames awhile astonished stood
To count the drops of Campion's sacred blood.

Nature with tears bewailed her heavy loss;
Honesty feared herself should shortly die;
Religion saw her champion on the cross;
Angels and saints desired leave to cry;
E'en Heresy, the eldest child of Hell,
Began to blush, and thought she did not well.”

Poundes might well write thus in the excitement of the time. But it can scarcely be wondered at that when subsequent writers like Bombinus refer to these *non ignobilium poetarum acute commenta*, as authorities for a miracle whereby God honoured the death of Campion, they were taxed by their Protestant critics with superstition and invention of lying miracles. Parsons, early in 1582, when he penned his *Epistle of Comfort to the Priests*, was as yet hardly calm enough to write coolly, and so may be excused for all his stories of vengeance upon judges, juries, and witnesses, which he collects in the fifteenth chapter, and for his talking about “the wonderful stay and standing of the Thames the same day that Campion and his company were martyred, to the great marvel of the citizens and mariners, and the like stay of the river Trent about the same time. Which accidents, though some will impute to other causes, yet happening at such special times, when so open and unnatural injustice was done, they cannot but be interpreted as tokens of God's indignation.”

CHAPTER XVII.

IN considering the consequences of this tragedy I will not follow the lead of Parsons and Bombinus, and relate in sombre colours the misfortunes of those who were the agents and instruments in performing it. Those whom the tower of Siloam crushed were not sinners above their fellows; and if a few of the understrappers in this iniquity fell into misery, the chief agents in it not only lived in prosperity, but triumphantly established the cause for which they had sinned so boldly. If Norton the rack-master and Hopton the lieutenant fell into disgrace and poverty, this was only the Tudor policy, which always threw away or broke its tools after they were used. The reign of terror and of penal laws that began in 1580 was successful in stamping out the Catholic religion from the country, and in erecting on its ruins the Establishment that usurped its place. Jericho was effectually built; and it does not much concern us to inquire whether its architects set up its walls in their firstborn and its gates in their youngest sons, or whether they lived in plenty, and left the residue of their substance to their babes. It is more to the purpose to tell how the daughters of Walsingham and Hopton, who must have had a near view of the policy of their fathers, both became Catholics. Cecilia Hopton was converted by John Stonor,³⁸⁷ who was sent to the Tower for having helped to print *Campion's* book, and while her father's rule lasted was ever ready to give her secret assistance to the Catholic prisoners.³⁸⁸ Her conversion, indeed, was a principal cause of her father's disgrace and subsequent misery.

It is more to the purpose to turn to the direct and immediate consequences of *Campion's* death. Henry Walpole, in the fervour of his own conversion, estimated that the martyrdom converted ten thousand persons on the spot.³⁸⁹ That a very large number experienced a great revulsion of feeling, and consequent mitigation of prejudice, is clear; but the estimate is preposterous. The first consequences were felt by his clerical assailants, to whose clamours his death was generally

attributed. "This I can say with truth," writes the Oxford Regius Professor of Divinity to Leicester, "that the ghost of the dead Campion has given me more trouble than the *Rationes* of the living,—not only because he has left his poison behind him, like the fabled Bonasus, which in its flight burns up its pursuers with its droppings, but much more because his friends dig him up from his grave, defend his cause, and write his epitaph in English, French, and Latin. It used to be said, 'Dead men bite not;' and yet Campion dead bites with his friends' teeth—a notable miracle, according to all experience, and to the old proverb; for as fresh heads grow on the hydra when the old are cut off, as wave succeeds wave, as a harvest of new men rose from the seed of the dragon's teeth, so one labour of ours only begets another, and still another; and in the place of the single Campion, champions upon champions have swarmed to keep us engaged."³⁹⁰

Burghley, Walsingham, and the fanatics could not see the practical lesson of this fact; but Francis Bacon was a cooler counsellor, and in 1583 he wrote a memoir to dissuade the Queen from imposing on Catholics the oath of supremacy which they would never take, and against hanging them for their religion; for, all their protestations to the contrary notwithstanding, they knew and acknowledged to themselves that they did put men to death for religion.³⁹¹ "Putting to death," he says, "doth by no means lessen them; since we find by experience that, like hydra-heads, upon cutting one off seven grow up, persecution being accounted as the badge of the Church; and therefore they should never have the honour to take any pretence of martyrdom in England, where the fullness of blood and greatness of heart is such that they will even for shameful things go bravely to death, much more when they think themselves to climb heaven; and this vice of obstinacy seems to the people a divine consistency; so that for my part I wish no lessening of their number but by preaching and by education of the younger sort under schoolmasters."

Sir Robert Cotton, without any special reference to Campion, but to the warfare in which he was one of the first to fall, laughs at all the vulgar reasons given for the increase of Popery; such as the royal clemency, or the slack execution of the laws. "If we will with a better insight behold how this great quantity of [Popish] spawn is multiplied, we must especially ascribe the cause thereof to their priests, who by their deaths prepare and assure more to their sect than by their lives they could ever persuade. The number of priests which nowadays (1613) come to make a tragical conclusion is not great; yet as with one seal many patents are sealed, so

with the loss of few lives numbers of wavering spirits may be gained. *Sanguis martyrum semen ecclesie.*³⁹²

And this fruit of their deaths, which seemed so soon to force itself on the experience of the enlightened Protestant laity,—the clergy were too passionate to see the effects of their thirst for blood,—was only that which was anticipated with all confidence by their friends. Thus Parsons writes to Charke, describing Campion's and his companions' deaths, and their forgiving all their enemies, "and also you ministers, who were the only or principal instigators of their death and torments;" and adds, "their blood will, I doubt not, fight against your errors and impiety many hundred years after you are passed from the world altogether. And albeit if they had lived, being endued with such gifts and rare parts, they might have done much service to God's Church and hurt to your cause, yet could they never have done it so strongly as they have, and do, and will do by their deaths—the cry whereof worketh more forcibly both with God and man than any books or sermons that ever they could have made. They are well bestowed upon you. You have used them to the best."

In the State-Paper Office may be seen letters written by Catholics about the time of Campion's death. I will quote some passages, for they exhibit the temper and the feeling with which it was received.³⁹³ Parsons writes to a friend, "I understand of the late advancement and exaltation of my dear brother Mr. Campion and his fellows. Our Lord be blessed for it; it is the joyfullest news in one respect that ever came to my heart. . . . Now I take him for my patron. . . . There is nothing happened to him which he looked not for before, and whereof he made not oblation to God before he ever set foot to go towards England. I looked for this end of his disputations also; and surely, when I heard how prosperously God turned them to the glory of His cause, I suspected that He would his life also; for it was like the adversaries would never put up so great a blow without revenge-ment upon his blood." Then he speaks of the "malicious witnesses:" "There be men in the world which drink blood as easily as beasts do water; and because the earth doth not open and presently swallow them down, they think all is well. . . . The pretended dust of feigned treason is blown away with every little air of consideration. Your conscience and mine shall bear witness of his pure innocency in all such matters and meanings, either by fact, word, or cogitation. This hath he protested, and will protest, I know, upon the perdition of his soul at his death—for I am not yet certified

that he is dead; and we protest the same before God and man and angels; and all that we have dealt withal in England shall testify the same both living and dying, upon their salvation and damnation in the life to come. All which, seeing it serveth not in Westminster Hall, we are content quietly to leave in God's hands. That I am touched in the same matter" (Parsons was included in the indictment), "I cannot but take it most thankfully. Free I am from any thought of such matters as were objected, God and my conscience and my friends do know." Parsons had not yet entered into his career of conspiracy, and he could not consider his designs for the conversion of Scotland and the delivery of the Queen of Scots from prison to be any treason against England. He had been kept in ignorance of the Papal and Spanish designs upon Ireland, and was greatly annoyed when he first heard of Sanders' expedition. He was afterwards forced to become a traitor—"beaten for loyalty," Shakespeare makes one of his characters say, "excited me to treason." Persecuted for doing his duty, he naturally wished to destroy the power of his persecutors. One of the last paragraphs in Parsons' letter to Agazzari, Dec. 23, 1581, draws this conclusion from a narrative of the trial and death of Campion and his companions: "From this you may see with what preparation of mind our brethren ought to come to us; with what humility, what patience, what firm resolution, and, above all, what fervent charity to God, their neighbour, and one another, that each may help each in bearing this yoke of the Lord. God has already shown us glorious patterns in our martyred companions, and he will not be wanting to us if we are not wanting to ourselves."

There is another letter, of one Francis Eyerman,³⁹⁴ to his brother, who was imprisoned for distributing copies of Allen's apology for the seminaries. It chiefly turns on the providential signs of the goodness and truth of the cause. Campion's disputations and martyrdom hold the chief place. If the adversaries had not known they were in the wrong, they would not all have refused to justify their doctrine against this one man as they did, "saving that, to their perpetual and damnable shame, they had some secret speeches with him in the Tower; where they received so many shameful foils as they never durst deal with him openly, but sought his most innocent blood and death by those treasons which were coined and made in their own forge of detestable deceit, lying, and falsehood." And although thereby "we lost the chief pearl of Christendom," yet it is well; for "all men are of opinion that the offences and negligences of our predecessors and fore-

fathers were so great, and our own sins so many, as they must needs be redeemed by the blood of martyrs."

Father Parsons has told us of the frustrated desire of the Catholics to obtain relics of Campion. After he had written he was more fortunate than before. One of the martyr's arms was stolen from the gate where it was nailed up; and Parsons managed to get for a large sum the halter with which his dear friend was hanged. He ever carried it about him, and died with it round his neck in 1610. It was then kept at the English College at Rome, and is now at Stonyhurst. In Richard Conway's *Apology*³⁹⁵ mention is made of Mr. Auderton, a Lancashire gentleman, cured of the stone by relics of Father Campion, and being afterwards of another disease laid out for dead, *ut ei jam pollices ligarentur*, by the help of the martyr's flesh laid on his body, raised to life. His girdle plays a great part in Edmunds' *Book of Miracles*, as referred to in Bishop Harsenet's *Declaration of egregious Popish Impostures*, p. 84. His picture was hung over altars,³⁹⁶ his name was assumed by religious persons in their novitiate,³⁹⁷ and his aid was implored by persons in affliction even in Bohemia.³⁹⁸ Gregory XIII. and his court acknowledged him as a martyr, and allowed his passion to be painted on the walls of the English College, and his relics (with those of the others) to be employed in the consecration of altars. Those who wrote his life, like Bombinus, or collected his works, like Robert Turner, closed their labours with an invocation or hymn in his honour. The cell which he inhabited at Prague was venerated as a sanctuary.³⁹⁹ An altar was erected in it, with his picture above. Those who entered it kissed the pavement that his feet had trodden. His confessors there, F. Anthony Francis and F. Paul Campanus, the rector of the college, bore public testimony to his sanctity, his purity of conscience, and the unstained virginity of his life; and one who had known him in the college wrote upon the copy of his tragedy on St. Ambrose which he left behind him, "auctore beato Edmundo Campiano, Græco, Latino, Poeta, Oratore, Philosopho, Theologo, Virgine, et Martyre." When the news of his execution reached Rome, Agazzari, the rector of the English College,⁴⁰⁰ "caused the organs to be sounded and all the students to come to the chapel, and then and there he himself, pulling on his back a white surplice, and the stole about his neck, sang a collect of martyrs, so after his manner canonising Campion the rebel as a saint. It is usual among the English Papists to keep the relics of Campion, Sherwin, and the rest." On the 8th of June 1585, an old priest, Gregory Gunne, was sent up to the Council, accused of traitorous speeches. Campion, he

said, was the only man in England; and the day would come, and he hoped to see it, when a religious house would be built for an offering on the place where he suffered. On Good Friday 1624, there was a procession of Catholics from Holborn to Tyburn,⁴⁰¹ the nearest approach yet made to the accomplishment of Gunne's prediction.

I have been told of a reliquary, said to have belonged to Mary Queen of Scots,⁴⁰² and in the possession of H. Darell, Esq., of Cale Hill, which contains, among several others, relics of "B. Campianus, M."

As the Catholics had made great exertions to publish Campion's controversy, it is not to be supposed that they were silent on his death, which was more eloquent than any words he could speak. England and the Continent were inundated with accounts of the martyrs. By January 4, 1582, a French account was published; and on the 14th of that month Cobham wrote to Walsingham that the book was "cried in the streets with outcries, naming them to be⁴⁰³ cruelties used by the Queen's majesty in England. Whereon," he says, "I used M. Brulart's means to move his majesty to give order that such untruths might be stayed and forbidden, which seemed to prejudice her majesty's good fame. The King hath now given order unto his procurer-fiscal that there shall be prohibition of the further sale of the said books, and those punished which have used such unworthy outcries, the which I cause to be followed unto the execution." But the sale was not stopped, only it proceeded without outcries; instead, a book against the cruelties of the Spaniards was cried in the streets. Cobham was disappointed in his designs of punishing the criers; he complained, "The Jesuits do very much enlarge their practices to advance the Pope's credit and theirs, by teaching with their ceremonious sacrifices; through their spials, intelligences; as also in seeking slyly to win opinion by the distributing of their sacred trifles; whose practices will grow most dangerous to all princes' estates if it be not considered on, and they abolished." This incoherent nonsense reveals the terror in which statesmen stood of this active society; its influence seemed to them merely magical, and they regarded anything that passed through its hands, a medal or a pair of beads, as a political engine of unknown power.

On the 23d of March 1582,⁴⁰⁴ Anthony Standen wrote from Florence to Mannering at Paris, "The discourse of the deaths of those good men at home is familiar in these parts to the best sort, and our cases more pitied than heretofore,

as by certain letters exhortatory⁴⁰⁵ from his Holiness to all princes for the succour and support of the seminary in Rheims is manifest, those being directed to all archbishops and bishops, to make gatherings and collections for that purpose. Two days past I was at Mass in this cathedral when the boxes went about, but besides myself I saw not two more that extended their charity; and in this city is little hope, but in Rome is great liberality, as I hear. The pamphlet in French you speak of Tucker brought me, and we hope shortly to have ample discourse."

Germany was slower to move. Estius published a Latin life at Louvain in 1582,—it was a translation from the French, —and at the end he put some lines more savage than poetical :

"*Esto Catholicos immanis Anglia cædit,
Quam Scytha, quam Maurus, quam Persa aut Turca cruentus,
Aut ipse humanos depascens cannibal artus
(O pietas, O prisca fides), tamen omnia spernit,
Conflagrans animus demisso cœlitus igne,
Spernit opes, spernit Phalarim, spernitque Neronem,
Nec mortem vel acerbam horret; sic itur ad astra.*"⁴⁰⁶

The first life in German that I can find was published at Dilingen in 1588.

All these provocations obliged the English government to defend themselves as they best might. Their first publication was the "Particular Declaration of the traitorous Affection of Campion and other condemned Priests, witnessed by their own Confessions," written in reproof of the slanderous pamphlets and seditious libels spread abroad, as well in this realm as in foreign parts in sundry strange languages, in excuse and justification of the said traitors. In this paper the pretended plot of Rheims and Rome is prudently forgotten; and the only justification of Campion's death is, that he refused to meddle, to or fro, with the question whether Sanders, Bristow, and Allen's opinions were wicked or not, and declared himself incompetent to judge concerning "the fact of Pius Quintus" and his Bull. This paper was followed by Burghley's "Declaration of the Commissioners' favourable Dealings" with the priests at the rack (1583), which disgusted Hallam so exceedingly; and shortly after, by his "Execution of Justice in England," which called forth Allen's remarkable reply. But such replies were not to be read in England: Alfield the priest was hanged for distributing them; and Vallenger, who printed an account of Campion's death, with poems by various hands on his life, was sentenced by the Star-chamber to lose his ears in the pillory, to be fined 100*l.*, and be imprisoned during the Queen's pleasure. One of the articles of accusation against John Hamerton, Esq., of Yorkshire, is that he "is vehemently

suspected of certain most traitorous speeches,—that he should say that Campion was wrongfully condemned, and did not deserve death.⁴⁰⁷

All these books, to anyone who takes the trouble to discount the vehement rhetoric and the unproved assertions, reveal the consciousness of the writers that they had wrought a terrible injustice. Yet, on the principle implied in the proverb “tell a lie and stick to it,” they morosely adhered to their policy, and hanged, batch by batch, all the priests who had been condemned on the same indictment with Campion, except two; one of whom—John Hart—is shown by his letters in the State-Paper Office to have purchased his safety by unworthy concessions and disclosures to the government;⁴⁰⁸ while the other, James Bosgrave, boldly declared his allegiance in spite of the Bull, a line of conduct in which he was defended by the party afterwards called that of the “secular priests.” In fact, this very year John Bishop wrote a pamphlet to show that the Canon of the Lateran Council, on which the whole fabric of the Papal power to depose princes was raised, was merely a decree of Pope Innocent III., never admitted in England, and not ratified by the Fathers of that Council.

A history of the controversies which took their rise from Campion’s *Decem Rationes* would be outside the scope of this volume; the bibliographical catalogue in the Appendix will show of what kind they were. It is enough here to say that his death added a point to his rhetoric, and consecrated his book in such a way, that abler theologians were glad to take it as their text-book, to adopt its divisions, and to give their works the shape of commentaries and apologies upon its assertions and arguments.

If the Catholic controversy in England in the years succeeding Campion’s death had been confined to these heads, its result would probably have been very different from what it was. But not all the priests employed on the mission were so simple and transparent in character as Campion. There are others whom to understand requires a study of quite another order. The most significant figure on this side is Father Parsons, about whom the truth has still to be told, and whose memory demands some patient historian, who shall neither canonise him for his fervour, his zeal, his devotion, and his spiritual insight, nor yet with the Remonstrant Priests and Canon Tierney brand him as a liar and a hypocrite. He is really one of those great men who only wanted the element of success to rank him among the greatest; and his failure necessarily laid him open to the triumphant criticism of those

who were but dwarfs by his side. It is easy to see now why Parsons failed; why he deserved to fail; how, perhaps, he must have failed. But if we try to realise his position, to start from his point of departure, and to view his age as he must have seen it, it is difficult to condemn him, or to place one's finger on any one step of his career, and to say, Here he began to err; here his wisdom was darkened and turned to folly.

The mission of 1580 into England was ultimately a spiritual failure, because it was not purely a spiritual mission. The intention of its chiefs was not single. They doubtless had the intention to save souls; but they took a perspective view of all these souls, and looked on them also as the moving forces of bodies that might be useful soldiers in the coming struggle.

For the Catholic world at this period was not to be satisfied with a merely spiritual triumph. The intention of Pius V. in pronouncing the deposition of Elizabeth was doubtless to maintain the Catholic faith in England. But when the Bull was once published, it beseeemed the dignity of the Papal chair to see that it was executed; it was no longer a means, but an end. The Holy See had committed itself to certain temporal claims, and those claims it must enforce, or submit to the opinion of being vanquished. It was no longer enough simply to maintain the faith in England; though it was an excellent thing to give Englishmen the means of salvation, this was now not the whole, nay not, for the moment, the most important thing. England must be brought to submit to the Bull, or great part of the Pope's dignity and preëminence, on which the future of religion depended, would be lost. The power of deposing apostate, heretical, and schismatic princes was part of the temporal prerogative that had providentially grown up round the See of Peter, and was necessary to enable his successor to maintain his spiritual independence. For how could he rule the Church in a land where a government alien from his faith claimed his rights, and forbad the exercise of his power? Among Jews and Turks such a state of things must be tolerated, if the Christians are not strong enough to enforce their rights. But in a Christian nation, over which the Pope's legitimate authority extends, it is for him to see that he lets no means of enforcing it lie dormant when needed. The difficulty far exceeded any that has since arisen, and was much more threatening to the Papal independence than the loss of territory; and the *non possumus* of Pius V., in reply to the expostulations of Maximilian, was quite as reasonable, quite as sacred, as any refusal that has been uttered since.

