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THE COMING OF THE JESUITS INTO ENGLAND

1580-1623

by

Sister M. Lillian Schmitt, A.B.

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## PREFACE

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries England was going through a serious spiritual crisis. Throughout this critical era the Society of Jesus established in 1540 played a constructive role.

The purpose of this thesis is to depict the struggle of the Jesuits to establish themselves in England at the same time that they were assisting the Catholics and converting the heretics during the religious persecution of Queen Elizabeth and King James I. Since a comprehensive chronological picture of this conflict undergone by the Jesuits while entrenching their Society on the Island has never been written, it is the intention of this writer to present that picture, beginning with the official entry of the Society into England in 1580 and concluding with the formation of the Jesuit English Province in 1623.

A group of religious men intending to expend its energies for the greater good of souls must be well organized; hence, the Jesuit Superiors desired to form religious houses, commonly called colleges, for their members in England, and eventually to establish an English Province. The spiritual confusion reigning in England during this period could be counteracted only with spiritual order; with this the Society was well equipped.

The obstacles facing the spiritual soldiers of St. Ignatius who were forming the spiritual English beachhead were manifold. A barrage of difficulties made a veritable din: (1) there was the initial problem of organizing themselves into a well-knit religious unit on the Island; (2) there was the lack of a Catholic hierarchical organization with its

ally of bishops giving authoritative and uniform direction to the priests and their flocks; and (3) there were the penal laws with their penetratingly effective forces of spies, pursuivants, fines, prison life, torture and death.

The aim of this thesis is to capture for the reader the indomitable spirit with which the Jesuits met the powerful politico-religious opposition of the times and to show also how, in the face of seeming insurmountable difficulties, they worked to save souls, to encourage the Catholics, to convert the heretics, and to solidify the establishment of the Society in England.

The author wishes to express her sincere gratitude to the Reverend Clarence J. Ryan, S.J., assistant professor of history, of Marquette University, for the initial inspiration that led to the development of this thesis. To him she is likewise deeply indebted for helpful suggestions and particularly for his kind encouragement in seeing the work completed.

Sister M. Lillian Schmitt, F.S.P.A.

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## CHAPTER I

### JESUITS IN ENGLAND DURING THE PRE-MISSION DAYS

Into the jaws of death, into the mouth of hell rode the soldiers of Christ to bring courage to the faltering, light to the blind, comfort to the sorrowing and heavily burdened, and peace to the hearts of men. Even more, the soldiers of Christ braved death in order to rescue souls from eternal perdition, to save a people of a nation from completely disinheriting its mother, the Catholic Church.

The English government with its state-established religion had declared war on revealed doctrine, the supernatural life and spiritual authority, especially as exemplified in the Catholic Church. Henry VIII had erred in 1535 when he had made himself head of the Church of England, thus severing the Englishman's spiritual allegiance from the head of Christendom, the Pope of Rome. That war was to rage more or less fiercely for nearly two centuries, a war that the government knew would end in complete defeat if all or most Englishmen were again to accept the spiritual authority of the Pope. The shot had been fired! But true to medieval warfare, battles were fought, won, or lost only intermittently. This conflict proved to be no exception. In approximately one decade the established religion changed four times, namely, 1547, 1549, 1552 and 1559. The successive changes brought about confusion, indifference toward religion, and the idea that, in all likelihood, another change would soon occur. And it did.

To reflecting minds it has always been a subject of astonishment how the Catholic religion of England lived through and survived the dark ages

of persecution. A glance at the records of the accomplishments of the Jesuits in England affords at least a partial clue to the preservation of the faith under Divine Providence. They, as a compact body of clergymen, present men of the highest standard of education, many ranking among the foremost scholars of Europe; all of them, disciplined by a long spiritual training and acting in unison under local Superiors with one general head, were dispersed into every county of England and Wales.

These men were bound to win against discouraging odds. The spirit of the Society of Jesus was military in its inception. St. Ignatius, the founder of the Society, was a Basque nobleman-soldier, who in 1521 had his leg shattered by a cannon ball during the defence of Navarre against the French. From a bed of pain he rose like a good soldier to conquer—himself. After a lonely vigil through the night before the Shrine of Our Lady of Montserrat in northeastern Spain, he placed his sword at the feet of the Queen of Heaven, a soldier offering himself, heart and hand, to the absolute service of her Son, Christ. Thus was conceived the spirit on which St. Ignatius founded an army of disciplined soldiers who were to sally forth to fight the battles of God, and from this spirit sprang a new religious order of men. On September 27, 1540, it was approved by Pope Paul III.

For a panorama of the Jesuits' ensuing struggle in England, it is necessary to note briefly the interest in the Society manifested on this Island since 1531 when St. Ignatius paid it a short visit.

He came to beg for alms, for he was then at Paris, living entirely on charity. Nor did he come in vain, for he himself has left it on record that he "there received more alms than in all former years," that is to say, more than he had obtained in all his annual begging tours in Flanders. <sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> J.H.Pollen, S.J., "The First Jesuits in Great Britain," Month, 1903, 102:647-652.

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Later, remarks Father Robert Persons, S.J., St. Ignatius was in frequent communication with Cardinal Pole who assisted him in founding the German College at Rome, to which according to the saint's original ideas Englishmen should have been admitted, and in fact were. He even asked Cardinal Pole to send more.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> F. Shroeder, S.J., *Primordia Collegii Germanici*, 139, 162, 237, cited by J.H.Pollen, ed., *Catholic Record Society*, 2:186 n.