Here, then, was the knot of the difficulty. The mere

spiritual restoration of the realm was not enough. This would be but a sneaking kind of victory. It was necessary to the dignity, the safety, and independence of the Church that heresy should be publicly humbled, and its authors smitten with a visibly effective curse. And this end, which was a political one, seemed to require political means. The ecclesiastical government, if it meant anything, meant planning and scheming to attain its end. There is no planning, no government, in merely sending in wave after wave of missionary priests to preach and suffer martyrdom. Means must be taken to insure their safety, means to insure the stability of their gains, means to economise their labour, and make it as effectual as possible. And what were these means to be? Had not the Church pointed them out in the Bull of Pius V.? Was it not clear that the deposition of Elizabeth would secure all these results? Did not her ministers proclaim and justify their severity by the confession, that their cause depended solely on the thread of her life and her tenure of the throne? Was there not a successor ready to sit in her seat who would reverse all her acts? How was this result to be secured but by political means? The missionaries who thought to do all by preaching, prayer, and sacraments were holy men, but not men of wisdom and of reach. They marched straight into the lion's jaws, hoping that God would vanquish him by a miracle, instead of compassing him about with their toils, and circumventing him with their nets. Parsons could quite understand these men's minds. He, too, believed in holiness, believed in the efficacy of prayer and sacraments, watched continually for God's hand, and expected a miracle to aid or confirm his acts. But this was not the whole of Parsons; he believed not only in the supernatural, but also—a thing not very common among his contemporaries—in the natural. In his scheme the mechanics of government occupied as important a place as the magic of influence; and he kept the two things distinct. At the same sitting he could write to one friend a chapter of his resolutions, and to another a despatch worthy of a Venetian ambassador. He could spend half the day in apostolic duties,—performed with heroic courage, tempered with the sweetest charity, and weighted with the wisest direction,—and the other half in writing a report to the King of Spain about the internal assistance an invasion of England would find at the hands of the Catholics. In the one character he could make himself another *Campion*, whose name was ever on his lips, and whose memory was in his heart; in the other character he never once mentions *Campion*, except so far as his trial and death had alienated

men's minds from the Queen, and contributed its share to the prospects of success.

And such as he was, did he form his favourite scholars. Of these perhaps William Holt was the most characteristic: a more wily conspirator than Parsons himself, but less able to imagine great and beneficent schemes, he exhibits this kind of character in greater nakedness, or at least with less splendour of circumstance and ornament. In him are curiously combined the charitable pastor who willingly risks his life to save souls, and the fierce partisan who as willingly imperils himself to destroy his enemies; the impetuous enthusiast who would pour out his own and others' blood in torrents for the glory of the Holy See, and the cautious watchman who never felt more safe than when in the thickest of his enemies; the wary provider against all emergencies, and the puerile castle-builder who reckoned without his host, and misled all who trusted to his calculations.

I suppose that it is mainly due to this element among the missionary priests that the martyrdoms of so many, and the sufferings of such endless numbers both of priests and laymen, bore so little permanent fruit. It was not only that the treason of a Ballard or a Robert Catesby was, in its insulated effect, almost as pernicious as the martyrdom of a Campion was beneficent, but also that through them, in the old Protestant language, religion was turned into rebellion, and faith into faction.⁴⁰⁹ By which means not only was the adversary confirmed, and even on political grounds justified, in his determination to persecute even to extermination, but also the Faith itself began to lose its attractions for the faithful. The history of the Middle Ages, from the Emperor Frederick II. to King Henry VIII., exhibits a struggle in the minds of Christians between the claims of the crown and those of the See of Peter. Both Emperor and Pope were to them vicars of Christ; the limits of their respective functions were ever matter of controversy. There are indications that the English feeling went with Frederick against Gregory and Innocent, as it constantly did with Henry against Clement. When the Catholic found not only that the Protestant government, but also that the Pope and the King of Spain, and the wiser and more politic sort of his priests, considered that he, as Catholic, was a probable rebel, he must have grown by degrees convinced that his religion was in a manner rebellion, and so have become with time either a confirmed conspirator or a wavering Catholic, and in either way have both weakened if not lost his own faith, and become a scandal to those who might have occasion to judge of Catholicism by his conduct.

To show that I am not overstating the case, I will translate the chief passages from a report on the state of England in 1583, addressed to the Pope by Dr. Allen, and printed by Theiner, *Annals*, vol. iii. p. 480. It is entitled, "A short Note of the standing condition of affairs in England, to show the easiness and opportuneness of the *sacred expedition*."

"If we divide England into three parts, two at least are well-affected in heart to the Catholic religion, though many for fear of the Queen do not make a public confession of their faith. There are two kinds of Catholics in England: one that professes its faith publicly and openly, in spite of prison, confiscation, and death; the other, believing in heart, but unable to resist, and unwilling to lose life and fortune for Christ, and therefore yielding an external obedience to the heretical laws, and waiting for redemption of body and soul from this slavery not less anxiously than the professed Catholics. The Queen stands in greater fear of this second kind than of the first; for she can guard against the one, but not against the other. The counties that are best affected are also the most warlike; they are those on the Scotch borders, and those of Wales. The midland and southern counties, which are most heretical, are also most luxurious and unused to arms. The cities are more infected than country places, though there are several strong and well-situated towns that are completely Catholic. But the strength of England is not in its towns, which are only inhabited by merchants and artisans. The nobles, who all live in their country-houses and castles, surrounded by their retainers, — and especially the yeomen, who are exceedingly rich, honourable, powerful, and tenacious of traditions, — are the real strength of England. The majority of the gentlemen are well affected in religion; the old nobility are so also; but the new nobles, who are hated in the country, are all hostile. The first peer of England, the Earl of Arundel, with all his brothers, is Catholic, and they have numbers of vassals; so is the Earl of Northumberland and his brothers; the Earl of Worcester and his eldest son, who is powerful in Wales; the Earls of Cumberland, Oxford, and Southampton, who is yet a minor, but under Catholic masters; Viscount Montacute; and the Lords Dacres, Morley, Vaux, Wharton, Windsor, Lumley, Stourton, and many others. To these add the exiled Earl of Westmoreland. With all these elements of strength we cannot doubt of the success of the expedition. For that all these will follow our party when they see themselves supported by a sufficient foreign force can easily be shown.

1. Some of the principal persons have, by their letters or messengers, promised me every assistance.

2. Sixteen years ago, on the bare intelligence of the intention of Pius V. to excommunicate the Queen, many rose; but there was no foreign force to help them, and many Catholics held back because the Bull was not published, and so they failed; but the abortive attempt shows their good will.

3. The Catholics are now much more numerous than they then were, and better instructed by our men and priests' daily exhortations, teaching, writing, and administration of Sacraments; so much so that, of all the orthodox in the whole realm, there is not one who any longer thinks himself bound in conscience to obey the Queen, though fear leads them to think that they may obey her, which fear will be removed when they see the foreign force; and we have lately published a book specially to prove that it is not only lawful, but even our bounden duty to take up arms at the Pope's bidding, and to fight for the Catholic faith against the Queen and other heretics. And as this book is greedily read by all Catholics, it is impossible but that, when occasion serves, they should enrol themselves in the Catholic army.

4. Because we still have, in spite of the numbers banished, nearly three hundred priests in various noblemen's and gentlemen's houses; and we are almost daily sending fresh ones, who, when it is necessary, will direct the Catholics' consciences and actions in this matter.

5. For the last few years the Catholics have lived in such slavery, never for a day secure of their lives or properties, that they must infinitely desire their emancipation, and will seize the first opportunity to help chastise their adversaries, whose intolerable yoke they hate more than if they were Turks; and so they would let in Catholic auxiliaries of any nation, for they have learned to detest their domestic heretic more than any foreign prince.

6. And if there be any that would not willingly admit Spanish or other foreign forces for fear of being made subjects of a foreign prince, they will be easily satisfied if the affair is carried on in the Pope's name; for they would know that the war was solely for the restoration of religion, the punishment of heretics, and the establishment of the legitimate succession; and in case of the failure of any Catholic heir, they would rather submit to his paternal rule, even in temporals, than to any mortal prince. The Pope could do this with greater ease and less envy than any other prince; and if his renewal of the Bull would cause the Kings of France

and Spain to cease all intercourse with the English government, the thing would be done.

7. If the Pope's legate, as general of the army, were to proclaim war in his name, and solely for the ends of religion and legitimacy, the Catholics would doubtless all join his army. We have here with us in Rome a pamphlet in English, which we wrote some time ago, on the method of proceeding and moving the Catholics when the thing has to be done. This, if his Holiness wishes, we will have translated into Italian or Latin, that he may see how our people can be treated so as to consent willingly and render every assistance.

8. And besides those who will be our friends on religious grounds, we may count on many others (either milder heretics or men without any faith—of which kind England is full) who will follow the fortunes of the Queen of Scots. The chief of these are the Earls of Shrewsbury, Derby, and Rutland, Cecil, and many other nobles whom the Queen of Scots may engage. She is most anxious for our project, as she wrote to me not ten months since.

9. Our enemies will be the Puritans, and certain creatures of the Queen, as the Earls of Leicester and Huntingdon, and not many besides. They have the advantage of having in their hands the treasury, the army, and the navy; but they cannot count upon the officers, and they are themselves no generals.

10. In the whole realm there are not more than two fortified towns which could stand a siege of three days. Among the nobles there is not a single general; the people are all unused to war, except a few who have served in Flanders, most of whom are either dead or now serving in the ranks of the Prince of Parma—an indication of how the forces of heretics will lose by desertion when the time comes. Provisions are everywhere plentiful, and the soldiers can take what they like; there are harbours on every side for landing troops out of Spain, France, or Flanders; and soldiers can be landed anywhere on the coast by the English sailors who will conduct them. An army of 10,000 or 16,000 will be quite enough; but the greater the foreign force the less will be the risk; and the English as a nation are unwarlike, inexperienced, and totally unable to resist the attack of veteran soldiers.

Our country has been invaded about sixteen times by foreign troops, not in very great numbers, and the natives have only twice repulsed them; all the other times the invaders have succeeded, and this shows that in our just cause we may hope all things.

The expenses, whatever they are, will be borne by the goods of the heretics and the false clergy.

The thing must be done soon. If it is put off, as it has hitherto been, we fear that the Catholic nobles will grow weary and weak, the Catholic exiles will die, the Queen of Scots will be killed, and the King of Spain or the Pope will die, or even Elizabeth herself; for if she were to die, and an heretical successor, like the King of Scots, were once established, our cause would be desperate. This point is all-important.

The opportunity is now excellent. The Guises in France will help the Queen of Scots; the King will do nothing to prevent it. There is now no danger from the Turk. The temporal state of the Church is suddenly restored to peace and security; all the Italian princes are at peace; all the kingdoms subject to the Spanish crown are pacified; and even Belgium is almost entirely reduced to faith and obedience, with the exception of a few seaports, which will be soon rendered, and will afford great facilities for the transport of troops for the conquest of England. I need not add the glory the Pope would obtain by removing the enormities that this Jezebel is constantly inflicting on him and his; and so I humbly submit to his judgment these my suggestions."

Now I am far from saying that this document is an unjustifiable one. Allen had as much right to invoke foreign aid in 1581 as the French exiles of 1793, or the Confederates of the Southern States in 1863. The government of Elizabeth was such that any Catholic who could destroy it had every right to make the attempt. I would only criticise the silliness of Allen's combinations, the puerile nature of the arguments on which he founds his expectations, and the hopeless impossibility of the task which he set himself. It was to bring about a moral unity of a professed allegiance to Queen Elizabeth, with a suspended purpose of acting in accordance with the Bull and joining the "sacred expedition."⁴¹⁰ I say a moral unity; for an immoral one was easy enough, if a man determined to be a conspirator and to disregard all conscience in the matter. But this particular conspiracy was to be one in behalf of religion and conscience, and would contradict and stultify itself if it used means contrary to religion and conscience. Its problem was to profess to be true, and yet to *be* false, to Elizabeth; and at the same time not only to profess, but to be true to the Pope in his action against her. And this, I say, was a problem incapable of any moral or rational solution.

It might be said with truth that Allen's paper is the pro-

duction of an exile's dreams, fed with information derived exclusively from young enthusiasts who came to his seminary, in the heat of their first conversion, without any real knowledge of their country, taking the suggestions of their fervid fancy for inspiration, and translating their wishes into facts. Nothing can exceed the puerility of some of the propositions of the document. It is in reality a product of a kind of English Fenianism. Yet, on the other hand, it is also true that the writer of the paper was the foremost man among the English Catholics, the one most trusted by Rome, and the one who was singled out from all the energetic ecclesiastics of that period to be honoured with the cardinalate.

Allen at last prevailed. In 1588 the "sacred expedition," which had been eight years preparing, was despatched, and was destroyed; and how exactly each one of Dr. Allen's anticipations was falsified by the event is shown by a letter of one of Allen's own priests to Mendoza; a translation of which is printed in the *Harleian Miscellany*, i. 142. There we read how each of the noblemen and gentlemen whom Allen guessed would be foremost in welcoming the invader was eager to defy and do battle with him; how the very priests upon whose action Allen counted most securely turned patriots in that emergency of their country; and, in a word, how both Catholics and Protestants had been deceived in what they all expected Catholics to do: then it was seen, that if Catholics would die for their religion, they would die for their country also, even though the invading force came with the sanction and blessing of the Pope, and though its great object was the restoration of their religion.

Those who think themselves infallibly certain that they are infallibly in the right can never profit from the lessons of history. In spite of failure, Allen and Parsons persevered in their course. Their failures were all due to their sins; Josue, they said, failed twice before he took Jericho, but at last he took it. Providence was really on their side, though it seemed to favour the adversary. It did indeed favour him; and the secular priests, who had heard so much of the guard of Providence over the power of the Papacy, could not help also attributing to Providence its failure to assert its chief temporal prerogative in this supreme crisis of its history.⁴¹¹ In 1580, when England was weak, Scotland divided, Ireland in flames, the large Catholic armies that were on the point of invading the country from Spain and from Flanders were suddenly diverted from their object in order to annex Portugal to Spain. In 1588, when the danger was yet greater, the very stars in their courses fought against the invader—

" and his shipping
 (Poor ignorant baubles) on our terrible seas,
 Like egg-shells moved upon their surges, cracked
 As easily 'gainst our rocks."

When Father Parsons could note the earthquake (which shook Flanders as much as England), and the staying of the Thames and Trent, as symptoms of heaven's wrath against Campion's persecutors, it was quite just in them to proclaim that the death of the King of Portugal in 1580, and the fierce winds of the summer of 1588, were symptoms of the same wrath against the policy and party of Parsons. In the hazardous game of deciphering the hieroglyphics of heaven's judgments one party has as good a right to dogmatise as the other.

But to pass by the question of Providential guidance, and come to the simpler one of the possible and impossible, I say that the position of the Papacy towards England, as represented by Allen and Parsons, was simply untenable. Not because the Pope wished to be at war with the English government in Ireland, and (for the time) at peace with it in England; for this was the position of England with regard to most powers: it was at peace with Spain, but its navy robbed Spanish ships, and its soldiers helped Flemish insurgents; similarly, Spain was at peace with England, nevertheless expeditions against Ireland sailed from Spanish ports. So, the general peace with France was not broken by the assistance given to the Huguenots at La Rochelle. This half-and-half state of warfare was a merely external contradiction; there was an internal organic contradiction that was much more fatal. Allen wished to make every Catholic a conspirator. Now the first requisite for conspiracy is secrecy, and the Catholic religion was such that it could not be practised in secrecy in England. There was a negative test that immediately discovered it—the test of recusancy, or refusal to go to the Protestant church. Parsons and Allen were too good Catholics to permit their converts to assist at the Protestant services; indeed, it was chiefly by their efforts that the Catholics were induced to give up the practice, which had begun innocently enough in the first year of Elizabeth. But it is impossible to read the above report of Allen without seeing that he, as well as the Queen and her ministers, fully recognised how much more efficient rebels might be found among the crypto-Catholics who yielded an external obedience to the laws than among the open Catholics who defied them. This was the first contradiction; and the second was much worse. To be a conspirator generally implies a readiness to swear that you are not one. That is but a lame plot when the plotters

are not ready to deny it at the bar. But Allen and Parsons put all the English Catholics into this position, that they were obliged to risk life, liberty, and lands, rather than take the oath of allegiance, which denied the Pope's right to depose princes; and at the same time they were obliged by their position to deny, with any amount of imprecation, their complicity in any plot, or in any general design or intention under any circumstances to enforce this Papal claim. Hence grew up a suspicion, which has always remained in England, of the inherent falsehood of Catholic morality; a suspicion which every now and then suddenly developes into brutal accusations, such as that which Mr. Kingsley vented against Dr. Newman. The Catholics of those days were an enigma to their contemporaries. They exhibited on the one hand a reverence for an oath, such that they would rather die than offend their consciences by taking one; and on the other, their flat denials of purposes that were distinctly proved against them showed it was only some oaths which they thus revered. "That they make conscience of an oath," said Francis Bacon to the Queen, in 1584, "the troubles, losses, and disgraces that they suffer for refusing the same do sufficiently testify." And the trial of Vaux, Tresham, and Catesby in the Star-chamber, Nov. 22d, 1581, was a case in point. Yet Father Southwell, on his trial, elaborately justified⁴¹² his directions to a witness to give false evidence. Father Walpole's vehemence in denying Squire's accusations have gained him so little credit that Mr. Spedding remarks upon them, "There may be obligations higher than that of veracity; but he who accepts them must be content to have his words distrusted;" and Father Garnet at his arraignment defended the practice of equivocation, which was objected against him by his accusers. There was an internal and intestine contradiction in the body of doctrine delivered to the English by the missionaries of Dr. Allen, which deprived it of its inherent strength: the eternal truths of Catholicism were made the vehicle for a quantity of speculative and practical opinions about the temporal authority of the Holy See which could not be held by Englishmen loyal to the government. There was a contradiction in duties, and true patriotism united to a false religion overcame the true religion wedded to opinions that were both unpatriotic in regard to the liberties of Englishmen, and treasonable to the English government. This was the first cause of the destruction of English Catholicism. The political school of Catholics which was answerable for it was entirely weeded out by persecution, and the remnant that was left became as conspicuous for its loyalty as its predecessors

had been for their want of it. Equally unlucky in loyalty and disloyalty, the English Catholics pinned their fortunes to the skirts of a falling dynasty, and with the Stuarts they seemed likely to become extinct. When they began to revive in 1780, the two parties into which they were divided found themselves equally loyal. Challoner ostentatiously excluded from his *Martyrology* all the missionaries against whom any treason was proved with any probability; and Sir John Throckmorton went further, and said that all the priests who did not satisfactorily answer the seven questions about Allen, Sanders, and the Bull, and were thereupon hanged, were martyrs for the deposing power of the Pope, not for religion. And now, if the first fervour of some converts sometimes develops into aspirations like those of Allen and Parsons, and leads them to desire to witness "high mass in St. Paul's under the protection of French bayonets," the feeling is one that is of no significance beyond enabling us to study in living specimens a sentiment which was a dangerous and real force in the sixteenth century. The secular as well as the religious world has become more enlightened since that time, and the government, instead of kindling this dry tow into a flame by lighting the fires of persecution, leaves it in its own obscurity, to perish of inanition and neglect.

As for Sir John Throckmorton's opinion, that Campion and his fellows were martyrs not for faith, but for the deposing power, it is manifestly untrue. If Campion would not deny that power, he as resolutely refused to affirm it. To call a man a martyr for a doctrine he refuses to confess is to give a new meaning to words. It is clear, then, that he died, not for a doctrine, but for the liberty of the conscience to hold itself in suspense, and to resist all force that would oblige it to decide before it had its own grounds for decision. Men were urged to declare the deposing power to be a wicked imposition; they died rather than do so. But they did not die for the affirmation of this doctrine. They wished to keep clear of the question altogether; they refused to make themselves umpires between Pope and Queen. They felt that it was of primary necessity to preach the faith: yet, bound up with the controversies of the day there was a question of which they could not or would not say whether it was or was not part and parcel of the faith. Elizabeth declared that the Catholic religion should not be propagated in her dominions till this question was decided, and decided in her favour. The Pope, on the other hand, could not give up his pretensions. He felt himself obliged to assert his right to what Providence had given him. All the bishops, and all the theologians and

canonists were on his side. And the divine government of the Church was never more triumphantly exhibited than when, in spite of popes, bishops, theologians, religious enthusiasm, popular discontent, foreign intrigues, powerful kings, and invincible armadas, the providential failure of these claims vindicated the purity of the faith from a heterogeneous accretion. Pending that solution, there was a dead-lock, a time wherein nothing could be done; but in the mean while men were being born, were sinning, and dying; they needed instruction, exhortation, and the sacraments. To wait till the controversy was decided would be the perdition of infinite souls. It was to avoid this that the missionary priests swarmed over into England, suffered, and died. And though a few among them were treasonable busybodies, yet the great mass of them were men of simple characters, pure lives, burning charity, and heroic constancy, who acted and suffered simply for the glory of God.

To an enthusiast I shall perhaps seem to be stripping off one of their titles to glory from our martyrs of the sixteenth century, when I exhibit them thus uncertain in their grasp of what almost all the Church believed in their day, thus alien from the tone and spirit of the popular Catholicism. But the subsequent history of Christianity has abundantly justified them, and has proved that, in refusing their deepest assent to the medieval views of the temporal prerogatives of the Holy See, they were pioneers in the true path of the development of doctrine. There is a fallacious corollary which not a few persons have drawn from the theory of development, namely, that the most advancing theologian is he who reflects and harmonises most perfectly the universal mind of Christianity in its opinions and aspirations. Such a reasoner overlooks the fact that there are two kinds of movement and apparent growth always going on in the Church: one is the fermentation of a moribund school—for a religious school never cries more loudly than in its agony, never flings more strongly than in its death-throes; the other is the secret undergrowth, the silent advance of thought, discomfiting and ousting the old opinions, which, in their unsteadiness, cry so loudly for protection, and employ the relics of their force at the dictation of their terror; for the artificial faith in a dying doctrine becomes fanatical, because passion is substituted for reason. The inexperienced eye might take the gorgeous hues of autumn for the sign of the healthiest vigour in the woods. But we know that this show is but the symbol of decay, the sign that the leaves are withering and loosening from their hold, being pushed off by the vigorous young buds preparing for their

spring beneath. I do not, therefore, detract from Campion's wisdom, foresight, or holiness, when I show that he could not mould his mind in all points to the dominant opinion in the Church or in his Order. For in his day the dominant opinion was in its autumn, not in its spring. It was not the developing, but the dying doctrine that was then the loudly-expressed conviction of divines, whose agitation in favour of the temporal prerogatives of the Holy See then in danger is judged by the small effect it produced on the consciences of the Catholic laity, and by its complete historical failure. Campion was too tender in conscience to separate himself from the hierophants of this agitation; but he was also too wise to profess more adhesion than was implied in his refusal to condemn it as wicked. Thus he steered his way with a safe conscience between the rock and the whirlpool, though he had to throw overboard everything except his conscience, and to strip himself even of his life, in the cross seas of the dangerous strait.

APPENDIX.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

I.

Publications connected with the Challenge.

1. *Campion's Letter to the Lords of the Council* (supra, p. 159) was not printed, but circulated extensively in Ms. This called forth two replies.

2. William Charke. *An Answer to a seditious Pamphlet lately cast abroad by a Jesuit, with a discovery of that blasphemous sect.* By W. Charke. London, C. Barker, 1580. 8vo. Another edition in 1581.

3. Meredith Hanmer. *The great Bragge and Challenge of M. Champion a Jesuite, cōfuted and ausweared.* London, T. Marsch, 1581. 4to.

Father Parsons confuted both these books at once in his book :

4. A brief Censure upon two books written in answer to M. Edmund Campion's offer of disputation. Doway, by John Lyon, 1581. 16mo.

It was really printed at Mr. Brooke's house near London, by Brinkley with his secret press.

Charke and Hanmer made separate replies to this Censure :

5. A Reply to a Censure written against the two Answers to a Jesuit's seditious pamphlet, by Wm. Charke. London, 1581. 8vo.

6. *The Jesuites' Banner : displaying their original and success ; their vow and oath ; their hypocrisy and superstitions ; with a confutation of a late pamphlet secretly imprinted, and entituled A brief Censure, &c. (ut supra, No. 4).* Compiled by Meredith Hanmer, M.A., &c. K. in 4s. T. Dawson and Rd. Vernon, 1581.

Shortly after Campion's death Parsons went over to France, and abode for some time disguised as a merchant at Rouen, where, among other works, he printed :

7. A Defence of the Censure given upon two books of William Charke and Meredith Hanmer, ministers, which they wrote against M. Edmund Campion, Priest of the Society of Jesus, and against his offer of disputation (by Rob. Parsons, S. J. Rouen). 1582. 8vo.

The Censure is reprinted paragraph by paragraph, and each paragraph defended in detail. Pp. 173.

A year elapsed before any notice was taken of this able rejoinder ; then Charke published, *ad interim*, a portion of his reply :

8. Wm. Charke : *An Answer for the time unto that foul and wicked Defence of the Censure that was given upon M. Charke's book and Meredith Hanmer's.* London, 1583. 4to, pp. 107.

After three years more study, Charke gave to the world his completed treatise :

9. William Charke : *A Treatise against the Defence of Censure given upon*

the books of Wm. Charke and Mer. Hanmer by an unknown Popish traitor, in maintenance of the seditious challenge of Edm. Campion, lately condemned and executed for high treason. In which the reader shall wonder to see the impudent falsehood of the Popish defender in abusing the names and writings of the doctors old and new to blind the ignorant. Hereunto are adjoined two treatises written by Dr. Fulke: the one against Allen's book of the Authority of the Priesthood to remit sins, &c.; the other against the railing declamation of P. Frarine.* Allowed &c. Three tracts with three title-pages. Pp. 359+531+54.

II.

Publications connected with the "Decem Rationes."

1. Rationes Decem, quibus fretus certamen Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ ministris obtulit in causa fidei Edmundus Campianus. Privately printed at a lodge in Stonor Park, near Henley, 1581.

The Bishop of London (Aylmer) ordered the two Regius Professors of Divinity at Oxford and Cambridge to answer this book. The Cambridge divine was the first to appear:

2. Whitaker: Responsio ad Rationes Edmuadi Campiani, quibus fretus, &c. 8vo. Lond. 1581. (Herbert. 1072.)

The Oxford theologian put out half his reply the next year:

3. Jesuitismi pars prima: sive de Praxi Romanæ Curie contra republicas et principes, et de nova legatione Jesuitarum in Angliam, προθεράπεια et præmonitio ad Anglos; cui adjuncta est concio ejusdem argumenti, cujus titulus est Pharisæismus vetus et novus, sive de fermento Pharisæorum et Jesuitarum: auctore Laurentio Humfredo. Londini, Hen. Middletonus, 1582. 8vo. (Dedicated to the Chancellor of the University, Rob. Dudley, E. of Leicester.)

The same year Father Drury published his crushing reply to Whitaker:

4. Confutatio Responsionis Gulielmi Whitakeri in Academia Cantabrigiensi Professoris Regii ad Rationes Decem, quibus fretus Edm. Campianus, Anglus, Societatis Jesu theologus, certamen Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ ministris obtulit in causa fidei. Auctore Joanne Duræo Scoto, Soc. Jesu presbytero. Parisiis, apud Thomam Brumennium, 1582. 8vo, pp. 466 double. Reprinted Ingoldstadii ex typog. Dav. Sartorii, 1585. 8vo, pp. 856.

Whitaker was again quicker than his Oxford brother in replying:

5. Responsionis ad Decem Rationes, quibus, &c. Defensio contra Confutationem Joannis Duræi, Scoti, presbyteri, Jesuitæ. Auctore Guil. Whitakero &c. Impensis Tho. Chardi, 1583. 4to, pp. 887.

Last comes Humphrey:

6. Jesuitismi pars secunda. Puritano-Papismi; seu doctrinæ Jesuiticæ aliquot rationibus ab Edm. Campiano comprehensæ, et a Joanne Duræo defensæ, confutatio, et ex iisdem fundamentis reformatæ religionis assertio. Autore Lau. Humfredo. Lond., Henr. Middletonus, 1584. 8vo.

And here this particular controversy seems to have ended for the time, so far as England is concerned. Nearly a quarter of a century after, however, it revived for a moment:

* Harangue of Peter Frarin of Antwerp, against the seditious motions excited by the Protestants on pretence of reforming religion. Translated from Latin into English by John Fowler. Antw. 1566. 16mo.

7. Stocke (R.), Answer to Campion the Jesuit. Reply to the defence of him by John Duræus the Scot. 4to. Lond. 1606. (Gordonstoun Cat. No. 2056.)

III.

Publications connected with the Discussions.

However, out of this controversy the discussions of Campion in the Tower took their rise; and reports of these were immediately dispersed by the Catholics, "partly in print, but in written pamphlets much more." I do not think that anything is known of the printed reports. A Ms. report of the first day's conference was in the library of the English College at Rome, and extracts of it are given by Bombinus; also among the Harleian Mss. in the British Museum (No. 422) are reports of the other three days' conferences (one in duplicate), in the handwriting of Vallenger, found by Topcliffe the priest-catcher in the house of William Carter the printer (who was hanged in 1584), and given to Fox the martyrologist, among whose papers they are now to be found. Alban Butler, in a Ms. account of the writers of the English College of Douay, now at Brussels (Royal Library, Ms. No. 15,594), enumerates among Ralph Sherwin's writings one of these reports: *Collatio inter hæreticos et Campianum in Turri Londinensi habita. Disputationes in castro Wisbecensi inter Fulkum ministrum et Catholicos.*

It was not till January 1, 1583-4, that the Protestant disputants published their report of these conferences—a single volume in parts, with separate titles:

1. A true Report of the Disputation, or rather private Conference, had in the Tower of London with Ed. Campion, Jesuit, the last of August 1581. Set down by the reverend learned men themselves that dealt therein (Nowell and Day). London, Barker. January 1, 1583. 4to.

2. The three last days' Conferences had in the Tower with Edmund Campion Jesuit, the 18: 23: and 27 of September 1581. Collected and faithfully set down by M. John Feilde, student in divinity. Now perused by the learned men themselves, and thought meet to be published. January 1, 1583.

This second part seems to have been struck off by itself. In the Faculty of Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, vol. ii. 1776, p. 172, is the following entry:

Feilde (John). True Report of the whole substance of the Conference had in the Tower of London between Wm. Charke, Wm. Fulke, Roger Goade, Dr. Walker, and Edward (sic) Campion the Jesuite, on the 18, 23, and 27 of Sept. 1581. 4to. Lond. 1583.

IV.

Biographies, &c.

Campion's capture and execution furnished occasion for a flood of publications.

1. Mr. Campion, the seditious Jesuit, is welcome to London. Licenced to be printed by Richard Jones, 1581. (Herbert, 1053).

The following appears to have been a similar squib:

2. Randall Hurlstone: News from Rome concerning the blasphemous sacrifice of Papistical Masse; with divers other treatises, very godly and

profitable. Cantorbury, imprinted by John Mychell for E. Churton (*i. e.* Campion) the Jesuit. N. d. 16mo. (Lowndes.)

3. A breefe Discourse of the taking Edmund Campion and divers other Papists in Barkshire : gathered by A. M. (Anthony Munday). Lond. 1581. 8vo.

This pamphlet called forth a contradiction from George Eliot :

4. A very true Report of the apprehension and taking of that arch-papist Edmund Campion, the Pope his right hand, with three other lewd Jesuit-priests, and diverse other lay people, most seditious persons of like sort. Containing also a controulment of a most untrue former book set out by A(nthony) M(unday) concerning the same, as is to be proved and justified by Geo. Ellyot, one of the ordinary yeomen of her Majesty's chamber, author of this book, and chiefest cause of the finding of the said lewd and seditious people. 8vo, 15 leaves, 1581. (Herbert. 1121; Oldys, No. 143).

The advertisement read by Hearne the schoolmaster at the execution must have been the following :

5. An Advertisement and Defence for Truth against her backbiters, and specially against the whispering favourers and colourers of Campion's and the rest of his confederates' treasons. C. Barker, 1581. 4to, one sheet of four leaves, the last page blank.

6. A Discovery of Edmund Campion and his Confederates, their most horrible and traitorous practices against her Majesty's most royal person and the realm. Whereunto is added the execution of Edmund Campion, Ralph Sherwin, and Alexander Briant, executed at Tyburn Dec. 1. Published by A(nthony) M(unday), sometime the Pope's scholar. London, 1582, pp. 55. Reprinted in Holinshed's Chronicles, ad an. 1551.

This called forth a little book, edited I think by Pound, for printing which Vallenger was condemned in the Star-chamber to lose his ears in the pillory :

7. A true Report of the Death and Martyrdom of M. Campion, Jesuite and priest, and M. Sherwin and M. Bryan priests, at Tiborne, the 1st of December 1581. Observed and written by a Catholic priest which was present thereat. Whereunto is annexed certain verses made by sundry persons. 16mo, 26 leaves. The poets I take to be Henry Walpole, Pounce, and Vallenger himself.

The next history appeared in Paris :

8. L'Histoire de la Mort que le R. P. Edmonde Campion prestre de la Compagnie du nom de Jesus et autres ont souffert en Angleterre pour la foy Catholique et Romaine, le premier jour de Decembre 1581. Traduit d'Anglois et François. A Paris, chez Guillaume Chaudiere, rue S. Jaques, 1582. Sm. 8vo, pp. 30.

Munday answered these two pamphlets together :

9. A brief Answer made unto two seditious pamphlets ; the one printed in French, and the other in English ; containing a defence of Edmund Campion and his complices, their most horrible and unnatural treasons against her Majesty and the realm. By A(nt). M(unday). Honos alit artes. Imprinted at London for Edward White, dwelling at the little north door of Pauls, at the sign of the Gun. Sm. 8vo, 1582. It contains some verses on Campion's death, written, I suppose, by "rhyming Elderton," as the Catholics called him.

Shortly afterwards the Council caused a paper to be drawn up, entitled :

10. A particular Declaration or Testimony of the unudutiful and traitorous affection borne against her Majesty by E. Campion, Jesuit, and other condemned Priests, witnessed by their own Confessions ; in reproof of those slanderous books and libels delivered out to the contrary by such as are maliciously affected towards her Majesty and the State. Published by authority. 4to, 14 leaves. It contains the extracts out of Sanders, Allen, and Bristow that were submitted to Campion and his fellows, and their answers. The paper is printed in Morgan's *Phoenix Britannicus*, 481 ; *State Trials*, vol. i. p. 1073, &c.

They came the executions of the rest of those who were condemned with Campion, which called forth :

11. A brief History of the glorious Martyrdom of twelve reverend Priests executed within these twelve months, for confession and defence of the Catholic Faith, but under the false Pretence of Treason ; with a Note of sundry things that befel them in their life and imprisonment, and a preface concerning their innocency. 8vo, año. 1582. (Herbert. 1661.)

The following was the argument of a book printed by Father Parsons early in this year :

12. An Epistle of comfort to the reverend Priests, and to the honourable, worshipful, and other of the lay sort, restrained in durance for the Catholic Faith. Which probably furnished the matter of

13. *Epistre de la Persecution en Angleterre contre l'eglise Chrestienne Catholique et Apostolique, et fideles membres d'icelle, ou sout declarés les tres grandes afflictions, misères, et calamités, les tourmens tres cruelz et martyres admirables que les fideles Chrestieus Anglois souffrent pour leur foy et religion.* 8vo, Paris. 1582. (Thorpe.)

14. *De Persecutione Anglicana libellus, quo explicantur afflictiones, calamitates, cruciatus et acerbissima martyria quæ Angli Catholici nunc ob fidem patiuntur.* Plates. 8vo, Romæ, 1582. (Thorpe.)

15. *Historia della Morte del R. P. Edm. Campiano della Comp. di Gesu ed altri due che han patito in Inghilterra per la fede Catholica Romana il primo di Dicembre, MDLXXXI. tradotto d'Inglese in Franchese, e di Franchese in Italiano.* Milano, Giacomo Piccaria. 1582. 8vo. 14 leaves.

16. *Martirio del Reverendo P. Edm. Campiano della Comp. di Gesu, patito in Inghilterra per la fede Cattolica di Roma, 1 Dec. 1581.* 4to, Torino, 1582 ; and another edition, Venezia, 1582. (Thorpe, Hibbert.)

17. *Martyrium Edmundi Campiani qui cum duobus aliis presbyteris . . . in Anglia propter constantem Romanæ et Catholicæ fidei confessionem mortis supplicio affectus est, e Gallico in Latinum versum per Gul. Estium. Lovanii, Masius.* 8vo, 1582. (Thorpe.)

The first edition of the book now called *Bridgewater's Concertatio* was compiled in 1582 by Father John Gibbons and John Fenn, assisted by Father Parsons (see *More's Hist. Prov. Ang.* p. 20), under the following title:

18. *Concertatio Ecclesiæ Catholicæ in Anglia adversus Calvino-Papistas et Puritanos, a paucis annis singulari studio quorundam hominum doctrina et sanctitate illustrium renovata.* Trèves, Hatot, 1583, pp. 369. It contained two letters of Campion (to the General, and to the Council) ; his *Decem Rationes* ; Parsons' *Epistola de Persecutione Anglica* ; the *Lives and Martyrdoms of Campion, Sberwin, Briant, and twelve others*, with some of their letters ; and Allen's *Apologia Martyrum*, which must be considered a distinct work.

19. *Apologia Martyrum, qua ipsorum innocentia variis rationibus demonstratur; eosque solius religionis Catholicæ causâ, quam susceperant propagandam et propugnandam, crudelissime enecatos fuisse.* 1583.

These various attacks on the administration of justice in England induced Burghley to draw up from Norton's notes :

20. A Declaration of the favourable dealing of her Majesty's Commissioners appointed for the examination of certain Traitors. and of tortures unjustly reported to be done upon them for matters of Religion. Cum privilegio, &c. 4to. 4 leaves. 1583. (Reprinted in Somers Tracts, i. 209.)

But still, as each new priest was martyred, a fresh edition of the growing Martyrology was put out, not only in English and French, but in Italian and Latin also ; for instance :

21. *Historia del glorioso Martirio di sedici sacerdoti martirizati in Inghilterra per la confessione e difesa della fede Cattolica l'anno 1581, 2 e 3.* (With six plates). Macerata, 1583 (Thorpe, Bib. Brit. 1844).

Burghley therefore composed and published a much longer tract :

22. *The Execution of Justice in England, not for Religion, but for Treason.* 17 Dec. 1583.