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As early as 1553 the Society incorporated special prayers to be said by its members for the preservation of the faith in England. After St. Ignatius' visit, records have it that "Fathers Salmeron and Brouet touched at England on their way to Scotland and Ireland in 1541, 1542<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> *Monumenta Historica Soc. Jesu*, fasciculus 116, J.H.Pollen, loc. cit. See also J.H.Pollen, "The First Jesuits in Great Britain," *Month*, 1903, 102:647-652.

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and Father Ribadeneyra was here in the suite of the Conde de Feria in 1558."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> L. Delplace, *L'Angle-terre et la Compagnie de Jesus avant le martyre du B. Edmond Campion*, cited by J.H.Pollen, *C.R.S.*, 2:186 n.

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Credit for the first apostolic work done in England by the Jesuits goes to Father Roger Dolbet and Father Thomas King.

Father Nathaniel Southwell, in his *Catalogus primorum Patrum et Fratrum*, p.7, states that this Father entered the Society, already a Priest, at Louvain; that he is probably the same person who is called in the Louvain Catalogue for 1569, P. Roger Anglus, [the Englishman] Prefect of the Church and Confessor of the English, and in the following year

he is noticed as having been sent to Duay to study (Catal. 1570); that he is probably the same who is named in the Index Personarum of the Concertatio Anglicana, "Roger Bobbet, Priest, exile," for he was commonly so called; that Father Thomas Fitzherbert testified that when he was a boy of ten years of age (that is, about 1562), he often saw the same Father in England, as a Priest, and that he was of repute among the Catholics of his time, and was then a Jesuit, and that hence he (Fitzherbert), though a boy, bore him a special affection, which, adds Father Southwell, "if it be so, he must needs be regarded as the first of the Society's missionaries in England." 5

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5 H. Foley, S.J., ed., Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus during the 16th and 17th Centuries, 7, part 1:70-71 and part 2:1420.

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If Father Bobbet was the first missionary, then Father Thomas King, according to present records, was the second. A native of Wales and a son of wealthy parents, he entered the professed house of the Jesuits at Rome, July 5, 1561, when he was about twenty-seven years of age. At that time he was already a priest and had obtained his masters degree from Oxford. Before joining the Jesuits he had been offered two ecclesiastical benefices in England but the severe persecution compelled him to abandon all. He was received into the Society by Father Everard Mercurian then Provincial of Cologne. After studying several years in Rome he was sent to Belgium and finally to England in 1564 in order to console and administer the sacraments in secret to the afflicted Catholics. Evidently he did not long remain in England for it is recorded that he died in Germany in March 1565.<sup>6</sup>

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6 Ibid., 1437-1438.

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It is readily understandable why young Catholic Englishmen were attracted to the Jesuits. Since the Order was fast coming into view as a protagonist against the advances of Protestantism, it was sure to gain the attention of the English fugitives who were often young men inclined to the clerical state; furthermore, since the Jesuit Fathers on the Continent were conducting schools of higher learning for laymen as well as directing studies in some secular seminaries, many a young Englishman pursuing his education abroad in one of these institutions, decided to adopt the way of life to which his professors were consecrated. "By the time of the last sessions of the Council of Trent some thirty or forty had been already enrolled, and a few had completed their religious training and were at work, generally in the country in which they had entered."<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> J.H.Pollen, S.J., English Catholics in the Reign of Elizabeth, 105-106.

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Father Nathaniel Bacon, S.J., generally known as Southwell, lists brief accounts of nearly 120 English members who entered the Society from the years 1556 to 1590.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Nathaniel Bacon, S.J., Catalogus Primorum Patrum et Fratrum Societatis Jesu ex Anglia, contained in H. Foley, op. cit., 7, part 2:vi.

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Among the earliest recruits were Fathers Thomas Lith, William Good and Thomas Darbyshire. Father Lith or Lish seems to be the first, but he is rather difficult to identify from the records on account of the custom then prevailing in Italy to designate students from England by the surname Inglese.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> J.H.Pollen, S.J., "The First English Jesuit," Month, 1909, 114: 428-431.

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It so happened that there were two Thomases from England in 1555 and 1556 respectively. Hence the confusion. Thomas Lith was admitted to the Society in Rome at the age of nineteen by St. Ignatius himself, June, 1555.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Knox, Allen, 33, cited by P. Guilday, The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent, 122-123.

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Referring to Father Lith, Cardinal Allen wrote to Chauncy, prior of the English Carthusians at Cambrai on August 10, 1577, "One of which order (Jesuits) being somewhat young but otherwise exceedingly exercised, was many daes some years past in England, where he did reconcile many and did much good; and yet because he was yonge et qui mollibus vestiebatur to cover his order, myselfe hard yll spoken of him in England; as now ours be."<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Collectanea, 463; N. Bacon, S.J., Catalogus primorum Patrum et Fratrum, S.J., 1, cited by H. Foley, Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus, 7, part 2:1440-1441.

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Father William Good of Glastonbury received valuable Church preferments during the reign of Queen Mary and was a canon of Wells Cathedral, all of which he resigned for conscience's sake after the accession of Queen Elizabeth. He retired to Belgium and entered the Society at Tour-nay, 1562, at the age of thirty-five. "After his return from Ireland in 1570, Good was stationed at Louvain, and there reconciled Robert Persons, Fellow and Bursar of Balliol College, Oxford, to the Church, whereupon the

convert abandoned his medical studies at Padua and went to Rome to enter the Society of Jesus."<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> H. Foley, op. cit., 7, part 1:307, 572. See also J. Brodrick, S.J., The Progress of the Jesuits, 305 n.

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Another Jesuit who entered at this early period was Father Darbyshire of Worcestershire, a nephew of Bonner, the Catholic Bishop of London.