This called forth from Allen :

23. A true and modest Defence of the English Catholics that suffer for their faith both at home and abroad, against a slanderous libel entitled *Execution of Justice in England.* 12mo. (1584.)

To this, according to Strype (Ann. II. ii. 305), J. Stubbs, the same who had his right hand cut off for writing against the Queen's marriage with Anjou, wrote an answer, entitled *Vindication of the English Justice.* (1587).

Burghley had his tract translated, and published in London and Germany :

24. *De Justitia Britannica, quæ conservandæ pacis publicæ causâ in Papicolas exercebatur tempore Elizabethæ.* Londini, 1584. 12mo ; and *Ingoldstadii*, 1584. 12mo.

Allen also translated his reply, with the title :

25. *Justitiæ Britannicæ, de sacerdotibus morte plectendis, confutatio.* 1583. (Brussels Ms. No. 15,594.)

And this reply of Allen's was attacked by Bilson :

26. Of the true difference between Christian Subjection and unchristian Rebellion ; wherein the Prince's lawful power to command and bear the sword are (sic) defended against the Pope's censure and Jesuits' sophisms in their apology and defence of English Catholics ; also a demonstration that the things reformed in the Church of England by the laws of this realm are truly Catholic ; against the late Rhemish Testament. Oxford, 1585. 4to. Ib. London, 1586. large 8vo.

It is noted by Paquot, that this book was used by the Puritans to justify their execution of Charles I. It is clear that the controversy was becoming generalised, and no longer had any special reference to *Campion's* history. So I will return to what was written about him in particular.

26. Robert Turner. *Vita et Martyrium Edm. Campiaui sui quondam preceptoris* ; prefixed to an edition of the *Decem Rationes, Ingoldstadii, Sartorius.* 1584. 12mo.

27. *Historia de Morte Rev. P. Edm. Campiani Sac. de Soc. Jesu, et aliorum qui in Anglia propter fidem Catholicam Apostolicam atque Romanam crudelissimam passi sunt mortem.* Traducta ex sermone Gallico in

Latinum, interprete Jacobo Laingæo Scoto, Doctore Sorbonico (appended to the same author's treatise *De Vita et Moribus Theodori Bezae*). Paris, 1585. pp. 30.

This was probably a translation of No. 8 ; which in that case would be a report by an eye-witness : this would give three independent sources among the histories already enumerated—No. 7, No. 8, and Allen's compilation from the letters he received out of England, in No. 18.

28. Edmundi Campiani, eines Jesuites Leben und Leiden, welcher zu London in seinem Vaterland, anno 1581, den 17 Julii, gefänglich angenommen, nachmals den 1 Dec. gemartert worden. Dillingen, 1588. 12mo.

29. *Concertatio, &c.* (see above, No. 18.) Republished with large additions by Dr. Bridgewater. Trèves, Bock, 1588. 4to. 413 leaves, besides many unnumbered. Another edition is dated 1594.

From a letter of Father Parsons, dated May 2, 1589, it appears that F. Louis of Grauada was then writing a Life of Campion. I do not know whether it was ever published.

From this time forth a long account of Campion occurs in all works that profess to give a narrative either of English Catholic affairs, or of the illustrious members of the Society of Jesus. For instance :

30. Pollini. *Historia Ecclesiastica della rivoluzione d'Inghilterra*. Roma, 1594. 4to ; where the account of Campion occupies 40 pages.

31. Yepes. *Historia particular de la persecucion de Inglaterra, y de los Martirios mas insignes que en ella ha avido desde el año del Señor 1570* Recogida por el Padre Fray Diego de Yepes *Opispo de Taraçona*. Madrid, 1599. At p. 310 is the Life and Martyrdom of Edmund Campion, translated from the Latin of Cardinal Allen. This shows that the Life in Bridgewater was Allen's.

It would be fruitless labour to enumerate all the annals and histories in which the above works were reprinted in whole or in part, copied or recast ; for they contain nothing new, and simply repeat that which was already told. I will, therefore, now only add the original works.

32. Bombinus. *Vita et Martyrium Edmundi Campiani, Martyris Angli e Soc. Jes., auctore R. P. Paulo Bombino, ejusdem Soc. Antw. Meursius, 1618. 12mo. pp. 260.* This work was more than once reprinted ; but Bombinus repudiated all the editions. In the 'Admonitio ad Lectorem' of the Mantuan edition of 1620 he says : "They all have proceeded from the first Antwerp edition, which in its progress through the press, and in my absence, received from too benevolent an editor a cast and features which I cannot acknowledge as mine. And indeed it is not a very exemplary thing, that other men's books, like children, should by certain arbitrary critics, and without the consent of their parents, be mutilated, or branded with strange marks, without being granted an opportunity of defence."

Bombinus's bombast was naturally tedious to the good sense that reigned among the learned Jesuits at Antwerp in 1618, who liked to tell tales in plain words, and to preserve the flavour of the age, instead of translating everything into Ciceronic slang. However, he had a right to his own views, though his criticism will not bear scrutiny ; for of all Campion's alleged works he accepts none but the *Decem Rationes* and two or three epistles. "Anyone with a taste of style," he says, "must see that the others are only exercises of his scholars, corrected by him." Homer may sleep, and Campion may sometimes solecise.

33. The same. Editio posterior, ab auctore multis aucta partibus et emendata. Mantua, 1620. 8vo. pp. 320. Reprinted Neapoli, 1627. 8vo. It was considered a book "castæ et emendatæ dictionis, et exquisitæ elegantiæ."

In the library of the Gesù at Rome there is a copy of the Mantuan edition, full of notes, corrections, and additions, in the author's handwriting, apparently intended for another edition, which never saw the light. Some of these were suggested by Parsons or his writings, some by others who had known Campion. Thus an addition at p. 45 is noted: "Ex commentariis P. Personii tunc apud me." The history of Campion's stay at Prague is much enlarged "ex animadversionibus Monachiensibus." Another remark on the trial at p. 273, "ex excerptis ex apologia Thomæ Fitzberberti;" and again at p. 289, "ex diversorum auctariis, sunt apud me." He must have been many years engaged in writing his book: at p. 147 he says, "ut narrabat mihi, cum hæc scriberem, Personius;" now Parsons died in 1610, eight or ten years before the book was published. It was, as may be seen from Bombinus's dedication to the Duke of Mantua, the main occupation of his life, the fruit of years of patience. It is quite truthful and honest, though uncritical; and its great fault is that which its author thought its great virtue—its elegance.

34. Henry More, S.J. *Historia Provinciæ Anglicanæ Societatis Jesu*, collectore Henrico Moro, ejusdem Soc. sacerdote. Andomari (St. Omers), 1660, fol. His history of Campion, though taken in the main from Bombinus, has additions and corrections from independent sources, especially concerning the trial. He prints several of Parsons' letters.

35. P. Daniello Bartoli, S.J. *Istoria della Compagnia di Gesù: L'Inghilterra*. Rome, 1667. Large 4to. Bartoli had the advantage of consulting all the Mss. in the Gesù, and his margins are full of references to letters which he must have read there. He made special use of Parsons' Mss. there, and at the English College at Rome, and carried his criticism so far as to omit much that Bombinus tells, because it was not to be found in Parsons' memoirs. The earlier writer finishes his account of Campion's capture thus (p. 182): "I know that many circumstances of this capture are otherwise related, even in printed books. But I find that history is like a summer torrent—the water at first is foul with dirt; but let it stand for a time, and it clears itself. So the first accounts of things are disfigured by passion; but what was at first unknown gradually creeps out, and everything is seen in its proper light. I certainly have sufficient witnesses of the rest that I tell; and in the story of this capture I follow not light rumours or muddy report, but Parsons' own authority, who had the whole story from the man whom Mrs. Yate ordered to accompany Elliot, and wrote it all in his notes, which he gave me as my authority when I was writing this book at Rome." To which Bartoli (who omits all mention of Campion's nocturnal sermon in Mrs. Yate's chamber) says: "Quanto a certi strani accidenti, che pur altri ne conta, a me par che sentano dell' incredibile: nè ve n'è fiato in tante lettere del Personio, nè in niuna delle fresche memorie d'allora, ò di poscia: onde nou mi paiono degni di nè pur mentovarsi." The fact is, that Bombinus followed Parsons' notes now at Stonyhurst, while Bartoli had only the collection of Parsons' letters at Rome and the printed lives of Campion to refer to.

36. Balbinus. *Miscellanea historica regni Bohemiæ*. Pragæ, 1679-88.

fol. 13 vols. Gives also a few useful particulars, which have been adopted in the preceding pages.

37. Schmidl. *Historia Societatis Jesu, Provinc. Bohemiensis. Pars prima. Prague, 1747.* Contains a chronicle of *Campion's* life at Prague, and some of his letters not to be found elsewhere. These were taken from the archives of the College at Prague.

These, I think, are all the original printed sources for *Campion's* life. The accounts given of him by *Alegambe, De Mortibus Illust. p. 79*; *Mathias Tanner, Soc. Jes. Militans*; *Spondanus, Annals*; *Richard Verstegan, Theatrum Crudelitatum Hæreticorum nostri temporis, 4to, Antv. 1587*; *Florimon de Raymond, L'Histoire de la naissance, progres, et decadence de l'heresie de ce siecle, 1611, 8vo*; *Cornelius Hazart, S.J., Kerkelycke Historie van de Ghebeele Werelt, Antw. 1669* (at vol. iii. p. 247, begins the History of England, illustrated with fine portraits of *More, Fisher, Pole, Forest, Queen Mary, Margaret Middleton, Parsons, Campion, H. Garnet, Charles I., Morse, Charles II.*); *Sacchini, Hist. S.J. pt. iv. lib. viii. p. 263, &c., pt. v. lib. i. p. 31, &c.*, are all at second-hand.

V.

The following is a list of Campion's own works.

1. *The History of Ireland*, written in 1569. A Ms. copy of it, dated 1571, was given by *Henry Duke of Norfolk* in 1678 to the library of the *Heralds' College, London* (No. 37). It was first published by *Richard Stanihurst* in *Holinshed's Chronicles, 1587*; then by *Sir James Ware, Kt.* in his *History of Ireland, Dublin, 1633, fol.*

2. *Narratio Divortii Henrici VIII., Regis Angliæ, ab Uxore et ab Ecclesia*; written probably about the same time, first printed at p. 733 of *Harpesfield's Ecclesiastical History of England*, edited by *Richard Gibbon, Douai, 1622.*

3. *Letter to the Council, and Challenge, &c.*

4. *Decem Rationes, &c.*

A. Editions:

1. *Princeps, Stonor Park, 1581.*
2. *Romæ, apud Franciscum Zanettum, 1582. 12mo. pp. 80.*
3. (With *Whitaker's Answer*), *Antwerp, 1582. 8vo.*
4. (With an account of his life and martyrdom by his pupil *Robert Turner*), *Ingoldstadii, Sartorius, 1584. 12mo.*
5. *Romæ, Bonfadini e Diani. 1584. 8vo. pp. 88.*
6. *Herbipoli, 1589. 12mo.*
7. (As 3.) *Lichæ Solomorum, Kezelius, 1601. 8vo.*
8. *Paris, Rezé, 1601. 24mo.*
9. *Cracoviæ, And. Petricovius, 1605. 24mo.*
10. *Cadonii, 1616.*
11. *Pragæ, Perce, 1692. 12mo.*
12. Changed into *Quinquaginta Rationes et Motiva . . . authore Edmundo Campiauo. Col. Agripp. Metternich, 1710. 12mo.*

B. Also in the following collections:

1. *Concertatio Ecclesiæ Catholi.* (See last section, Nos. 18 and 29.)
2. *Tres gravissimi perpetuæ Cath. Fidei constantiæ testes, Ter-*

tullianus . . . Vincentius Liriniensis . . . Edm. Campianus . . . quibus accessit brevis auctoris Vita et Epistolæ. Colon. Mylius, 1594. 8vo.

3. The same work, Rorschachii. Schnell and Crasebomius, 1608. 8vo.
4. The same, without Tertullian. Colon. Birkmann, 1600. 12mo.
5. *Doctrinæ Jesuiticæ præcipua capita.* Rupellæ, 1585. 8vo. (Tom. ii. p. 1.)
6. *Præscriptionum adv. Hereticos tractat. viii. edit. a Johan. Calvino.* Moguntia, 1602, p. 638.

Also in the various editions of Campian's *Opuscula*, for which see below.

C. Translations :

French. Paris, Gabriel Chappuis, 1601. 12mo.

Paris, Guillemot, 1612. 8vo.

Trevoux et Paris, Boudot, 1701. 12mo.

Paris, Delasseux, 1737. 8vo, and 1743.

And in the Abbé Migne's *Démonstrations Évangéliques.*

German. Ingoldstadt, 1583. 4to.

Cöln, 1600. 12mo.

Flemish. Antwerpen, 1592. 8vo.

Loven, s.d.

Dutch. Munster, 1646 and 1669.

English. London, 1606 and 1687.

Polish. Wilna, 1584. Tr. by P. Skarga.

Rokn, 1584.

5. *Edmundi Campiani Orationes, Epistolæ, &c.* Ingoldstadii, apud Wilherum, 1602. In 8vo. Edited by Robert Turner.

— *Opuscula omnia, nunc primum e Ms. edita.* Paris, ex off. Niveliana, sump. Sebast. Cramoisy, 1618. In 16mo, pp. 476; with *Life* (100 pp.). Tr. from the Italian by R. Turner.

— *Opuscula.* Pisa, 1618.

— Reprint of the Paris edition, Mussiponti, ap. Sebast. Cramoisy, Seren. Ducis et Universitatis typog. juratus, 1622. 16mo, pp. 476.

— *Mediolani*, 1625. 16mo.

— *Decem Rationes . . . et alia opuscula ejus selecta, auctiori editione.* Antwerp, Moretus, 1631. 12mo, pp. 460. The most ample and correct edition, by P. Silvester Petra-Sancta. It contains: *Decem Rationes* (1581); *Narratio Divortii* (1569?); *Oratio de B. V. M.*; *Oratio de S. Wenceslao*; *Oratio de Juvene Academico*; *Oratio in funere Mariæ Cardonæ*; *Oratio de laudibus Scripturæ S.*; *Oratio habita Oxonii coram Regina Eliz.*; *Epistolæ Henrico Vaux*, Oxon. July 28, 1570; *Richardo Stanihurst*, Oxford, Dec. 1, 1570; *Jacobo Stanihurst*, Turvey, March 20, 1571; *Richardo Stanihurst*, same date; *Richardo Cheney*, Ep. Gloucest., Nov. 1, 1571; *Novitiis S.J.*, Brunæ, Feb. 20, 1577; *Gregorio Martino*, July 10, 1577; *eidem*, July 17, 1579; *cuidam Patri S.J.*, April 30, 1580; *P. Everardo Mercuriano S.J. propos. gen.*, Nov. 1581; *Tractatus de Imitatione Rhetorica*, 1574.

Besides these works he wrote a *Chronologia Universalis*, mentioned by Gregory Martin in the verses on his life, *Bridgewater*, f. 66 vº; a play (1577) on the *Sacrifice of Abraham*, in which the pathos of Abraham's part was much admired (*Varus*, *Hist. of the College of Prague*, p. 190); and another the same year on *King Saul* (see above, p. 82); the famous *Tragœdia Am-*

brosiana, 1578 (see above, p. 90), which can no longer be found in the archives of his college at Prague; the discourse *De Juvene Academico*, which he composed at Dublin, and was probably different from that printed in his *Opuscula*.

Among the Stonyhurst Mss. may be found his oration on Sir Thomas White (see above, p. 7); several letters, the first copies of them in his own handwriting, all of which may be found in their proper places in the foregoing pages; and a folio vol. of "*Loci Communes Theologici*," said to be in his handwriting. There are also some fragments of dramatic poems; for he seems to have written several plays for his scholars at Prague. They are: 1, a conference between Doctor Ironicus and Discipulus, something in the manner of Swift's advice to servants; and 2, another Dialogue between Stratocles discipulus et Eubulus præceptor. I have attempted to translate, as literally as I can, part of the opening monologue of Stratocles.

“ Oft have I seen and heard, and oftener read,
 The various torments and the monstrous pains
 Which hangmen upon felons use to spend;
 But, Lord, in sooth, there never was such cark,
 No rack, no thumbscrew, nor no gallows-tree,
 No torture of Mezence or Phalaris,
 Could ever equal the racked student's toils.
 They, sure, of mortals are the wretchedest;
 So sad a people walks not the wide earth.
 In few years cobblers may learn tailoring;
 Butchers keep sheep; and painters how to cook;
 Potters make kettles; colliers catch fish;
 Glaziers turn oilmen, oilmen usurers;
 Fullers to beadles, furriers to thieves:
 In brief space these become most learned craftsmen.
 Life is too brief for us to learn our craft;
 When cruel death comes knocking at our door,
 Then first we catch a glimpse of wisdom afar,
 And wistfully we yearn for longer life.
 Life's feast is done, but none has fed his fill.
 We rail at Nature, our hard stepmother;
 Why gave she not, instead of sixty years,
 A good six hundred to be ill bestowed?
 Full fifteen years and more, I think, have gone
 Since first my father packed me off to school.
 All the while learning, I know less than nothing!
 A pretty joke—seven years in a single class!
 Four forms I've worn out, simply sitting on 'em.
 Our master Whippy was a whipping man:
 Often I could not sit, so waled was I,
 All my poor little carcass chopped about.
 Each wall could tell its tale of wails and cries—
 The blessed first-fruits of the scholar's life.
 When grammar's done we're turned to poetry.
 There ne'er was damnerd rubbish: mounts and founts,
 Divine Apollo, and the Muses nine:

From these flow down the honey'd rills of verse
 In thrice three hundred rhythms. O ye gods!
 Five hundred wagons would not hold the baggage
 Of lies, which they call plots, and similes,
 And fooleries infinite. Here, too, I stuck
 For years in tasks too hard for Hercules.
 Calliope, whom they call maid, although
 Hers was the well-eared womb whence Rhesus rose—
 Calliope, ten thousand times invoked,
 Was deaf to me, and I'll be deaf to her:
 I would not budge an inch to save her life.
 Four years I spent at rhetoric, and my gains
 Are easy counted, for their sum is naught.
 There I beheld *æordiums* good store,
 And perorations past all numbering.
 But to be brief: I then went on to logic,
 Confounding solecisms with syllogisms.
 What then? Am I the first to use this figure?
 No; Paris first produced this mode of speech.
 Now I've been ten years in philosophy—
 Add up my figures, if you doubt my summing:
 By Jove! I almost fancy that I lie,
 Or here or there. This study vexed me sore,
 And drew the frequent tear from my red eyne.
 Oft did I watch out half the night, and oft
 I've gone to bed by daylight. O'er and o'er
 I read and read again the self-same page:
 'Twas drawing water from a dried-up well.
 Infernal Dis, forget not Aristotle!
 Forgive him not his writings dark and hard;
 He never meant they should be understood!
 I'd beat his brains to a jelly; for my brains
 Are worse than jelly, puzzling over his.
 There's nothing sillier than these philosophers,
 Fellows who brag they all things understand
 In heaven and earth and in the depth beneath;
 They cannot tell how oft my father whipped me
 For playing truant, nor what nurse they sucked—”

And so on. Of course the præceptor rebukes him, and proves that

“ Discere fit carum, quamvis primo sit amarum.”

There is nothing much in the piece; but it illustrates the charming relations which existed between Campion and his pupils, and gives us a glimpse of one of the reasons why he was so much beloved. The PP. de Backer, in their *Bibliothèque des Ecrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus*, from whom I have copied the list of Campion's works, print a short “*Carmen, quo litanias de Beata Maria breviter et pie complexus est.*” It consists of a dozen pentameter lines without any hexameters, and certainly merits no praise but that of brevity and piety.

VI.

Manuscript Sources.

I come now to the Ms. sources for Campion's life which I have used in the foregoing pages. First come the Stonyhurst Mss., containing the fragment of a life, ending about November 1580, by Father Parsons, written in 1594, very full and satisfactory as far as it goes; next a series of notes by the same hand, arranged as heads or analyses of the chapters of a whole life—these are the *Commentaria* that were lent to Bombinus, and which he follows implicitly, even when Parsons' memory failed him, and is therefore taxed with carelessness by Bartoli; next an abundance of documents in the British Museum, the State-Paper Office, and the Privy-Council Books, to all which I have referred when I have quoted them. I have also consulted the correspondence of the French ambassador in London, now in the imperial library at Paris; but I failed to find the letter wherein, according to Parsons, he informed his court that no such scene as Campion's martyrdom had happened since the apostolic age. I have found a few papers in the Archives and Burgundian library at Brussels (*e.g.* Ms. No. 15594); but the Spanish ambassador's letters from London for the year 1581 are not there in the proper series. They may be at Simancas, or they may be at Vienna. Mendoza certainly wrote about Campion; but in all that I have seen of his writings at the period of Campion's imprisonment, trial, and death, there is not a word about him—no protest, no expression of indignation, nothing, in fact, which we should have anticipated from his known relations with Parsons. But what I have seen is only a small part of what he must have written.

In the archives of the Grocers' Company of London are some notices of Campion (see above, p. 20); and the documents printed by Balbinus and Schmidl still exist in Ms. at Prague, in the album of the Noviciate, and in a "Historia fundationis collegii Pragensis, auc. Georgio Varo, Anglo."

NOTES.

CHAPTER I. (pp. 1-22).

- a. Autograph of Campion at Prague, apud Balbinum, *Miscellanea Historica*, Decad. 1, lib. 4.
- b. Ms. in the State Archives, Bruges, *Melanges*, tom. iv. no. 52.
- c. Gregory Martin, apud Bridgwater, fol. 67.
- d. Stonyhurst Ms. Collect. S.J., vol. i. p. 149.
- e. Campion apud Balbinum, ut sup.
- f. They were given back to the College in 1602 by White's niece, Mrs. Leach.
 - g. S.P.O. Dom. July 1571, nos. 11, 12, 13.
 - h. Leicester's Commonwealth, p. 36, ed. 1641. He said she was pitifully murdered, when he meant slain.
 - i. Stonyhurst Collec. S.J. tom. ii. p. 586.
 - j. In his last letter to the college White wrote, "I have me recommended unto you even from the bottom of my heart, desiring the Holy Ghost may be among you until the end of the world, and desiring Almighty God that every one of you may love one another as brethren; and I shall desire you all to apply to your learning. . . . And if any strife or variance do arise among you, for God's sake to pacify it as much as ye may."
 - k. Campion, *Narratio Divort. Hen. VIII.*
 - l. Heylin, *Reformation*, ii. p. 174; Strype, *Parker*, p. 125; Burghley's *Execution of Justice*, and Watson's *Important Considerations*, 1601.
 - m. S.P.O. Dom. Dec. 1566, nos. 54, 55, 56.
 - n. S.P.O. Dom. Feb. 20, 1570, enclosure iv.
 - o. Castelnau, letter of Nov. 1580; Ms. Paris, *Bib. Imp. Fonds Harlay*, no. 223, vol. i. p. 368.
 - p. In *Boethii de Consol.* lib. i. met. 2.
 - q. Leicester's Commonwealth, p. 10.
 - r. *Bombinus*, cap. ii.
 - s. *Decem Rationes*, ratio 5.
 - t. S.P.O. Dom. Oct. 15 and 20, 1568.
 - u. Henry More, *Hist. S.J. Prov. Anglic.* lib. iii. § 5-10.
 - v. Lawrence Vaux, S.P.O. Dom. Nov. 2, 1566.
 - w. More, ut sup. lib. iii. § 5, et lib. viii. § 3; Cardinal Allen, S.P.O. Dom. 1592, Dec. 12.
 - x. *Cont. Aux.* 12.
 - y. Cheney, in his Certificate of Recusants, Oct. 24, 1577 (S.P.O. Dom.), excuses those "supposed to favour Popery" as absenting themselves from

church on the ground of sickness or fear of process for debt, while he indicted the Puritans as wilful recusants. The Council peremptorily ordered him to proceed against the Popish recusants; whereupon, Nov. 20, he sent up a short list, got up, he said, by diligent inquiry.

z. Heath's Account of the Grocers' Company, p. 72.

aa. Life of Philip Howard, ed. by the late Duke of Norfolk, p. 9.

bb. Campion to G. Martin. See p. 89.

CHAPTER II. (pp. 23-52).

1. Campion to Hen. Vaux, Opusc. Antw. 1631, p. 341.
2. Harmonia, sive catena dialectica in Porphyrianas Constitutiones. Lond. 1570. Fol.
3. Camp. Opusc. 347.
4. A.D. 1320, Camp. Hist. of Ireland; Ancient Irish Histories, 1809, vol. i. p. 125.
5. Paquot, ou R. Stanihurst, asserts that James the father renounced his religion, and died Dec. 27, 1573, æt. 51.
6. Brady, Bishop of Meath, denounces "all the lawyers as thwarters and hinderers of the Reformation." S.P.O. Ireland, Feb. 6, 1570.
7. Camp. Opusc. p. 262. It was spoken in a seminary, *i. e.* Douai, p. 297.
8. *Ib.* p. 140.
9. S.P.O. Ireland, Eliz. vol. xx. no. 29.
10. See above, p. 12.
11. Hist. of Ireland, c. iii.
12. *Ib.* cap. v.
13. In like manner Shane O'Neil wrote to Q. Eliz. Feb. 8, 1561 (S.P.O. Ireland) that "his father never refucid no child that any woman named to be his."
14. Yet Rokehy wrote to the Lord Deputy in January 1570: "Such as do come to us we cause to cut their glybbez, which we do think the first token of obedience;" and in June 1573 Perrot caused "all the Irishy to forego their glybbes."
15. Hist. Ireland, c. vi.
16. *Ib.*
17. *Ib.* c. x. p. 43.
18. *Ib.* c. xv. p. 73.
19. *Ib.* book 2, c. ix. p. 167.
20. Stanihurst's Preface to Campion's Hist., in Holinshed's Chronicles.
21. Hist. Ireland, book 2, c. x. p. 195.
22. *Ib.* p. 197.
23. La Mothe Fénelon, dépêches 158 and 159, Jan. 6 and Feb. 12, 1571.
24. S.P.O. Ireland, Feb. 12, 1571.
25. Camp. Opusc. p. 351.
26. *Ib.* p. 357.
27. Hist. Ireland, book 1, c. xiii. p. 56.
28. Camp. Opusc. p. 393.
29. Camp. apud Hen. More; Hist. S.J. lib. ii. § 4.
30. See note 20.
31. For Story's Life see *Rambler*, March 1857, p. 183.

32. Holinshed, 1587, vol. ii. p. 1180.
33. Paquot's Dictionary of Belgian Authors, on Allen, corrected by a Ms. of Alban Butler, Brussels, no. 15, 594.
34. Allen, Apology for Seminaries, Mons. 1581, c. 3.
35. Ap. 20, 1571; Strype, Parker, Appendix.
36. May 12, Convocation Journal.
37. Collier, History of Church of England, book vi. p. 531.
38. Wood, Athenæ Oxon. ed. Bliss, vol. ii. p. 792. Goodmau's Ms. has been published by Mr. Brewer, London, 1839.
39. Decem Rationes, Ratio viii. Fuller (Church Hist. vol. iv.) also contradicts Goodmau's story, on the authority of Mrs. Goldsborough, widow to Bishop Goldsborough of Gloucester, who at a public entertainment avowed that to her knowledge Cheney died a true and sincere Protestant. Strype gives him a good character for hospitality and good husbandry of his temporalities: he believed that no Council truly general could err; on this he built his faith in the Real Presence. He also considered the Fathers as the authorised interpreters of Scripture. Camden calls him *Luthero addictissimus*.
40. Here is Champion's Letter:

Edmund Champion's Epistle to Richard Cheney, Bishop of Gloucester, written from Douai in 1572.

"It is not now as of old the dash of youth, or facility of pen, nor even a dutiful regard of your favours, that makes me write to you. I used to write from the mere abundance of my heart;—a greater necessity has forced me to write this letter. We have already been too long subservient to men's years, to the times, to our hopes of glory; at length let us say something for the service of our soul. I beg you by your own natural goodness, by my tears, even by the pierced side of Christ, to listen to me. There is no end nor measure to my thinking of you; and I never think of you without being horribly ashamed, praying silently, and repeating the text of the Psalm, *Ab alienis, Domine, parce servo tuo*. What have I done? It is written, *Videbas furem et eurrebas eum eo*; and again, *Laudatur peccator in desideriis suis, et impius benedicatur*. So often was I with you at Gloucester, so often in your private chamber, so many hours have I spent in your study and library, with no one near us, when I could have done this business, and I did it not; and what is worse, I have added flames to the fever by assenting and assisting. And although you were superior to me in your counterfeited dignity, in wealth, age, and learning; and though I was not bound to look after the physicking or dieting of your soul, yet since you were of so easy and sweet a temper as in spite of your gray hairs to admit me, young as I was, to familiar intercourse with you, to say whatever I chose, in all security and secrecy, while you imparted to me your sorrows, and all the calumnies of the other heretics against you; and since like a father you exhorted me to walk straight and upright in the royal road, to follow the steps of the Church, the councils and fathers, and to believe that where there was a *consensus* of these there could be no spot of falsehood, I am very angry with myself that I neglected to use such a beautiful opportunity of recommending the faith through false modesty or culpable negligence, that I did not address with boldness one who was so near to the kingdom of God, but that while I enjoyed your favour and renown I

promoted rather the shadowy notion of my own honour than your eternal good.

“ But as I have no longer the occasion that I had of persuading you face to face, it remains that I should send my words to you to witness my regard, my care, my anxiety for you, known to Him to whom I make my daily prayer for your salvation. Listen, I beseech you, listen to a few words. You are sixty years old, more or less, of uncertain health, of weakened body, the hatred of heretics, the pity of Catholics, the talk of the people, the sorrow of your friends, the joke of your enemies. Against your conscience you falsely usurp the name of a bishop, by your silence you advance a pestilential sect which you love not, stricken with anathema, cut off from the body into which alone the graces of Christ flow, you are deprived of the benefit of all prayers, sacrifices, and sacraments. Who do you think yourself to be? What do you expect? What is your life? Wherein lies your hope? In the heretics hating you so implacably, and abusing you so roundly? Because of all heresiarchs you are the least crazy? Because you confess the living presence of Christ on the altar, and the freedom of man’s will? Because you persecute no Catholics in your diocese? Because you are hospitable to your townspeople, and to good men? Because you plunder not your palace and lands as your brethren do? Surely these things will avail much, if you return to the bosom of the Church, if you suffer even the smallest persecution in common with those of the household of faith, or join your prayers with theirs. But now whilst you are a stranger and an enemy, whilst like a base deserter you fight under an alien flag, it is in vain to attempt to cover your crimes with the cloak of virtues. You shall gain nothing, except perhaps to be tortured somewhat less horribly in the everlasting fire than Judas or Luther or Zwinglius, or than those antagonists of yours, Cooper, Humphrey, and Samson. What signifies the kind of death? Death is the same, whether you are thrown from a tall rock into the sea, or pushed from a low bank into the river; whether a man is killed by iron or rope, by rack or bullet, by knife or axe; whether pounded by stones or by clubs, whether roasted with fire or boiled in scalding water. What is the use of fighting for many articles of the faith, and to perish for doubting of a few? To escape shipwreck and to fall by the dagger? To flee from the plague and die of famine? To avoid the flames and be suffocated with the smoke? He believes no one article of the faith who refuses to believe any single one. For as soon as he knowingly oversteps the bounds of the Church, which is the pillar and ground of the truth, to which Christ Jesus, the highest, first, and most simple truth, the source, light, leader, line, and rule of the faithful, reveals all these articles,—whatever else of Catholic doctrine he retains, yet if he obstinately depraves one dogma, that which he holds he holds not by orthodox faith, without which it is impossible to please God, but by his own reason, his own conviction. In vain do you defend the religion of Catholics, if you hug only that which you like, and cut off all that seems not right in your eyes. There is but one plain known road, not enclosed by your palings or mine, not by private judgment, but by the severe laws of humility and obedience; when you waver from this you are lost. You must be altogether within the house of God, within the walls of salvation, to be sound and safe from all injury; if you wander and walk abroad ever so little, if you carelessly thrust hand or foot out of the ship, if you stir up ever so small a mutiny in the crew, you shall be thrust

forth,—the door is shut, the ocean roars, you are undone. He who gathereth not with Me, saith the Saviour, scattereth. Jerome explains, He who is not Christ's is Antichrist's. You are not stupid enough to follow the heresy of the Sacramentarians; you are not mad enough to be in all things a slave of Luther's faction, now condemned in the general councils of Constance and Trent, which you yourself think authoritative. And yet you stick in the mire of your imagination, and wish to seem to hit the bird in the eye, and to sit as a friendly arbitrator in the petty disputes of your brethren. Do you remember the sober and solemn answer which you gave me, when three years ago we met in the house of Thomas Dutton at Shireburn, where we were to dine? We were talking of St. Cyprian. I objected to you, in order to discover your real opinions, that synod of Carthage which erred about the baptism of infants. You answered truly, that the Holy Spirit was not promised to one province, but to the Church; that the universal Church is represented in a full council; and that no doctrine can be pointed out, about which such a council ever erred. Acknowledge your own weapons which you used against the adversaries of the mystery of the Eucharist. You cry up the Christian world, the assemblies of bishops, the guardians of the deposit, that is, the ancient faith; these you commend to the people as the interpreters of Scripture; most rightly do you ridicule and refute the impudent figment of certain thieves and robbers. Now what do you say? Here you have the most celebrated fathers and patriarchs and apostolic men, collected at Trent, who have all united to contend for the ancient faith of the fathers. Legates, prelates, cardinals, bishops, deputies, doctors, of diverse nations, of mature age, rare wisdom, princely dignity, wonderful learning. There were collected Italians, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Portuguese, Greeks, Poles, Hungarians, Flemings, Illyrians, many Germans, some Irish, Croats, Moravians,—even England was not unrepresented. All these, whilst you live as you are living, anathematise you, hiss you out, excommunicate you, abjure you. What reason can you urge? Especially now you have declared war against your colleagues, why do you not make full submission, without any exceptions, to the discipline of these fathers? See you aught in the Lord's Supper that they saw not, discussed not, resolved not? Dare you equal yourself by even the hundredth part with the lowest theologians of this council? I have confidence in your discretion and modesty; you dare not. You are surpassed, then, by your judges in number, value, weight, and in the serious and clear testimony of the whole world. Once more consult your own heart, my poor old friend; give me back your old beauty, and those excellent gifts which have been hitherto smothered in the mud of dishonesty. Give yourself to your mother, who begot you to Christ, nourished you, consecrated you; acknowledge how cruel and undutiful you have been; let confession be the salve of your sin. You have one foot in the grave; you must die, perhaps directly, certainly in very short time, and stand before that tribunal, where you will hear, *Give an account of thy stewardship*; and unless while you are on the way you make it up quickly and exactly with the adversary of sin, it shall be required to the last farthing, and you shall be driven miserably from the land of the living by Him whom you will never be able to pay. Then those hands which have conferred spurious orders on so many wretched youths shall for very pain scratch and tear your sulphurous body; that impure mouth, defiled with falsehood and schism, shall be

filled with fire and worms and the breath of tempests. That high pomp of your flesh, your episcopal throne, your yearly revenues, spacious palace, honourable greetings, band of servants, elegant furniture,—that affluence for which the poor ignorant people esteem you so happy, shall be exchanged for fearful wailings, gnashing of teeth, stink, filth, dirt, and chains. There shall the spirits of Calvin and Zwinglius, whom you now oppose, afflict you for ever, with Arius, Sabellius, Nestorius, Wiclif, Luther,—with the devil and his angels you shall suffer the pains of darkness, and belch out blasphemies. Spare yourself, be merciful to your soul, spare my grief. Your ship is wrecked, your merchandise lost; nevertheless, seize the plank of penance, and come even naked to the port of the Church. Fear not but that Christ will preserve you with His hand, run to meet you, kiss you, and put on you the white garment; saints and angels will sing for joy. Take no thought for your life; He will take thought for you who gives the beasts their food, and feeds the young ravens that call upon Him. If you but made trial of our banishment, if you but cleared your conscience, and came to behold and consider the living examples of piety which are shown here by bishops, priests, friars, masters of colleges, rulers of provinces, lay people of every age, rank, and sex, I believe that you would give up six hundred Englands for the opportunity of redeeming the residue of your time by tears and sorrow. But if for diverse reasons you are hindered from going freely whither you would, at least free your mind from its grievous chains; and whether you remain, or whether you flee, set your body any task rather than let its grossness oppress you, and banish you to the depths of hell. God knows those that are His, and is near to all that call upon Him in truth. Pardon me, my venerated old friend, for these just reproaches and for the heat of my love. Suffer me to hate that deadly disease, let me ward off the imminent danger of so noble a man and so dear a friend, with any dose, however bitter. And now, if Christ gives grace, and if you do not refuse, my hopes of you are equal to my love; and I love you as passing excellent in nature, in learning, in gentleness, in goodness, and as doubly dear to me for your many kindnesses and courtesies. If you recover your health, you make me happy for ever; if you despise me, this letter is my witness; God judge between you and me, your blood be on yourself. Farewell,—From him that most desires your salvation,

“EDMUND CAMPION.”

Balbinus (*Miscell. Decad. i. lib. 4. p. 196*) says that Cheney kept this letter among his archives, and prized it as his chief treasure.

41. *Annals of Douai*, by Alban Butler, Brussels Ms. 15594.

42. *Opusc. 328*. The same story is told in the *Hist. of Ireland*.

43. Allen, (1) *Epistola de Civitate Deventriensi redditâ suo legitimo regi per illustrem virum Gul. Stanleium. Cracoviae, 1588. 12mo.* It had previously been published in English. (2) *An Admonition to the Nobility and People of England and Ireland concerning the present Wars made for the execution of his Holiness' sentence, by the high and mighty King Catholic of Spain.* See Tierney's *Dod*, vol. iii. p. 29, note.

CHAPTER III. (pp. 54-72).

44. See below, p. 291.

45. *Camp. Hist. Ireland*, p. 192.

46. *Ib.* p. 175.

47. *Ib.* pp. 93 and 95.

48. *Ib.* p. 80.

49. Hadrian wrote to Henry: "We leave you entirely to your own inclination, and grant you full liberty to make a descent upon that island, in order to enlarge the borders of the Church, to check the progress of immorality, to improve the natives in virtue, and promote their spiritual happiness. And here we commit you to the conduct of your own wisdom, charging the people of the country to submit to your jurisdiction, and receive you as their sovereign lord. Provided always that the rights of the Church are inviolably preserved, and the Peter-pence duly paid. For indeed it is certain that all the islands which are enlightened by Christ, and have submitted to the doctrines of Christianity, are unquestionably St. Peter's right, and belong to the jurisdiction of the holy Roman Church" (*Matthew Paris, Hist. Ang.* p. 95; *Baronius, Annal.* ad an. 1159). In like manner Boniface VIII. claimed Scotland from Edward I. in 1300, on the ground that that realm "did and doth still belong in full right to the Church of Rome" (see the Barons' reply in 1301, *apud Rymer. Fœdera*, i. 2, 893).