....After receiving Holy Orders he became a Doctor of Canon Law and Divinity. He was successively appointed Archdeacon of Essex, Canon of St. Paul's, Chancellor of the Diocese of London, and lastly Dean of St. Paul's. Upon the accession of Queen Elizabeth in 1558, he conspicuous for his constancy in defending the ancient faith, was in consequence deprived of all his preferments, dignities, and ample fortune. Later he suffered imprisonment for the faith, but eventually he left England and entered the Society May 1, 1563 at the age of 45. He, like Father Good, did not return to England to engage in missionary work.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> H. Foley, op. cit., 7, part 1:193.

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Some noted Jesuits who entered later and who in most cases returned to England during the era of persecution are mentioned by Father Persons in his memoirs:

And soe upon y<sup>th</sup> yeare of y<sup>e</sup> Jubily w<sup>ch</sup> was 1575 mett & entered at Rome diverse at one time, as by name f. Persons, f. Henry Garnett, f. <sup>M</sup> Weston, f. W. Holt, all Oxford men & afterward employed in y<sup>e</sup> Mission of England. F. Th<sup>s</sup> Stephens also, now a painfull & fruitful labourer in y<sup>e</sup> east Indies & m<sup>r</sup> John Lane m<sup>r</sup> of art of Corpus Xti College in Oxford & of great expectation, that dyed afterwards at Alcala in Spain: M<sup>r</sup> Gallop fellow of new College y<sup>e</sup> dyed in Rome, all w<sup>ch</sup> I say, coming as it were together from diverse parts & joining in that resolution to abandon y<sup>e</sup> world & all hopes thereof to follow our Lord Jesus in that his Soc<sup>ty</sup>, gave a certain aboadment to all

men of some matter of importance to ensue; & so did f. Campian write from Prague in diverse letters unto Fr Persons in Rome that had advertised him of their number & entrance together in y<sup>e</sup> 300<sup>y</sup>. 14

14 The Memoirs of Father Robert Persons, edited by J.H.Pollen, S.J., C.R.S., 2:191-192.

In a letter to Father Campian, November 28, 1578, Father Robert Persons rejoices over the number of English Jesuits.

....Heer in Rome the Englishe Seminarie goethe fourthe well for ther be almost 40 persons under the government of iii of our companie. We ar heer at Rome now 24 Englishemen of the Societie, wherof fyve hath entered within this monethe one named Mr. Holt which was once of Oriall colledge master of Art, and the other fower came hyther from Parisse all excellent towardly yowths and all have endyed the courses of philosophia. ii of them ar yor countrymen borne in Pater noster row, one named Harwood and thother Smithe, lytle doctor Smythe the physitions newew....<sup>15</sup>

15 Letters and Memorials of Father Robert Persons, edited by L. Hicks, S.J., Catholic Record Society, 39:1-2.

The five who entered within the month to whom Father Persons refers are Blessed Robert Southwell and Matthew Marshall, October 17; Nicholas Smith and Edward Harwood, October 29; and William Holt, November 7.<sup>16</sup>

16 Arch. Rom., S.J., 171 a; N. Southwell, S.J., Catalogus Primorum Patrum, 59; Knox, Douay Diaries, 48, cited by L. Hicks, C.R.S., 39:2 n.

In addition to the Englishmen entering the Society of Jesus, the Jesuits had another tie that bound them to England. Upon its soil there had fallen the blood of Jesuit martyrs prior to the official coming of the Fathers in 1580. This first blood was shed by Father Thomas Wood-

house at Tyburn, June 19, 1573.

....William Woodhouse was born of respectable parents; was by profession a Priest; was seized while celebrating the Holy Sacrifice at the altar, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; cast into prison for that cause, and afforded for several years such an example of piety and constancy as to endear himself to all. He was inflamed with so great a love for the Society of Jesus, and desire of entering it, that he wrote to the Superior in Paris, earnestly entreating him to deign to admit him (unable indeed to be present in person, though he was so in heart); and begging that if not thought worthy to join the body of the Society, he might yet participate in its merits and indulgences, provided the constitutions of the Society permitted it....<sup>17</sup>

17 H. Foley, op. cit., 7, part 2:1257-1260.

According to the record in the Fleet prison, Father Woodhouse was incarcerated there May 4, 1561. "This ys the names of all the bishops doctors & priestes that were prisoners in the Flytte for Religion synse the fyrste yere off the raygne of quene Elizabeth ano dom. 1558.... a pore prieste Sr Thomas Woodhowsse was comyttyed on y<sup>e</sup>, 4 off may 1561"

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18 British Museum, Harleian MSS., vol. 360, ff.7 and 34 and the Public Record Office, cited by J.H.Pollen, C.R.S., 1:48-49.

Before Father Woodhouse's trial he had gained favor with the keeper of the prison and hence was able to say Mass daily in his cell. He made secret excursions to his friends by day and in general was free in the prison. He used these privileges to do much spiritual good. At his trial, however, he was condemned to death for high treason. He was then loaded with fetters and publicly insulted by the boys who called him in derision "the Priest." He was now thrust into that part of the prison set aside for robbers, a dismal place. He was visited by the heretical preacher, the Dean of St. Paul's, who had hoped to lure him

into heresy. On the day of his martyrdom the executioners proceeded to carry out their butchery in the fashion of the day.