50. *Johannes Salib. Metalogicus*, lib. iv. cap. 42.

51. It was the conception of Gregory VII. to make the Popes the feudal superiors of all the monarchs of Christendom: this he sought to effect by persuading the different kings to do suit and service to him for their crowns. The letter in which William the Conqueror, who, more than any prince of the time, was indebted to the Pope for his dominion, refuses this request may be seen in *Lanfranc* (*Opp.* ed. Migne, p. 304); and St. Gregory's reply is preserved in his register (*lib. vii. ep. 23*, an. 1080). However, John made the surrender; and in consequence Innocent IV. was able to write about Henry III. of England, "Nonne rex Anglorum noster est vassallus, et ut plus dicam mancipium; qui possumus eum nutu nostro incarceratione et ignominie mancipare?" (*Matth. Paris*, p. 872.) Edward II. also acknowledged himself to be the "Pope's man" (*Raynal*, ad an. 1316, no. 24). But Richard II. declared that the king had never held England in fee from the Pope.

Innocent III., however, in his *Decretale Novit*, and Boniface VIII. in the Bull *Unam sanctam*, founded the claim not on the feudal system, but on divine right. A specimen of the usual way of asserting this right may be seen in a brief of Pius II. to the Emperor Frederick, May 16, 1463: "Cum Christus Dominus noster sit Rex regum et Dominus dominantium, necesse existit omnes Christianos reges de ipsius regno esse, quod est universalis Ecclesia, cui nos, licet immeriti, ut ejusdem vicarius, præsidesimus."

As Gregory VII.'s claim seems to have sprung from his clear view of the necessity of a political head for Christendom, so the latest claims for the Papal dictatorship over princes were founded on its necessity for the independence and free action of the Pope as spiritual Head of the Church. This was Bellarmine's theory. The divines of the sixteenth century tried to adapt the old system to the changed state of society as a means of protecting religion from absolute monarchs, whether Catholic, like Henry III. of France, or Protestant, like Elizabeth. Hence they attributed the sovereignty to the people, subject only to the divine law, which the Pope administers and expounds. This dictatorship was thus reduced to a supposed delegation

of ultimate sovereign authority into his hands from the masses of Christian people, from whom the monarchs derived their titles.

None of these three systems ever met with complete success. The second was especially unfortunate. The result of Boniface VIII. trying to realise the theory of Innocent III. was that, as Dante says, Christ was once more insulted and buffeted in His Vicar, who was taken prisoner, and died of a broken heart; while the Papacy went into the French captivity, and began to be subject to nationalising influences, which led to a corresponding but antagonistic nationalising of the various churches. Gallicanism, the germs of Anglicanism, and the tendency to schism date from that event.

The last theory, which supposed the Papal right to be founded on popular delegation, was first exhibited in all its simplicity by Pius VI., whose journey to Vienna was a clear appeal to the people against the Emperor, and influences the utterances of all those prelates who assure us that the temporal power of the Pope stands on the suffrages of two hundred millions of Catholics.

52. *Campion, History of Ireland*, p. 110.

53. *Campion, Opusc.* p. 187-8.

54. *Hall's Chronicle*, 727, 728. Sir Thomas More's opinion referred to in the preceding paragraph is found in his conversation with Rich.—*State Trials*, vol. i. p. 387.

55. The Bull was dated Rome, at St. Mark's, anno 1535, the first year of Paul III.

56. *Barclay, De Pot. Papæ*, c. 40. "Vidi ego ante quinquaginta annos in Scotia, cum staret adhuc regnum fide et religione integrum, Papæ Romani nomen (ita enim Scotice loquuntur, *the Pape of Rome*) tanta in veneratione apud multitudinem fuisse, ut quicquid ab eo dictum factumve esse narrabatur, oraculi instar, et facti divini loco, ab omnibus haberetur." A great and pregnant fact, showing by its collapse how worthless is devotion to the person of the Pope without devotion to the idea which he represents.

57. See *Tierney's Dod*, vol. ii. p. 130, note.

58. These documents are printed in *Tierney's Dod*, vol. ii. Appendix.

59. *Stapleton, Opera omnia*, Paris, 1620. Vol. i. pp. 709, 710, 711.

60. This is true on the whole, in spite of the fact that a book of Stapleton's pupil, Bellarmine, was for a short time placed in the limbo of the Index for giving up the direct, and supporting only the indirect power over princes; his proposition being, "Papam habere potestatem temporalem *indirecte*, et aliquo modo, id est, ratione suæ spiritualis monarchiæ; habere, inquam, summam potestatem etiam temporalem disponendi de temporalibus rebus omnium Christianorum;" thus restoring to the Pope obliquely and indirectly all that he had taken away by denying the direct power; and this in spite of the maxim of law and morals, "quod directe fieri non permittitur, id nec indirecte fieri potest."

61. *Watson, Quodlibets*, p. 260, asserts that the advisers of the Bull were Harding, Stapleton, Morton, and Webbe—"simple men out of their positive divinity, who did mightily overshoot themselves divers ways." He says also that Bishop Watson was "exceedingly grieved when he heard of" the Bull.

62. *Sanders, De Visib. Monarchia*. Fol. Louvain, 1571, p. 730.

63. *Watson, Quodlibets*, p. 262. "It is well known that the chief reasons that moved Pius V. to yield unto them (*Harding, Morton, &c.*) were most

falsely and surreptitiously suggested to his Holiness, and carried with them very many absurdities; as, forsooth, the Duke of Norfolk was a most sound Catholic (which was false); all the realm would follow him (which was absurd); the Pope's pleasure and censure once known to the Catholics, there would be no resistance (which was ridiculous); besides this, a marriage would follow, that would reform all and work wonders."

64. The following letter of Pius V. to Maximilian will show the part which that prince took against the Bull. Elizabeth, who at once saw the connection of the excommunication with the late insurrection, and feared another and perhaps more effective struggle to deprive her of her throne, first sought to obtain a revocation of the sentence, and next, failing in this, resolved to cut off all communication between England and Rome. With this view the first penal laws were framed.

"To our dearest son in Christ, Maximilian, King of Hungary and Bohemia, Emperor elect of the Romans.

PIUS PP. V.

"Our dearest son in Christ health and apostolical benediction. In what your majesty does, you act, no doubt, with good intention and prudent forethought. We ought not to judge otherwise of any Catholic prince, much less of your majesty. Nevertheless, what your majesty requests of us in your letter dated September 28, which only reached us yesterday, namely, that we should revoke the sentence and excommunication against Elizabeth the pretended Queen of England, promulgated by us last year; it is a matter of such a kind, that though we should and do give your majesty hearty thanks for your care of us and of the state of Christianity, yet so long as the aforesaid pretended queen remains separated from the body of the Church, and from the communion of this Holy See, from which she cut herself off, we do not think that we can anyhow revoke the sentence and excommunication passed against her, which we published against her at the demand of many good men and Catholics. Why she makes such a stir about this sentence we cannot quite understand; for if she thinks so much of our sentence and excommunication, why does she not return to the bosom of holy Mother Church, from which she went out? But if she thinks it of no consequence, why does she make such a stir about it? As for her threats and her hatred against us, we are so far from being frightened at them, or from wishing to escape them, that if we could satisfy them by shedding our blood, we should do so with more joy and satisfaction than we feel in our Pontificate, which we, although unworthy, have received from Almighty God. But the condition of the times, urged with such affection and prudence by your majesty, though it ought to have its weight with all considerate men, yet with us it ought not to have such influence as to make us do anything offensive to God, or derogatory to the majesty of this Holy See. As to not printing the published sentence against the said pretended queen, your majesty understands that what is already done cannot be recalled or undone; as for its not being printed afterwards, that is altogether out of our hands. In other matters, whatever we can do to please your majesty in the Lord we will never, as far as in us lies, omit to give you proofs of our paternal affection. Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, under the Fisherman's ring, 5 January 1571, in the fifth year of our Pontificate."*

* Theiner, iii. 596.

Camden says that the Pope secretly anathematized the Queen in 1569, but did not publish the Bull till the year after. It appears most likely that the Bull of Pius V., dated Feb. 25, 1569, before the rising in the North, was not promulgated, but privately made known to Dr. Morton, who was sent to inform the English of it. After the repression of the partial rebellion thus excited, the Pope's English advisers seem to have attributed its failure to the general ignorance of the existence of such a Bull; whereupon sundry copies were distributed, one of which was pasted on the gates of the Bishop of London by Felton in 1570. Besides information of the Bull, Morton probably conveyed to the insurgent earls the letter of encouragement addressed to them by the Pope, and printed in Sir John Throckmorton's *Further Considerations*, p. 101. The Bull does not seem to have been printed till after the date of Maximilian's letter. Sanders, *De Schismate*, vol. iii. p. 361, says that the Council of Trent deliberated about excommunicating Elizabeth and declaring her a heretic, and was only prevented from doing so by the prayers of the Emperor Ferdinand, who expected her to marry his son.

65. The Bull is printed in Camden's Elizabeth, an. 1570 (vol. i. p. 183); Tierney's *Dod*, vol. iii. Appendix, p. ii.; Sanders, *De Schismate*, lib. iii. &c.

66. Sanders, *De Schismate Ang.* lib. iii. p. 372. But Sanders says the adversaries were really in a great fright, as was proved by their earnest but vain endeavours to get the Bull cancelled.

67. William Barclay, *De Potestate Papæ in Principes Christianos*, c. xxvii. p. 104, Hanovæ, 1612. It must be noticed that Barclay is here only quoted as a witness that the people did say thus, and did give these reasons for refusing to obey the Bulls.

68. *Ib.* c. xxx. pp. 115, 116.

69. That this Bull, and the fear lest the introduction of any future Bulls, might lead to mischief, was the occasion of the penal laws, is shown by the very title of the first of them, stat. 13 Eliz. c. 2, "An Act against the bringing in and putting in execution of Bulls, Writings, or Instruments, and other superstitious things from the See of Rome."

70. Barclay, *ut sup.* c. xxxi. p. 119: "De postremis duobus Pontificibus (Paul III. and Pius V.) ausim liquido affirmare (est enim orbi notissimum) in causâ eos fuisse perdendæ religionis in Anglia, quod istam tam invidiosam et late patentem potestatem in regni illius principem et populum sibi assumere et exercere conati sint. Quanto igitur rectius et sapientius Clemens VIII., qui spirituali et paternâ charitate et virtute nomini suo idoneâ nutautem regni Francici in religione statum erigere ac stabilire maluit, quam fastuosâ et minace temporalis imperii autoritate contendere?" By the year 1641 or 1642 Urban VIII. had become of the same mind as Barclay (S.P.O. Italy, 1641-1665). Cardinal Borgia, on behalf of the Spanish king, asked the Pope to excommunicate the kings of France and Sweden, and declare himself for the Catholics; but he replied, "What need that we should declare ourselves for the Catholics? Are we not head of the Catholic religion? . . . If your intention be that we should enter into a war and league with you against France and Sweden, this kind of declaration we will never make." . . . Then he gives his grounds for refusing to excommunicate the king of France for his Swedish alliance. "This union was only *ad redimendam communionem vexationem*, in which case it is lawful to implore the aid of any whatsoever; and without wrong to Catholic religion, wherewith you (Spaniards) would serve yourselves as with a cloke to

palliate your unjust pretensions. . . . You say that the king of Sweden is *ipso jure* excommunicated, as being an heretic; and therefore, to make him more infamous, at least among the Catholics, we ought to declare and solemnly anathematise him for an excommunicate. We know that the Protestants, although they are out of the Catholic Church, for so much as concerns the faith and common vows and suffrages, yet are they not in the point of jurisdiction, and therefore we may declare them excommunicate, as Pius V. declared Queen Elizabeth of England, and before him Clement VII. the king of England Henry VIII., and all at the instances of the house of Austria and the Spaniards [but see Pius V.'s reply to Maximilian in note 64]. But with what success? The whole world can tell. We yet bewail it with tears of blood. Wisdom does not teach us to imitate Pius V. or Clement VII., but Paul V., who in the beginning, being many times urged by the Spaniards to excommunicate James king of England, never would consent unto it, neither will we now against the king of Sweden, for fear of diverting him by so foul an act from his heroical intentions and his courteous and friendly carriage towards all Catholics in all places he has subdued."

71. See the letter of St. Pius, quoted in note 21. A startling comment on this letter is supplied by the character of Pius V. given to the Venetian Senate by Paulo Tiepolo in 1569. See Alberi, *Relazioni Venete*, vol. x. p. 178, &c.

72. St. Aug. lib. iii. c. 2, cont. ep. Parmeniani, and can. *Non potest*, 23, 9, 4.

73. This is a proposition of Wicliff, the 29th of those condemned by Martin V. and the Council of Constance in 1418; it was, however, equally an opinion of the Hussites.

74. *Campion*, *Decem Rationes*, ratio iv.

75. Cochlaeus (*Historia Hussitarum*, lib. i.), after recounting the migration of the German students from Prague to Leipsic on account of the violence of the heretics, writes: "Hæc est prima ruina floris et decoris Bohemici, et primus fructus mali arboris, doctrinæ Vicleficæ, per quam ruit alto a culmine Praga. Ex hac enim Teutonicorum emigratione ita deficit paulatim ac cecidit laudabilis et celebris universitas illa Pragensis, supremum atque altissimum totius regni decus, ut ne spes quidem supersit recuperandi splendoris illius pristini" (p. 15).

76. Schmidl, *Hist. S.J. Prov. Bohem.* lib. iv. no. 67.

77. *Campion*, *Opusc.* p. 261.

78. Carafa, *Commentarius de Germaniâ sacrâ restauratâ*, p. 289.

79. *Ib.* p. 318.

80. All these particulars are from Schmidl's *History of the Bohemian Province of the Society of Jesus*, or from Balbinus, *Miscellanea*, *Decad.* I, lib. iv. &c.

81. Schmidl, *ad an.* 1573, quotes *Campion*, "In *Libro Examinum Probationis Brunensis*, ad cap. iii. manu propria.

"Vocor Edmundus Campianus, Anglus Londinensis, annum natus 34, ex legitimo matrimonio, et parentibus ab antiquo Christianis, et in Catholica fide, ut speratur, defunctis. Pater vocatur Edmundus, conditione civis et bibliopola, mediocri fortuna. Fratres duos habeo, sororem unam. Frater major natu uxorem habet, vivit in militia, ut audio; minor vero studet. Habeo deliberatum propositum vivendi et moriendi in hac Societate Jesu;

idque nunc statuo, si antea non statuissem, nullo impellente, sed proprio motu."

Ad cap. v. :

"Primum in patria humanioribus literis: deinde Oxonii philosophiæ septennium, theologiæ sexennium circiter operam dedi; Aristoteli, theologiæ positivæ, et Patribus: deinde prope biennium scholasticæ theologiæ Duaci. Oxonii in Magistrum Artium promotus, in Baccalauream theologiæ Duaci. Memoria utcumque felici, intellectu etiam satis perspicaci, animoque in studia propenso, ad quæ suppetunt utcumque vires, ut et ad reliqua societatis munera.

"Hæc ille, die 26 Augusti."

82. Printed by Schmidl, ad an. 1575.

83. *Campion*, *Opuscula*, p. 380.

CHAPTER IV. (pp. 73-96).

84. Schmidl, *Historia S.J. Prov. Bohem. pars prima*, Prague, 1747, lib. iv. n. 5, ad an. 1573. Maxima Tyrocinii Pragensis, postea et Brunensis, ac justa quidem, ex Edmundo Campiano gloria, &c. Schmidl is my chief authority for *Campion's* life at Prague. The description of the Jesuit education is compiled from the rules and constitutions of the Society.

85. *Calendar of Court of Requests*, Chapter House, temp. Eliz. No. 315. Order in Exchequer. Lands in Cornwall, late of Francis Tregian, attainted, conveyed to Sir George Carey.

86. Sir Edwin Sandys, *Europæ Speculum*, p. 81. To this graphic account I may add Bacon's testimony to the worth of the education given by the Jesuits: "The noblest part of the ancient discipline has been restored in the Jesuit colleges. When I consider their industry and skill both in cultivating learning and in forming character, I cannot help saying, 'Talis cum sis, utinam noster esses.' . . . Partly by their own predilection, partly in consequence of the emulation of their foes, they devote their energies to literature; . . . and as for education, the shortest advice I can give is, Copy their schools; nothing better has yet been brought into use." The testimony of Selden, one of the greatest scholars and statesmen of his day, is equally flattering to the results of their education: "The Jesuits, and the lawyers of France, and the Low-Country men, have engrossed all learning. The rest of the world make nothing but homilies." Bacon selects for his chief praise the dramatic exercises of the pupils: "There is a thing which done for a livelihood is infamous, done to discipline the mind is capital; I mean the drama. It strengthens the memory; it tempers the tone of voice and the clearness of pronunciation; it gives grace to the countenance and to the action of the limbs; it gives no small confidence; and it accustoms boys to the eyes of men."

87. *Opuscula*, p. 420.

88. *Ib.* p. 221.

89. Correspondence of Sir P. Sidney and Hubert Languet, by S. A. Pears, M.A. Lond. 1845. p. 92.

90. Cotton Mss. Galba, B. xi. f. 388.

91. *Opuscula*, p. 389.

92. Robert Arden of Warwickshire is not in Dr. Oliver's catalogue of

English Jesuits. He was probably of the family of Robert Arden of Park Hall, executed in 1584 for his son-in-law Somerville's madness.

93. S.P.O. Dom. 1577, Nov. 6. Dr. Sanders to Dr. Alleu from Madrid.

94. Opuscula, p. 389. The date is July 10.

95. *Ib.* p. 391. The date is July 17. The father referred to at p. 96, line 19, was John Vitzumbius. Bombinus, Ms. add. to p. 299.

CHAPTER V. (pp. 97-117).

96. Dr. Allen to Dr. Owen Lewis, Tierney's Dod, vol. ii, Appendix, ccclxv.

97. Theiner, Annals, iii. pp. 219, 700, 701.

98. Royal Archives, Brussels. Inventaire des Archives du Province des Jésuites, No. 1085.

99. S.P.O. Dom. 1580. Apr. 14.

100. See above, p. 88.

101. Alberi, Relazioni Venete, vol. x. p. 282.

102. Annales Ecclesiastici, vol. iii. p. 217. The end of the next paragraph, p. 103, is not quite just to the Pope. He only did to Elizabeth what she did to Philip. She professed to be at peace with him, and yet helped his rebels in the Low Countries. The hostility of Philip and Elizabeth was for years a half-hearted one. According to Bacon's explanation, Elizabeth only interfered in the Netherlands with two objects: that the people should have their rights, and the Spanish crown its rights. Similarly, Philip for a long time seemed desirous of securing the crown to Elizabeth, and only opposing her so far as she persecuted the Catholics. But the tension between them had almost advanced to a rupture in 1580.

103. Parsons, Ms. Life of Campion.

104. Letter, apud Theiner, Ann. iii. p. 217.

105. Brief Apology, 101.

106. Tierney's Dod, vol. iii. p. 47.

107. Theiner, Annals, vol. iii. p. 700. Allen was of the same mind with Goldwell, and would have been content to live in England on the most beggarly allowance. See Tierney's Dod, iii. p. 3, note.

108. S.P.O. Dom. Apr. 18, 1580.

109. Gabrielle, Cardinal Paleotto, a close friend of St. Carlo Borromeo, Bishop of Bologna 1566 (Archbishop 1582). See notice of him in Cardella, *Memorie di Cardinali*, tom. v. p. 102; or his Life by Bruni in Martene and Durand, tom. vi. p. 1387. Cardella gives two traits of him that are worth noting: "Soon after he was cardinal, he exhibited his Christian liberty by opposing in consistory a tax that was proposed to be laid on the inhabitants of the papal states to assist the Catholic party in the French civil wars. In this he was against the Pope and against the whole body of cardinals, who advised his Holiness to confiscate his pension. But the Pope by the next morning had come round to Paleotto's opinion, and his pension was saved." Again: "He had a chief share in the reconciliation of Henry IV. of France; for it was he who induced Clement VIII. to come to terms with that sovereign." He was the author of the *De bono Senectutis* described in Tanucci's Life of St. Philip Neri, Faber's translation, vol. ii. p. 82.

110. Campion, Opuscula, p. 400.

111. The original is among the Mss. of Stonyhurst College.

112. Beza (in the edition of his poems, Geneva, 1569) denies that the

Candida of his odes was meant for Claudine the tailor's wife of the Rue de la Calandre at Paris, who accompanied him to Geneva when he fled thither from the Parliament of Paris, and whom he afterwards married.

CHAPTER VI. (pp. 118-135).

113. More, *Hist. Prov. Ang.* S.J. lib. iii. p. 63.

114. This is a principle of general law appealed to by Ockham (*Dial. pars i. lib. vi. c. 94, fol. 104*), when arguing for the rights of the laity to intervene in controversies of faith, because such questions, as Pope Nicolas I. rules, are common, and appertain to all Christians. "Ubinam legisit," he writes to the emperor (dis. 96, c. *Unam*), "imperatores antecessores vestros syuodalibus conventibus interfuisse, nisi forsitan in quibusdam ubi de fide tractatum est, quæ universalis est, quæ omnium communis, quæ non solum ad clericos, verum etiam ad laicos, et ad omnes omnino pertinet Christianos."

115. Sanders, *De Monarchia*, quoted by Burghley, *Execution of Justice* in Eng. p. 18, reprint of 1675.

CHAPTER VII. (pp. 136-155).

116. Thaurus, lib. xlix. c. 11.

117. Lib. v. ad anu. 1573.

118. Stapleton, *Sermo contra Politicos*.

119. Grindal to Hubert, May 23, 1559; *Zurich Letters*, 2d series, p. 19.

120. Peter Martyr to Thomas Sampson, July 15, 1559; *Zurich Letters*, 2d series, p. 25.

121. Martyr to Sampson, Feb. 1, 1660; *ib.* p. 39.

122. Grindal to Hubert, May 23, 1559; *ib.* p. 19.

123. Rymer, xv. pp. 518, 519.

124. Strype, Parker, p. 125; Heylin, *Reformation*, ii. p. 174.

125. Rymer, *ib.* pp. 546, 547.

126. S.P.O. Dom. Dec. 1550, no. 79.

127. Of this number were Stapleton and Godsolve, prebendaries of Chester.

128. S.P.O. Dom. Eliz. vol. x. The calculations in the text are based on the detailed proceedings, in which all the names are given. At the end of the volume there is an abstract of the numbers of rectors, vicars, and curates who refused to attend the visitation when summoned. The numbers are 158 for York diocese, 85 for Chester, 36 for Durham, and 35 for Carlisle; total, 314. There is no abstract of the numbers who attended and refused the oath. Probably the visitation was never completed, but broken off by the Queen's letters. The book, however, proves that in York province certainly 370 clergymen—probably 600—either refused to swear, or would have refused if they had been pressed. This gives a total much higher than the 172 which Protestant historians give as the number of recusant clergymen for the whole of England, or the 250, the number stated by Allen and Bridgewater after Sanders.

129. S.P.O. Dom. June 30, 1559.

130. Lausdowne Ms. cix. p. 17.

131. S.P.O. Dom. Eliz. vol. evi. no. 7.

132. Camden, *Eliz.* i. 32.
133. Strype, Parker, p. 125.
134. Percival Weburn, Report on the state of the Church of England; Zurich Letters, 2d series, p. 358.
135. Geo. Withers, *ib.* p. 163.
136. Parsons, Three Conversions of England, pt. ii. c. xii. p. 206, ed. 1688. fol.
137. Sanders, de Schismate, lib. iii. p. 342, ed. Colon. 1610.
138. A detailed examination of the lists of rectors and vicars of the several parishes of England, such as are usually found for each parish in good county histories, would be the best way of determining the "movement" of incumbents during the first years of Elizabeth. Unless my partial examinations were made in exceptional cases, the lists would show a change many times greater than the average for the years 1560-65. It was in consequence of the vacancies thus made that the Bishops had to fill the livings with "carpenters, blacksmiths, and uneducated men of every mechanic art."
139. Apology for the oath, in Cecil's writing, S.P.O. Dom. 1560, vol. xv. no. 27.
140. See Feckenham, Articles confessed by him at Wisbeach, 1580; Lansdowne Ms. no. 30, art. 77.
141. Lansdowne, no. 27, art. 20.
142. Lansdowne, no. 30, art. 77.
143. See note 72.
144. Cottoni Posthuma, p. 149.
145. *ib.* p. 133.
146. Nares, Burghley, ii. 240, 241; Strype, *Ann.* i. 405; and Parker, i. 212.
147. More, *Hist. Prov. Ang.* S.J. lib. iii. nos. 6 et seqq.
148. Letter of Lawrence Vaux, S.P.O. Dom. Nov. 2, 1566. See Collier, *Eccles. Hist.* vi. p. 458, ed. 1840. He and Bishop Kennet (Lansdowne Mss. no. 951, p. 118) say that the faculties were granted Aug. 14, 1567. The latter refers to Sutcliffe's answer to Parsons. Sutcliffe, in his Challenge to Parsons, p. 181, talks of faculties granted to Harding about 1567. They were in reality given in 1566, before the date of Lawrence Vaux's letter.
149. S.P.O. Dom. June 7, 1569.
150. Dom. *Eliz.* vol. cli. no. 39.
151. Responsio ad Edict. Regin. Aug. p. 21.
152. Castelnau, *dépêche* Sept. 8, 1578.
153. *ib.* May 29, 1579.
154. See the Earl of Oxford's report of Charles Arundell's speech, S.P.O. Dom. *Eliz.* vol. cli. no. 39.
155. Castelnau, July 26, 1579.
156. Pinard, *dépêche* à Castelnau, Paris Bibl. Imp. Ancien Fonds, No. 8810, July 10, 1580.
157. Castelnau, Aug. 8, 1580.
158. Geo. Cranmer, letter to Hooker, Feb. 1598; Keble's Hooker, vol. ii. p. 606.
159. Maffei, p. 47.
160. Stowe, *Chronic.* ed. 1580. The passages are suppressed in the edition of 1592.
161. S.P.O. Dom. Dec. 12, 1580.

CHAPTER VIII. (pp. 156-177).

162. Mathias Tanner, *Apostol*. S.J. p. 180.
163. Instructions, &c. See note 98.
164. Faculties, &c. See note 99.
165. Watson, *Quodlibets*, pp. 89, 113; John Gee, *Foot out of the Snare*, p. 66. At p. 158 I have said that Parsons and Campion used Sir W. Catesby's house at Hogsdon; it was more probably Gardiner's, Parsons' first convert; "*Hogsdonii celebris inquilinus*," as More calls him (*Hist. Prov. Ang.* p. 73).
166. Of course this document, when published, became known as Campion's "Brag and Challenge." See *Bibliographical Appendix*, i. 3.
167. *Hist. S.J. Inghilterra*, p. 107.
168. They were both Hampshire men.
169. S.P.O. Dom. Eliz. vol. cxliv. no. 31; and vol. cxlii. no. 20.
170. See S.P.O. Ireland, Feb. 17, 1581.
171. *Europæ Speculum*, p. 94: "Of their offers of disputation."
172. Letter of Council to Cox, Bishop of Ely, March 1572. Kennet's *Coll.* vol. xlviii. Lansdowne Mss. no. 982, fol. 6.
173. *Execution of Justice*, p. 11 (ed. 1675).
174. Harleian Mss. no. 360, fol. 65.
175. *Ib.* fol. 5. There is a certain cast about these instructions for the treatment of Catholic priests that makes them seem a parody on Gregory XIII.'s instructions for the treatment of Jews. Cf. Cherubini, *Bullarium*, vol. ii, pp. 452, 479, &c. These constitutions are really later than the English instructions: but they probably only legalised the usual treatment of Jews subjected to the process of conversion.
176. Sanders, *de Schismate*, lib. iii.
177. The letter is dated July 1581.
178. Harleian Mss., no. 360, fol. 65.
179. This list is compiled from Parsons, and from an official list of prisoners. Harleian Mss., no. 360, art. i. Parsons names several persons who were committed at a later date, and were not even converted in July 1580.
180. Theiner, *Annals*, iii. p. 215. Dele "(N.S.);" from the date; the new style was introduced in 1582.
181. Theiner, *Ann.* iii. p. 217. "News from Ireland" early in Aug. 1580. The document goes on to describe the terror of the English Jezebel and her court of heretics, and the measures of precaution she was adopting.
182. Bridewell.
183. Theiner, vol. iii. p. 216. Robert Parsons from London, 17th September 1580. This is a month or two too early. Bartoli quotes it as written Nov. 17.
184. (Note at end of letter, p. 177.) S.P.O. Dom. I do not know where this letter is placed; Mr. Lemon has not given it in his *Calendar 1547-1580*. It is either a contemporary translation of Campion's well-known epistle, or, if he wrote in duplicate, in English as well as Latin (*Constitutiones*, pars viii. cap. i. § 9), it may be his own English. It was probably written on the same day as Parsons' letter, during the fifth month of his residence in England, reckoning from June 25. This would quite agree with Nov. 17, 1580.

CHAPTER IX. (pp. 178-199).

185. And in France too, as Cobham wrote to Walsingham Nov. 27, 1580. S.P.O. France.

186. Hartley, educated at Rheims, ordained at Paris, sent to England 1580, apprehended at Lady Stonor's Aug. 13, 1581, imprisoned in the Tower till September 16, 1582, then in another prison till January 1583, when he was shipped off into banishment. After a short stay in Rheims, he returned to England, was again taken, and executed Oct. 5, 1588.

187. Arthur Pitts was also taken, handled very hardly in the Tower, and banished.

188. This digression about Scotland seems rather to be Parsons' reminiscence of his letter to Acquaviva from Rouen in 1582 (More, p. 113), than of anything that could have taken place at the Conference at Uxbridge.

189. All these names are found in the lieutenant's lists as third-class prisoners, paying 6s. 8d. for weekly diet, and 2s. 6d. for fuel and candles. There were two other classes who paid respectively 13s. 4d. and 3l. a week for diet. Out of these sums the lieutenant of the Tower made his profits.

190. This may have been the Brooks mentioned above, p. 157. Sir Thomas Lucy, in his return for 1592 of Warwickshire recusants, mentions as an inhabitant of Kingsbury one "William Brookes, thought to be a seditious seminary priest, sometime servant to Campion in the Tower. His friends give out that he is dead; but it is thought he lurketh in England."

191. After Parsons left England, Alfield became an apostate, and betrayed his own brother, Thomas Alfield, who was martyred at Tyburn, July 5, 1585.

192. See Appendix i. no. 2.

193. *Ib.* i. no. 3.

194. *Ib.* i. no. 4.

195. Nicholas Powtrell, or Powdrell, serjeant-at-law of West Hallam, near Derby. In 1682 Mr. Powtrel's house was again famous as a resort of priests. In the British Museum, $\frac{1298.m}{15}$ is a curious sheet—"Great news from Derbyshire . . . discovery of above thirty priests residing in and about Hallam."

196. Burghley papers. Lansdowne Mss. 30, no. 78.

197. York commission, S.P.O. Dom. Eliz. vol. exli.

198. Probably Mr. Ralph Grimston of Nidd, hanged June 15, 1598, at York, for aiding, assisting, and conducting Snow, a priest.

199. More, *Hist. Prov. Ang.* p. 76.

200. Rushton's diary.

201. S.P.O. Dec. 1, 1581. (It should be 1580.)

202. Allen's answer to English Justice, p. 12.

203. S.P.O. Jan. 14, 1581.

204. Lansdowne Mss. 33, no. 14.

205. Parsons, Stonyhurst Mss.

206. Bartoli, Inghilt. p. 134. Mr. Sheldon's copy of this tract, which, like Campion's Challenge, was circulated only in Ms., is in the S.P.O. Dom. Eliz. vol. 144, no. 69. It is a scholastic argument on the case whether for civit reasons a Catholic may be present at the Protestant church. The case is

now partially solved in the affirmative. No Catholic fears to be present at marriage or funeral, to listen to the cathedral chant, or to see the functions of the Ritualists. In 1580 the English Catholics suffered death rather than do so.

207. Paget hesitated long before he did so. When he was told, Jan. 10, 1581, that he must be at Powles the next Sunday at sermon-time, he begged Walsingham for time to consider: "Time may prevail more than haste, and force in these cases doth seldom work good effect." He had previously, Nov. 17, 1580, after having been restrained from his liberty for fourteen weeks, offered to have service at his house, and to be present at it. (S.P.O. Dom.)

208. D'Ewes' journal, p. 285.

209. Norton, harrister, poet, puritan; part-author with Lord Buckhurst of the tragedy of Gorboduc, or Ferrex and Porrex, and writer of those psalms of the "old version" which are signed T.N. After serving as rackmaster to Campion, he was caught conveying a Puritan Ms. to be printed at Antwerp or Amsterdam; and finally, if we may believe Parsons, died mad, as his wife had done before him by drowning herself. See Fleetwood's account of her in *Strype*, Ann. iii. 92.

210. *The Court of King James I.*, by Dr. Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, 1839, vol. i. p. 100.

211. See p. 107. See also *Constitut. S.J. pars iv. c. 10, § 41*, and *Regulæ Præpositi 2, et Rectoris 1*. See also *pars vii. c. 2*.

212. *Notitia Oxoniensis*, 1675.

213. *Theiner*, Ann. iii. p. 300.

214. *Tanner*, *Soc. Jes. Apostolorum Imitatrix*, 297.

215. *Labanoff*, vii. 152-161.

216. *Teulet*, v. 249.

217. May 20, 1582.

CHAPTER X. (pp. 200-217).

218. Fitcherbert's book on Policy and Religion is instructive, as showing the political notions of the more religious Catholics of the day. According to him there is no science of politics; the weal and woe of states are premiums and penalties distributed by God to reward not political combinations but moral and religious virtues. The *politiques* were atheistical, because they tried to reduce politics to a science, with certain sequences of political cause and effect: thus taking the fortunes of states out of God's hands, and making them depend on secondary causes. If God was pleased with a nation, all would go well with it; if He was displeased, all would go ill. Now nothing displeases Him so much as false religion. Hence the suppression of heresy and idolatry becomes a duty of patriotism, and a dictate of national prudence for self-preservation. Fanatical Protestants looked upon the execution of a priest for saying Mass as a kind of security against the unknown plagues which God might send upon the people for having a Mass said among them. Fanatical Catholics looked upon the burning of a heretic with a similar satisfaction; there was a flavour of human sacrifice about it. It was like the burning of Achan's family to expiate and avert the consequences of a sin which might be a national calamity.

219. *Council-book*, Aug. 1581, pp. 483, 499.

220. Rushton's diary.
221. S.P.O. March 27, 1581.
222. Sanders, de Schismate, iii.
223. Parsons' Censure.
224. Apology and true Declaration of the Institution and Endeavours of the two English Colleges, the one in Rome, the other now resident in Rhcirus, against certain sinister informations given up against the same. Mons in Hainault, 1581. 4to. Allen addressed a copy of the book to Cobham, who sent it to Walsingham, June 15, 1581.
225. A Defence and Declaration of the Catholic Church's Doctrine concerning Purgatory and Prayers for the Souls departed, by William Allen, Master of Arts and Student in Divinity. Antwerp, 1565. It was in reply to Jewel. The title of Bristow's book is "Apology to William Fulk, heretical Minister, in defence of Allen's book of Purgatory. Louvain, 1580." Brussels Mss. no. 15,594.
226. This was Parsons' tract against Langdale.
227. This kind of thing happened, according to Rushton's diary, every Sunday from Feb. 5 to Whitsunday. The prisoners used to interrupt the preachers, and hoot them when they had finished. Bishop Kennet tells us that one John Keltridge preached May 7 and May 21. Lansdowne Mss., 982, fol. 10.
228. Strype, Life of Grindal, ii. c. 12.
229. Bridgewater, fol. 231-233. Also Luke Kirby's letter, ib. fol. 92 verso.
230. Theiner, iii. 367.
231. S.P.O. June 30, 1581.
232. S.P.O. Dec. 26, 1580.
233. S.P.O. March 4, 1581; report of Justices of Cheshire to Council.
234. See above, p. 123.
235. S.P.O. June 12, 1581.
236. Council-book, 14 Aug. 1581, Greenwich. p. 488.
237. Bartoli, p. 145.
238. Sacchini, Hist. S.J. pars v. lib. i. no. 219.

CHAPTER XI. (pp. 218-229).

239. All these persons were apprehended after Eliot's success in taking Campion had given a colour to his information, which was at first received with little credit.
240. Bartoli, 148.
241. Bombinus. In 1584 there were still some nuns there. See Betham's Information, S.P.O. Feb. 1584. The chief colony of these nuns was now at Rouen. See a petition in their favour, S.P.O.
242. Challoner, Missionary Priests, i. 92.
243. Bartoli, 147.
244. Council-book, Eliz. v. p. 464.
245. He was no traitor, though he was naturally suspected of being so; and even his attempt at suicide, when he saw the tragical event of his folly, hardly rescued him from vengeance.
246. So says Bombinus. Challoner, following the Douai diary, and an

account of Filby by an eye-witness, printed in 1582, says he was taken at Lyford, and dreamed at Henley.

247. Holinshed, vol. iv. p. 1321.

CHAPTER XII. (pp. 230-252).

248. S.P.O. France, May 5, 1581. Wade to Walsingham from Paris : "The Scotch ambassador hath not stucc to tell the Lord Hamilton, in the hearing of others, that the king is secretly Catholic."

249. Labanoff, vii. 157.

250. In Aug. 1580 H.B., the 'servant in law' to the Earl of Westmoreland, reports the earl's sayings and doings to Burghley : how he went to Rheims, and asked Dr. Webbe and Mr. Bayly to supper, where he told them that the Catholic army was prepared for England and Ireland, for which cause he and all the other pensioners of the king were summoned to Spain. The king was waiting for nothing but the Italian contingent ; "but he wished that Portugal had been on fire, so that the king had not meddled therewith; for had not that fallen so unluckily out, he should have seen England in short time, and Dr. Sanders should have lacked no help in Ireland." (S.P.O. France.)

250 bis. S.P.O. Spain, March 1580, and an undated summary of Spanish news at the end of the year.

250 tert. S.P.O. France.

251. See above, p. 157.

252. See above, p. 102.

253. Declaration of the Recantation, &c., sig. K viii. apud Foulis, p. 336.

253 bis. Bridgewater, f. 233 verso.

254. S.P.O. France.

255. S.P.O. France, June 1580.

256. S.P.O. France, Feb. 1 and Feb. 21, 1581.

257. O'Sullivan, cap. 17, fol. 100. A copy of this Indulgence is bound up with the Burghley papers in the British Museum. See Ellis's Original Letters, 2d Series, iii. 94.