....he was laid upon a hurdle and dragged at a horse's tail to the place of execution. Here falling upon his knees, with his hands crossed upon his breast, he commenced to recite aloud the Lord's prayer in Latin, and had proceeded as far as "sanctificetur Nomen Tuum," when he was interrupted by the Sheriff, and ordered to desist and pray in English. "Why do you trouble me now?" said the martyr, "I pray thus for thy peace." "Dost thou still persevere in thy obstinacy?" rejoined the other. "Away with him, executioner, strip him of his garments, put the rope about his neck, and do it quickly." All things being ready, the Sheriff turning to him. "Remember," said he, "what thou art about, and what thou sayest. Recollect how greatly thou hast offended God, the Queen, and country; there is yet space for repentance. Therefore I order you to pause a little, and ask pardon of God, the Queen, and country." "Nay," said the Priest bravely, "I, on the part of God, demand of you, and of the queen, that ye ask pardon of God and of the Mother Church, because contrary to truth, ye have resisted Christ the Lord, and the Pope, His Vicar upon earth." 19

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19 H.Foley, op. cit., 7, part 2:1257-1260.

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The heretics became infuriated at his mentioning the Pope and asked that he be hanged. Their demand was granted. Then followed the usual brutal butchery. His body while still alive was cut into quarters and boiled. After this the quarters were suspended on the four gates of the city and his head fixed upon London Bridge, according to the savage custom of that era.

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20 Ibid., 7, part 2:1257-1260.

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The account of this heroic confessor of the faith serves to give a

detailed insight into the usual treatment of priests during this period of persecution and again establishes the fact that Queen Elizabeth throughout her entire reign was persecuting the Catholics for their faith; and, as evidenced from the action of the crowd at Father's execution, she was fast succeeding in undermining the Catholic religion in her domain.

Another martyr who may in time be listed on the Jesuit martyrology is Father John Nelson who died for the faith at Tyburn, February 3, 1578. To date, it is rather difficult to state whether he was actually received into the Society of Jesus.

....At present no such decided confirmatory proofs of the admission of the martyr Nelson have been discovered as in the case of Father Woodhouse, or of Father Robert Middleton, martyr....He probably kept his secret, as Father Woodhouse did, who never revealed it but to his own confessor. We simply record and leave the fact as it is hoping that further research may confirm the statement of Father Stephenson, and enable the English Province one day to claim another and so glorious a jewel for her diadem.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 1443. See also Liber Vitae: Necrology of the English Province of the Society of Jesus, 77.

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## CHAPTER II

### CONSIDERATION OF THE ENGLISH MISSION BY THE JESUITS

When the order was given to send the Jesuits to England, April 18, 1580, it was not a blind, blundering command. Those who sent them and those who went knew that the odds, according to natural evaluation, were decidedly against them. The Jesuit Superiors were very hard to convince that their men should go on this dangerous venture.

To Cardinal Allen must be given much credit for getting this enterprise started. He had, however, according to records now on hand, an excellent collaborator in Father Robert Persons, S.J., who aided him in urging the Jesuit apostolate for England. The matter had been casually discussed before, but Allen in his correspondence in 1576 broached it to Father Mercurian, the General of the Society, and Father Persons carried the matter still further during the ensuing year.

There is on hand a printed document of Cardinal Allen's addressed to the Jesuit General or to one of his chief assistants. The approximate date of the document (1575) may be gathered from the reference to Campion's reception as a novice. The document suggested memoranda on the English mission to be discussed with the Father General and one of the items was the obtaining of Jesuits for England. On the small annexed memorandum interesting comments were added:

....There are also in your most holy Society certain men very well qualified for this function: they are very skilful and most learned--and that too in the judgment of their own countrymen, which counts for much....

Two years since there was also received one Edmund Campion, in the estimate of his own countrymen a most brilliant orator and of the most ready wit....

But what our countrymen of your Order are fit for, you yourselves are the best judges; of a truth after your training and moulding they ought, without a doubt, to be quite the best equipped men for this enterprise. But whether any Englishmen may be of service, for the conversion of other nations, we cannot so easily judge; as, so far we have had no experience of that apostolate and have never laboured in it: if any there be, they are certainly in your Society. <sup>1</sup>

Much further we can discuss by word of mouth...

<sup>1</sup> Anglia Hist., i. 585, cited by L. Hicks, C.R.S., 39:62-69.

Father Leo Hicks, S.J., indicates that Cardinal Allen prior to 1579 had written to the Jesuit General, Mercurian, asking him to consider sending Jesuits into England. To this letter Father Mercurian replied January 5, 1579.

....And we, although we see clearly that our strength is but small, nay is weakness itself, and is altogether unequal to what our position calls for, yet in desire and in will we proclaim ourselves to be so keen to help all men and especially your country of England, that we greatly yearn for some occasion to be given us of labouring for that sorely tried kingdom; nor are we without hope that God will at some time afford us this opportunity. Assuredly, in the meantime, we will not cease, by the only way we can, namely, by our prayers and Masses and those of our subjects from commending this intention to Our Lord God. <sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> L. Hicks, "Cardinal Allen and the Society," Month, 1932, 160: 342-353. See also L. Hicks, C.R.S., 39:69 n.

Father Persons in a letter to Cardinal Allen, March 30, 1579, urged him to come to Rome to settle several matters and then stated that one be

....the right informing also of F. General of the Society in our English affairs, where perhaps you may induce him to join some of his also (seeing God hath sent so many now of our nation into the

Society) with our other priests to go to England, seeing otherwise you and others have written that it is much desired by Catholics there, and here, I am sure, there wanteth not desire in divers to adventure their blood in that mission, among whom I dare put myself for one if Holy Obedience employ me therein.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> L. Hicks, "Cardinal Allen and the Society," Month, 1932, 160: 348-349.

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March 19, 1579, Father Persons wrote a long letter to Father Good. In it he asserted that "had not the enemy cast an impediment which no man looked for," his correspondent "might have been pulled out of his furs in Suetia," where he was accompanying a papal mission to the king of that country. Persons clearly foresaw the objections that would be raised against the project of sending Jesuits into England. In the same letter he added:

....You know what great difficulties are in the enterprise which many men do not consider: until therefore I might see myself in my own opinion able to resolve the same and until a way might be laid down how the Company might begin and go through with the matter to some purpose, I knew there was no hope to move the matter: But when I was somewhat satisfied in that point I began the assault, and it had such success as I think you would marvel to understand the particulars, which I dare not here write to you. Now it is enough for Fr. Darbishire and me, if we can keep our Englishmen of the Company together and from other missions. <sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> L. Hicks, C.R.S., 39:xii.

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This letter clarifies all doubt respecting the part Father Persons played in influencing the procurement of Jesuits for the English mission. However, before the General of the Society, Father Everard Mercurian, and his counsellors decided to send men of their Company, the problem

was carefully weighed. The Superiors were definitely of the opinion that the risk or sacrifice of life without some proportionate spiritual advantage should not be entertained. The document that resulted from this deliberation circumspectly outlined the probable consequence of such a hazardous venture. In fact, it would be difficult to find a document in which the practical prudence, the ability "to deliberate well about what is good or expedient," a characteristic of the Society, is stamped more clearly.

Closely allied with the settling of the question of missionaries for Britain were the student revolts in the English College at Rome. The Jesuits had been given an interest in this college in 1579 when two of them were asked to act in the capacity of procurator and prefect respectively, and in the following year Father Agazzari was appointed first rector. Cardinal Allen went to Rome and found that one way of reconciling the factions in the college was for the Jesuits to take part in the English mission. As far as the English College was concerned it was well that the Jesuits accepted the English apostolate for there would have been another stir when two more English students asked to be admitted into the Society. The crux of the matter was this. As members of the Society they were not sent back to England to perform their priestly duties, but as ordained secular priests they were. This naturally aroused bitter controversy because many a young man ordained to the priesthood did not care to return to his native land where persecution was raging. As a result, there were those who felt that the Englishmen who joined the Jesuits were easing themselves out of future danger and hardship. However, after the decision of 1579 students who became Jesuits were subject to be sent back to their native country and share the responsibility of the priestly ministry with the English secular priests.

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5 Cf. L. Hicks, "Cardinal Allen and the Society," Month, 1932, 160:342-353. R. Simpson, Edmund Campion, 136-137. P. Hughes, Rome and the Counter-Reformation in England, 180-181.

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Briefly the pros that finally outweighed the cons for accepting the English mission were as follows: the necessity and importance of the project; the desire of the English Catholics to have them; the notable encouragement and help they would be to the seminary or secular priests, not only to assist them abroad in their studies but at home in their conflicts; the increasing intensity of the persecution which now required more men; the comfort it would be to the English Catholics to see religious men return again, especially such as could not pretend to recover any of the alienated property of the orders; the propriety of the Jesuits engaging in the mission since one object of their foundation was to oppose the heresies of the day; the obligation of preserving the Englishmen's faith rather than gaining Indians to the faith; the realization that there were more Englishmen in the Society than in all the other orders put together; the contradiction of exhorting the seminary priests under their direction to go forth bravely into England while the Jesuits themselves refused to share their dangers; and the possibility of the Society meriting the glory of reconverting England.

In his writings Father Persons corroborated the above mentioned reasons for going into Britain.

Dr. Allen coming to Rome not many months after upon y<sup>e</sup> yeare 1579 made together with f. Persons a perfect union & correspondence between y<sup>e</sup> 2 Seminar-ies, how Schollars should pass from y<sup>e</sup> one to the other, who should be sent into England and y<sup>e</sup> like...

But his special consolation was that he had obtained of Pope Gregory y<sup>e</sup> some of y<sup>e</sup> English fathers of the said Soc<sup>ty</sup> should for time to come be sent into England together with the priests of y<sup>e</sup> seminar-ies,

for obtaining of wch point the said D<sup>or</sup> had laboured much and alleaged many reasons both to y<sup>e</sup> aforesaid Gen<sup>l</sup> Mercurianus as also to the Pope, & y<sup>t</sup> it would be a notable encouragem<sup>t</sup> & help to y<sup>e</sup> said priests of y<sup>e</sup> Seminary to have the said religious men of the Soc<sup>y</sup> not only to assist them abroad in their studies and institution of life, but also at home in this warre & combat against sectaries, wch warre growing now more sharp then before, had need of more men & assistance & that it would animate the Cath<sup>s</sup> in England to see religious men begin to return thither again after so long exile & especially (8) such religious men as could pretend the recovery of no temporal possessions from any man & whose institute was proper for this purpose to be sent in missions & y<sup>t</sup> God had concurred with them hitherto in all other countries as well of Europe, Asia and Africa & y<sup>e</sup> Indies; and finally y<sup>t</sup> this was the desire of all good Cath<sup>s</sup> of our country.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> The Memoirs of Father Robert Persons, edited by J.H.Pollen, G.R.S., 2:194.