258. Labanoff, Mary Stuart, vi. 152-159.

259. Execution of Justice, p. 7.

260. Above, pp. 129-131.

261. S.P.O. France.

262. See above, p. 97.

263. Annals, an. 1581.

264. Grey, however, had in 1581 (Murdin, p. 347) to excuse himself for his want of severity. "The little service in Munster I cannot altogether excuse; and yet there is more done than I perceive is conceived. For my part, without it be of some importance, I take no delight to advertise of every common person's head taken off; otherwise I could have certified of an hundred or two of their lives ended since my coming from those parts." Elizabeth threatened to disgrace her viceroy for his cruelties; but her council asked more heads of him.

265. S.P.O. France, Oct. 9, 1581.

266. S.P.O. Italian States, March 23, 1582.

267. S.P.O. Italian States, July 12, 1582.

268. These "wager men" on "bargains to return" were those who made bets on the next pope, or on the cardinals to be created. A merchant would receive a varying sum, under bargain to return to the depositor 100 scudi if a certain man were made cardinal or pope at the next creation or election. When Allen was made cardinal by Sixtus V., Aug. 1587, it created quite a consternation in the Roman market, bets having been so high against him. "Qui sponsiones illas nundinati sunt," says Erythreus (Pinaooth, i. 92), "quorum pene infinitus erat numerus, maximæ pecuniæ jacturam fecerunt." After this, says Cardella, these *scomesse* were forbidden by the Pope.

269. S.P.O. France. H.B. to Burghley, Aug. 18, 1580.

270. S.P.O. Dom. 1582; undated, no. 393.

271. According to Tanner (*Soc. Jes. Militans*, p. 12), the prisoner was tied to the rack either by the thumbs and great toes, or by twenty small strings, each tied to a finger or toe. Campion, however, was only tied by the wrists, so as to leave him able to write.

272. Bartoli, iii. 2, who refers to several letters of Dr. Allen.

273. See below, p. 297.

274. Webley was probably the man who was hanged with Alfield for distributing Allen's books in 1585. On that occasion his life was offered to him if he would conform.

275. Council-book, 1581. July 30.

276. S.P.O. Spain, 1580. Nov. The Spanish ambassador's reply to the queen's observations of July 10.

277. S.P.O. France, Feb. 21, 1581.

278. Council-book, 1581. Aug. 2, p. 476.

279. *Ib.* p. 474.

280. Norris is probably the man subsequently called Richardson by Laing and Allen.

281. Pounce's great friend, Father Thomas Stevens, who is probably intended here, was in India at the time. He was sent to Goa in 1579. *More*, *Hist.* ii. 15.

282. Lansdowne Mss. 982, f. 14.

283. *Ib.* f. 19 verso.

284. Harleian Mss. 6265, f. 202.

285. See below, p. 273, note 347.

286. Indeed some of the councillors themselves were kept in the dark about the fraud; and Lord Huntingdon, the president of the north, wrote to Burghley, Aug. 18 (Lansdowne Mss., 33, no. 8): "What I may be able to perform touching those things that Campion hath confessed, your lordship shall have so soon as may be. I dare assure you that some things which I see he hath confessed be true; and if my hap had been good, I had taken him here in this country; but it may be I shall meet with his fellow Parsons." Then he suggests another place where Campion may have been. "I would be glad to understand whether he were at Sir W. Colthorpe's house whilst he lived, or since his death. Of the conditions of that man your lordship is not ignorant, and I think the place is not mended since his death."

287. Council-book, Aug. 1581, p. 488.

288. Harleian Mss. 859.

289. Challoner, who follows the authority named in Appendix iv. no. 7.

290. See note 280.

291. See Appendix iii. no. 1.

292. It was only after his death that his relentless enemy Charke ventured to call him "a glorious fool, who, partly to boast of his sufferings, partly to excuse his impatience and pusillanimity, which for fear rather than for feeling of the rack had discovered many of his friends and complices with his own handwriting, immediately after his racking, was not ashamed on the day of the first conference to complain of his grievous torments, until by testimony of Master Lieutenant of the Tower, and others that were present, his impudency was so restrained at the time, that he thought it best not to brag any more of his intolerable racking." Burghley, in his "Declaration of the favourable dealing" of the commissioners with the priests, says, "If he (a priest) said that his answer in delivering truth would hurt a Catholic, and so be an offence against charity, which they said to be a sin, and yet the queen could not command them to sin, and therefore, howsoever the queen commanded, they would not tell the truth which they were known to know, they were then put to the torture, or else not."

293. Harleian Mss. 859.

294. S.P.O. Dom. undated, 1583; Lists of prisoners for religion.

295. Lansdowne Mss. 30, art. 78.

296. Selden Table-talk, art. "Trial."

297. Strype, Ann. iv. p. 147.

298. Hamlet, ii. 1, 63. Windlass, as a device for discovering men's secrets, is probably a metaphor borrowed from the rack.

299. Council-book, 1581, p. 494.

300. *Ib.* p. 499.

301. *Ib.* p. 501.

CHAPTER XIII. (pp. 253-269).

302. Lansdowne Mss. 33, art. 17, dated Fulham, July 25, 1581.

303. Staphilus, a scholar of Luther and Melancthon at Wittenberg, then Professor of Theology at Königsberg till 1553, when he became a Catholic and was made Councillor of the Empire and of the Duke of Bavaria, and Inspector of the University of Ingolstadt, where he died 1564. The works to which Aylmer alludes are "Epitome Martini Lutheri Theologiæ trimembris" and "Defensio pro trimembri Mart. Lutheri Theologia contra ædificatores turris Babylonica, Phil. Melancthonem, And. Musculum, &c."

304. Lansdowne Mss. 33, art. 18, Fulham, July 25, 1581.

305. True Report, &c. sig. G. 1 verso.

306. Lansdowne Mss. 33, art. 19, July 27.

307. Ratio viii.

308. Lansdowne Mss. 33, art. 24.

309. S.P.O. Dom.; *Id.* August. 1583.

310. Lawrence Humphrey, Jesuitismi pars prima, sub init. See Appendix II. no. 3.

311. *Ib.* p. 94.

312. From the "True Report." See Appendix, iv. 7.

313. De Oratore, ii. 14.

314. Quintil. i. 14. Reynolds' letter is printed by Keble, Works of R. Hooker, vol. i. p. 106.

315. (p. 257, line 23). Nowell and Day had previously written and cir-

culated in Ms. a reply to *Campion's Challenge*. There is a copy in the *Harleian Mss.* no. 1732.

- 316. *Decem Rationes*, preface.
- 317. *Hamilton, Discussions* (first ed. 1852), p. 505.
- 318. *Keble's Hooker*, i. 82.
- 319. *The Life and Death of the Earl of Arundel* ; edited by the Duke of Norfolk, 1857, p. 19.
- 320. *Strype, Aylmer*, p. 201.
- 321. *Walton, apud Keble, Hooker*, i. 37.
- 322. *Fuller, Worthies*, p. 264, and *Church Hist.* ix. p. 216.
- 323. *True Report*, preface to the reader.
- 324. *Catholic report of second day's Conference*, *Harleian Mss.* 422, folio 148.
- 325. *True Report*, sig. G iii. 4.
- 326. *Harleian Mss.* 422.
- 327. It was the policy of *Gregory XIII.* to withdraw the licenses to this effect that had been granted by his predecessors. See *Theiner, Ann.* iii. pp. 20, 136, 137, 319, 532.
- 328. *Harleian Mss.* 422, fol. 136.
- 329. *Defence of the Censure*, p. 5.
- 331. *Parsons' statement* is borne out by the report, *Harleian Mss.* 422.
- 332. *Lansdowne Mss.* 33, art. 24.
- 333. *Ib.* art. 61.
- 334. *True Report*, sig. o 1.
- 335. *S.P.O. Dom.* 1581, no. 220.
- 336. *Strype, Aylmer*, c. iii.
- 337. *Lansdowne Mss.* 33, art. 63, Dec. 28, 1581.

CHAPTER XIV. (pp. 270-278).

- 338. *A Declaration of the Recantation of John Nichols*, sig. κ iiij.
- 339. *Id.* sig. M iiij.
- 340. *S.P.O. Dom.* July 14, 1581.
- 341. *Ellis, Original Letters*, fourth series, iii. 94.
- 342. *Fuller, Church History*, iv. 459.
- 343. *S.P.O. France*, August 9, 1851.
- 344. *Camden, Ann.* 1581. *Regiua, ut formidinem quæ multorum animos occuparat, religionem immutaturam iri et Pontificios tolerandos, importunis precibus evicta permisit ut Campianus, &c.*
- 345. See above, p. 148.
- 346. *Sidney to Burghley*, Oct. 10, 1581, ap. *Murdin*. It was at this time that *Sidney* was engaged in his intrigue with *Lady Rich*. This by itself might have indisposed him to risk much for *Campion*. In March 1582 he did interpose in favour of *Sir Thomas Kitson*, a *Suffolk Catholic*. See *Gage, History of Hengrave, Suffolk* (1822), p. 182.
- 347. *S.P.O. France*, Aug. 11, 1581.
- 348. *E.g.* in *Morgan's Britannicus*, 481 ; *State Trials*, i. 1074 ; *Tierney's Dod*, vol. iii. Appendix, no. iii.
- 349. *Merchant of Venice*, iii. 2.
- 350. *Baldwin to Shrewsbury*, Dec. 22, 1580 ; *Lodge, Illustrat. of British History*, p. 185.

351. *Apologia Martyrum* ; Bridgewater, p. 223.
 352. S.P.O. France, Aug. 20, 1581.
 353. S.P.O. France, Sept. 19, 1581.
 354. Egremont Ratelyffe, brother of the Earl of Sussex, one of the rebels of 1569, beheaded at Namur in 1579, on suspicion of having been bribed by Walsingham to assassinate Don John of Austria. He had previously, also on Walsingham's instigation, attempted to assassinate Dr. Allen. (Paquet, in *Vita Card. Allen.*)
 355. Ellis, *Original Letters*, third series, iv. 36.
 356. Council-book, October 29, 1581.
 357. Rushton's diary.
 358. Challoner, i. 68.
 359. *Jesuitismi*, pars prima, preface to Earl of Leicester.
 360. Hallam, *Constitutional History*, i. 150.

CHAPTER XV. (pp. 279-313).

361. Lansdowne Mss. 33, art. 64.
 362. *Ib.* art. 65. That this is not a mere rough draft, but a copy kept as a record, is shown by the note to Collyton's name, "*quited.*" This must have been added after the trial.
 363. Markham (ob. 1479) was the judge who tried the London merchant accused of treason for saying that he would make his son heir to the crown—which was the sign on his shop. Edward IV. wanted the merchant's money, and the judge was superseded for directing an acquittal in 1469. His example was appealed to by Sir Nicholas Throgmorton on his trial in 1554.
 364. Hallam's *Const. Hist.* i. 146.
 365. Harleian Mss. no. 6998, p. 182.
 366. Bridgewater, p. 232.
 367. No counsel was permitted to the accused in cases of treason.
 368. Bacon, iii. p. 4 (*State of Europe in 1580*), says, "None are now admitted to the seminaries but those who take the oath against her majesty." Probably the oath to serve upon the mission, thereby to withdraw subjects from obedience to the queen and her laws, was thus interpreted. See Flanagan, *Hist. of the Church in England*, ii. 336.
 369. The Catholic accounts of the trial in Laing and Bridgewater say that Cradoek deposed that while he was in prison in Rome he was visited by an Englishman, who told him he was lucky to be out of his own country, where shortly there would be great uproars, with much bloodshed and slaughter.
 370. Rather from Sanders to Allen. See above, p. 102.
 371. It was a tradition that in the disputation in the Tower Campion had forced his opponents to confess that they could not match him in logic. See *Imago primi seculi Soc. Jes.*, p. 341, where many other examples of the Protestant protest against the determination of religious questions by logic are given.
 372. Allen, *apud* Bridgewater, p. 219.
 373. Letter to Agazzari. Dec. 21, 1581; More, iii. 35.
 374. S.P.O. Dom. Jan. 1580; Information of Robert Barrett.
 375. S.P.O. Spain, January 22, 1582, Mendoza to Yaxley.

376. S.P.O. Italian States, March 23, 1582.
 377. Harleian Mss. 6992 and 6993.
 378. Hallam, Const. Hist. i. 456.
 379. Topcliffe to Puckering, Sept. 20, 1592; Harleian Mss. 6998, p. 31; and PHS. to Walsingham, S.P.O. Dom. 1590, undated papers, 138A.
 380. The best comment on this head of evidence is an admission of Camden's, ad ann. 1585. "Et certe ad explorandos animos subdolæ artes fuerunt adhibitæ. Literæ eumentæ sub profugorum nominibus submissæ, et in pontificiorum ædibus relictæ," &c.

CHAPTER XVI. (pp. 314-325).

381. Bombinus, Ms. additions to p. 311. See Appendix, iv. no. 33.
 382. Parsons, Defence of the Censure, p. 2.
 383. S.P.O. Dom. May 1584. It was George Eliot, whose impulses towards repentance were always brief, and who sank to the trade of spy and informer, who raked up this story in 1584.
 384. Bombinus, Ms. additions to p. 289. "Ex diversorum auct. sunt apud me."
 385. Register of the Jesuit novitiate at Malines, p. 557. Ms. Bib. Burg. Brussels, no. 2167. The same story is referred to in other Mss. of the same collection, *e.g.* no. 3166, part ii. and no. 4554.
 386. Parsons to Agazzari, Dec. 23, 1581.

CHAPTER XVII. (pp. 326-346).

387. S.P.O. Dom. 1584, April, no. 241. "It was one Stonor, or Stonard, that converted the lieutenant's daughter. He was prisoner in the Tower, and she was far in love with him. She conveys letters and messages between the prisoners in the Tower and the Marshalsea." Stonor afterwards served in the Prince of Parma's army (S.P.O. Dom. 1587, no. 614). Ralph, a son of Sir O. Hopton, was apparently a Catholic at Antwerp (S.P.O. Dom. Jan. to March, 1581, no. 45). Cecilia was implicated in Francis Throgmorton's treason in 1584; and a paper of May 27, 1585, concludes with the following memorandum for Tower matters: "That her Majesty be pleased to remove the lieutenant, and give him some recompense, for his poverty, and that he bought the office. Sir Drew Drury a fit man for his place."
 388. S.P.O. Dom. Dec. 15, 1583, and Feb. 20, 1584.
 389. Register of Malines. See note 385. In the *Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Trophæa* there are three plates referring to Campion: his racking, his drawing to Tyburn, and his and his companions' martyrdom. To this third plate there is a note: "Horum constanti morte aliquot hominum millia ad Romanam ecclesiam conversa sunt."
 390. Humphrey, *Jesuitismi*, præf.
 391. Somers Tracts, i. 164. This able paper is attributed by Hallam (Const. Hist. i. 151) to Burghley, as a set-off to his brutal apology for Campion's tortures. Mr. Spedding (i. 48) restores it to its right owner, Bacon.
 392. Cotton, Posthuma, 132.
 393. S.P.O. Dom. Nov. 1581.

394. S.P.O. Dom. Feb. 6, 1582.

395. Conway's Apology, p. 281. Apud Gee, Foot out of the Snare, 1624, p. 48.

396. Gee, p. 49.

397. Brussels Ms. 3349. Bombinus in his Ms. additions says that his name became a synonym for eloquence, and was given to any one of the scholars of the seminary who was an especially good preacher. Thus William Hart, martyred at York in 1583, was called a second Campion.

398. Literæ annuæ Collegii Græcensis, an. 1606.

399. Mathias Tanner, Soc. Jes. Militans. Prague, 1675, p. 13.

400. Bell, Anatomy of Popery, p. 97.

401. Gunne, S.P.O. Dom. June 8, 1585. The Procession, Gee, p. 86.

402. If this reliquary was ever Mary Stuart's, relics must have been added afterwards, for it contains those of Walpole, mart. 1595, and H. Garnet, mart. 1606.

403. S.P.O. France, Jan. 4, 1582, and Dom. July 24, 1586. "The name of cruelty is sometimes cried in the Paris streets against her Majesty, which I know doth much incense the people." Foxley to Walsingham.

404. S.P.O. Italian States, March 23, 1582.

405. Gregory XIII. Jan. 21, 1582; Bullar, Rom. iv. pt. iv. Const. 134, p. 8.

406. Erythræus (Pinac. i. 92) is as strong as Estius. "Quo scelere nulum ætas nostra tetrius vidit."

407. S.P.O. Dom. undated, 1581, no. 240; and Harleian Mss. 6265, p. 373; see also S.P.O. Dom. Jan. 7, 1584.

408. I will not pass judgment on the genuineness of the letters and confessions signed by Hart in the S.P.O. The following passages out of his preface to his conference with Reynolds show why his life was spared. "As for that which he (R.) affirmeth in one place, that I have told him that my opinion is, the Pope may not depose princes; indeed I told him so much: and in truth I think that although the spiritual power be more excellent and worthy than the temporal, yet they are both of God, neither doth the one depend of the other. Whereupon I gather as a certain conclusion, that the opinion of them who hold the Pope to be a temporal lord over kings and princes is unreasonable and unprobable altogether." (The Summe of the Conference between John Rainoldes and John Hart, touching the Head and the Faith of the Church. London, 1584, p. 11.)

409. A document in the S.P.O. of Jan. 19, 1596, says as follows: "I can assure you now that Parsons, Creswell, and the rest of the Jesuits will not hereafter deal much in matters of state; for that in their last congregation this last year they have made a decree or a statute *sub pena peccati mortalis* that none hereafter of that order should directly or indirectly negotiate in matters of state. I know that Parsons hath had some check for that he hath done; at present he is not used for any civil affairs." The writer refers, of course, to canons 10, 12, and 13 of the 5th General Congregation of the Order. See Institution Soc. Jes. Prægæ, 1705, vol. i. p. 150, and vol. ii. pp. 133 and 142.

410. Theiner declares that the Pope and Court of Rome never meddled with this "sacred expedition." Gregory XIII., however, seems to have responded to Allen's letter by granting, at the instance of Agazzari, the Rector of the English College, a plenary indulgence to "every person who shall employ himself in England, or against that kingdom, for the restora-

tion of the Catholic faith praying for our holy father and increase of the faith, and change of the kingdoms of England, Ireland, and Scotland, &c. Rome, Sep. 8, 1584" (Lansdowne Mss. 96, p. 101). As to more material support, though all authorities, including Bernadine de Mendoza (S.P.O. Spain, 1580, Nov.), agree that the Pope paid for the invasion of Ireland in 1580; yet Horatio Palavicino tells Walsingham (S.P.O. Dom. Feb. 10, 1581) that there was no such dealing in 1581. Even (Card.) Allen, *Apology for Seminaries*, p. 100, does not venture to deny it. "If the Pope have any part (in the invasion of Ireland), we never knew it. His government is too discreet to commit its secrets to poor priests." See also *Genebrard*, *Chronograph*, lib. iv. and in *Append.*

411. *Watson*, *Important Considerations*, p. 82.

412. *More*, *Hist. Prov. Ang.* v. 29.

I have spelt the names *Campion* and *Parsons*, instead of *Campian* and *Persons*. *Campian* is only a spelling derived from the Latinized name; and there is no more reason for following it in his case than in *Dr. Allen's*, who was always called *Alanus*, but not *Alan*. As *Allen* is English for *Alanus*, so *Campion* is English for *Campianus*. *Parsons* or *Persons* is more difficult to determine; probably the pronunciation was the Italian *e*, as in *hair*, *pear*, *hare*. Hence the modern spelling of the name *Pearson*, where, however, the old pronunciation is lost.

THE END.