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Having weighed all the plausible motives for taking the leap into the dark, there remained apparently insurmountable hurdles, hurdles that would involve too many fatalities. The enterprise would cost the lives of too many of the Jesuits. They would be laboring where the adversaries were Christian in name but more cruel, hostile and vigilant than the infidels of the Indies. The English government would assuredly denounce them as political agents and would thus make the missionaries odious and their actions questionable. There were the spiritual perils to which the missionaries themselves would be exposed. They would be obliged as a measure of safety to go about in disguise and to hide their priesthood and their religious profession under the garb and swagger of soldiers; they would have to live apart from one another and consort with doubtful characters. There would be no facilities for renewing their spiritual fervor through retreats and little opportunity for a spirit of religious recollection because of their everlasting moving from place to place. They would be hunted like game for treason. Furthermore,

there would arise occasion of disputes with other priests on matters of administration and doctrine that could not be well settled because of the absence of bishops in England to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and at best it seemed difficult to believe that so many priests and religious could live together in one realm without jars and discords.

...albeit y<sup>e</sup> sayd Gen<sup>l</sup> w<sup>th</sup> his Assistants & Counsellors found diverse difficulties y<sup>e</sup> matter in respect of y<sup>e</sup> novelty thereof especially about their manner of living in secular men's houses in secular apparel, dyet & conversation & the like, as how also their rules and orders for conservation of religious spirit might be there observed, whereof they had more care then of any corporal dangers to their bodies, w<sup>ch</sup> notwithstanding seemed to be very great & imminent at that time. Yet understanding afterward y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Pope was much inclined to have this suite granted & the priests & scholars of y<sup>e</sup> College desiring & urging greatly y<sup>e</sup> same in like manner, y<sup>t</sup> some of y<sup>e</sup> said Engl. fathers might be sent with 7 them into England, [it] was granted and concluded...

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7 The Memoirs of Father Robert Persons, edited by J.H.Pollen, C.R.S., 2:194-195.

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After the decision was reached to accept the English mission, Cardinal Allen was most exuberant, positively overjoyed in being able to call Father Campion back from Prague. He wrote a letter to Father Campion apprising him of this fact December 5, 1579.

....Our harvest is already great in England: ordinary labourers are not enough; more practiced 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....It is not that I am preparing for you and your order the place in England that your soul presages, but it is you, I hope, who will procure for me and mine the power of returning.

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8 Cited by L. Hicks, "Cardinal Allen and the Society," Month, 1932, 160:350-351.

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After it had been determined to send members of the Society to establish a spiritual beachhead in England, special instructions were drawn up for the soldiers of Christ. These instructions may be found today at Stonyhurst and in the Archives of the Society of Jesus at Rome. Father Persons, however, has left a rather detailed account of them. A summary of them will suffice to complete the picture of the groundwork that preceded the official embarkation.

The instructions made clear to each Jesuit going to England what his primary objective would be. His work was to preserve and advance in the Catholic religion all who were found to be Catholics, and only secondarily to bring back the heretics. Since the task was to be performed among enemies of outstanding skill, talent and malice, the missionaries were to arm themselves with extraordinary virtue, piety and prudence. To keep and strengthen this virtue and piety and to attain a closer union with God, fervent recourse was to be had to prayer and to the examination of conscience. In addition to this, they were to observe the rules of the Society as far as the conditions would allow and since community life was impossible, they were at least to visit one another as often as possible to obtain advice and moral support.

Rules were laid down to guide them in the practice of prudence in this arduous mission. They were told to be temperate in food; they were to avoid, as far as possible, convivial gatherings and were usually to take their meals in private except when the guests were such that there was clearly no danger to be feared. Their dress was of necessity to be that of laymen, yet it was to be of a modest and sober kind, and was to give no appearance of levity and vanity. They were not to have in their

possession the clothes customary in the Society, unless it was perfectly safe and, in that case, they were to be worn only for holding services, hearing confessions and other similar duties.

The instructions included wise procedures to be used in communicating with the Continent.

They will let us know the safest way we can use for sending letters, giving us the names of the persons and places to whom they would have them addressed; and for this purpose ciphers are useful, and they will be supplied here for use when necessary. <sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Letters and Memorials of Father Robert Persons, S.J., edited by L. Hicks, C.R.S., 39:319-321.

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Advice was given regarding intercourse with strangers. Here they were to associate at first with the upper classes rather than with the common people, both on account of the greater fruit to be gathered and because the former would be better able to protect them against violence. They were to enlist the aid of the laymen in instructing the schismatics and heretics who, after they were ready to hear the truth, were then to contact the Fathers for fuller instruction. The Fathers were, however, to remain incognito. They were to be careful about engaging in controversy but when controversy could not be avoided they were to refrain from sarcasm, preferring solid arguments to sharp repartee.

The Fathers were admonished to be on their guard against creating the impression that they were seeking alms or legacies. When it became necessary to accept gifts or money, it was suggested that these things be received from one or two loyal and tried men. They were not to carry about anything forbidden by the penal laws, or anything which might compromise them, such as letters, and only for the gravest reasons were they to let it be known that they were Jesuits, or even priests.

The complicated question of politics involved as it was with the vital questions of religion received separate treatment. Father Persons' memoirs recount in no uncertain terms that the Jesuits were not in any manner to entangle themselves in the affairs of state, to recount news about political matters in the letters, to engage in any adverse criticism of Queen Elizabeth nor allow anyone else to do so.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 319-321.

The only political action allowed them, if it can be so termed, was to ask the Pope for an explanation of the declaration of Pius V against Elizabeth. Catholics had at this time no clear understanding of their relationship and duty to the Queen. The section of the bull of excommunication that needed clarification read as follows: "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."<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> R. Simpson, op. cit., 140-141.

Pope Pius had excommunicated not only Elizabeth and her abettors, but also all who obeyed her and her laws. As a result, the Catholics were caught between Scylla and Charybdis; hanged if they did not obey and cursed if they did. Campion on his first arrival in Rome in 1572 had been consulted on this question. He had declared that the bull of excommunication had worked great evils for the Catholics. Cardinal Gesauldi then told him that it might without doubt be so mitigated as to allow the Catholics to acknowledge the Queen as temporal ruler without censure. And now, before going to England, Campion asked and obtained

only this concession, probably not because it was all he thought useful but because it was about the only alleviation he could hope to receive for the present. This decision allowing the Catholics to acknowledge Elizabeth as temporal ruler should have released the tension existing between the Catholics and Elizabeth. The results, however, as shall be seen later, were the opposite. More penal laws and proclamations were passed against the Catholic Church and her followers.

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12 Ibid., 140-141.

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### CHAPTER III

#### OBSTACLES TO THE JESUIT APOSTOLATE

In an effort to save the rapidly vanishing spiritual heritage of the traditionally Catholic Englishman, the Jesuits officially began their missionary invasion of England on April 18, 1580, and crossed the English Channel to Dover the following June. They did not enter the country as an army in battle array; they numbered only two Jesuit Fathers and a lay brother, but they were truly marching into the embrace of death.

The memorable event is recorded in the annual letters of the English College.

On April 18, we sent forth to the English Mission the following students of this College: the Rev. Edward Rishton, Ralph Sherwin (afterwards martyred), Luke Kirby (martyr), John Pascal, and Thomas Bruce. Having received from His Holiness his blessing and funds for their journey, they were most graciously allowed to depart in the company of the Rev. Fathers Robert Persons and Edmund Campion, the first of the Society of Jesus whom, at the persuasion of the Most Rev. W. Allen, His Holiness sent to England for the conversion of heretics and the assistance of Catholics. <sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> H. Foley, op. cit., 6:69.

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Departure for the mission was one thing, but to make a safe port entry and secure a beachhead for spiritual maneuvers was another. In spite of keeping secret the fact that the Jesuits were to enter England, the enemy was omnipresent and on the alert. Spies in government and private employ were on duty. They were making their living in this new profession.

A brief description of the perils of the first group of missionaries was given by one of Campion's biographers.

...Campion, Parsons, and Ralph Emerson went, on June 6, to St. Omer, where was a fair College of the Order. They had to travel through a country filled with soldiers, perilous to any one falling into their hands....When they reached the residence of St. Omer, the Flemish Fathers thought their safe coming thither to be miraculous, and tried to dissuade them from carrying out their undertaking further. It would be tempting Providence to dare such an accumulation of new dangers....The Queen and the Council had been informed 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 habits, had furnished 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 seized. Nay, their very portraits had been taken and were sent to the officers to help in identifying them. <sup>2</sup>

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2 R. Simpson, Edmund Campion, 120.

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Father Persons in his memoirs described the entry with its attending jeopardy. Since he was the appointed Superior of the mission he felt in honor bound to go over first. Dressed in the habit and profession of a captain returned from the low countries, he left Calais and arrived at Dover. There, as he had promised Campion, he would inform the searcher that he had a friend, a dealer in jewels, who would be crossing over soon. In fact, he had a letter sent to Campion to make haste because the prospects for a sale were good. Having managed this adroitly he made his way to Gravesend, and in the evening embarked in a tilt-boat for London. The journey was encompassed with the danger of discovery, for he found himself in the midst of a company of gentlemen of the Inns of Court, and seemingly some of the Queen's household, and musicians who were returning from a celebration in Kent. Father Persons was, however, taking no chances with them, so early the next morning before the rest were awake he took

the opportunity to transfer himself and his servant to a wherry which landed him safely at Southwark about four o'clock.

Now a new difficulty presented itself. He was unable to find a lodging in the whole of Southwark partly because he had brought no horse with him and also by reason of the new proclamations and rumors against suspicious people who were to come. Hence, every inn to which he went was afraid to give him lodging. After walking the streets all morning, which was in itself enough to draw attention, he finally went to the Marshalsea and inquired for Mr. Thomas Pound, Esquire, who, for many years, had been in this, as well as other prisons because of his religion. Pound received him with great joy and told him that he and the other prisoners had heard of the Jesuits' coming and had prayed for their safe arrival.

After dinner a certain Mr. Brookesby who happened also to be paying Mr. Pound a visit, took Father Persons to his home in the city. There Father Persons found priests and other gentlemen, among them, George Gilbert, whom he had already met in Rome and who was to prove his inseparable companion for the greater part of his stay in England. Persons soon left his host to engage himself in the best manner he could in order to bring comfort to the Catholics.

Campion's entrance was not quite so smooth. He crossed to Dover on the night of June 25. In the short interval since Persons' arrival, more stringent orders had come from the Council to the searcher "to look more diligently to his charge with some check and reprehension also for him and the mayor of the town; for that it had been understood that certain priests had come that way into England of late days." In addition to all this, Campion's description coincided with Gabriel Allen's, brother of Cardinal Allen, for whom the government was on the alert. Campion was arrested, but for some unknown reason was finally released. It may be

that Campion showed Persons' letter to the searcher. Campion like Persons had no idea where he should go when he arrived in London, but because of the excellent description Persons left of Campion and to the small stature of Ralph Emerson, his companion, a Thomas James recognized them at the boat and presumably took them to the home of Edward Brookesby, where soon a number of young and eager Catholics came to welcome them.<sup>3</sup>

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3 Cf. J.H.Pollen, G.R.S., 2:200 and L. Hicks, G.R.S., 39:xv-xvi.

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The problem of crossing the channel, of escaping the searchers at the ports and of finding a place of abode did not become easier with time. In 1584 Father Persons, who had returned to the Continent shortly after the capture of Campion in 1581, explained that he took his lodging at Rouen, a town near to the sea. From this vantage point trips could be made to the coast to arrange for boats to cross the channel, for it was simply impossible to use public boats or the ordinary ports. He further explained that from Rouen he had to smuggle into England spiritual books and controversial matter with which calumnies and heresies had to be met. Furthermore, there were holy oils, chalices, vestments and Bibles to be sent over and many other services rendered from Rouen to those laboring on the Island.<sup>4</sup>

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4 Cf. L. Hicks, op. cit., 39:236.

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In 1588 Fathers John Gerard and Edward Oldcorne continued the struggle with embarkation difficulties. Father Gerard has left a description of their experiences. He wrote that after sailing along the coast for three days, Father Oldcorne saw a convenient spot for landing. They ordered the ship to anchor off that point until dark, and in the first

watch they were put ashore and left there, whereupon the ship immediately set sail and departed. They knew they had to move farther inland before dawn, but the night was dark and cloudy and as they moved in they aroused the dogs who started barking; so they fled to a forest where they sought rest and found none because of the rain and cold.

At dawn they cast lots as to who should first leave the woods. The lot fell to Father Oldcorne who, after they had made an equal division of what money they had and after embracing and receiving one from the other a blessing, went along the seashore to a neighboring town, where he fell in with some sailors who were thinking of going to London. In the company of these noisy sailors Father Oldcorne made his way to London unmolested although watchers were on guard in every town through which he passed. Father Gerard, making believe he was searching for his lost falcon, finally arrived at an inn, a most welcome place. Here he refreshed himself for he was soaked with rain and exhausted with hunger and fatigue. Father Gerard found his host very agreeable because he had expressed a desire to buy the pony in his stable. Foot-passengers were frequently looked upon as vagrants and very liable to arrest, hence for this reason<sup>5</sup> and for greater safety and speed he purchased the pony.

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5 Cf. J. Gerard, S.J., Autobiography of Father John Gerard, 11-14.

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February 23, 1594, the Earl of Huntington wrote to Lord Burghley promising greater care in the guarding of the coasts.

Immediatelic upon the takeinge of WALPOLE the Jesuit, and them that came with him, I did take order all alonge the coaste from Humber to Tweede for care to be had of the persons that should come in or desire to passe furthe of the realme. But nowe appon thes letters and instruccions receaved from my Lords, I shall give better direccions....<sup>6</sup>

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6 Harleian MSS., 6996, f. 72, cited by J.H.Pollen, C.R.S., 5:240-241.

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Even though the reign of James I was anticipated by both English Catholics and the Jesuits as one more favorable to Catholic activity, all their hopes were destined to be crushed. Early in the reign of James I the Jacobean Oath was added to make ingress and egress more difficult after the year 1606. Power was given to the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports and others to administer the oath to passengers before leaving England.

Provided also and be it enacted...That where any person...shall go or pass out of the Cinque Ports or any member thereof to any parts beyond the seas to serve any foreign prince, state, or potentate, that in every such case the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports for the time being, or any person by him in that behalf appointed or to be appointed, shall have full power and authority by virtue hereof to take the bond and minister the oath to such passengers as is above mentioned.<sup>7</sup>

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7 3 & 4 Jac. I, c.4: Statutes of the Realm, 4:1077.

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Yet the obstacles which were encountered at the coast line of England formed only one of the major problems that faced the valiant Jesuit who planned the spiritual conquest of England. Once he had safely landed on English soil his difficulties increased. As predicted by his Superiors, he was a hated and marked man; the government was prepared to move mountains to destroy him and his work.

Shortly after imprisoning Father Campion in 1581, all possible machinery was set into motion to terrify the Catholics and the Jesuits. Many threats were circulated by means of lampoons, libels and sermons. Even the poet Elderton published a book entitled "A gentle Jerk for a

Jesuit," which contained many things in disparagement of Jesuits and Catholic laymen. Father Persons in August, 1581, made the following observations on these vituperations.

There is tremendous talk here of Jesuits, and more fables perhaps are told about them than were told of old about monsters. For as to the origin of these men, their way of life, their institute, their morals and teaching, their plans and actions, stories of all sorts are spread abroad, not only in private conversations but also in public sermons and printed books, and these contradict one another and have a striking resemblance to dreams. This, however, is the main indictment: that they, as well as all the other priests have been sent by the Supreme Pontiff to investigate conditions and to betray and overthrow states.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> L. Hicks, op. cit., 39:xxix.

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In a letter seemingly addressed to William Cecil, Elizabeth's chief secretary, much concern was expressed about the Jesuits.

....The Jesuits, priests, and traitors of England, by Parsons' appointment, have distributed themselves in the chief towns of Christendom, to plot mischief and correspond better. This cursed crew is like Cerberus, the three-headed dog of hell, the heads being in Douay, Rome, and in Spain, but the heart in England. In Flanders are 600 or 700, half priests, scholars, etc. The rest laymen, pensioners and soldiers; I enclose a list. The most dangerous are Dr. Worthington, President of Douay College, who libels Queen and Council, and the Catholic priests of England, who have appealed from the Archbishop's authority; Hugh Owen, counsellor to the King of Spain and the Archduke; Baldwin, a Jesuit, at Brussels, who gives them daily intelligence from England, sifts all that comes over, and tries whether they be sure to the King of Spain and the Jesuits; Derbyshire, prior to the Carthusians at Malines; and Wright, dean of a church near Ghent, champions to the King of Spain's faction, and bitter enemies of the contrary side; Father Hungerford, placed at Dunkirk to convert to the King of Spain the English brought thither taken at sea; Parsons' brother George at St. Omer, to oversee the English youths in the college.<sup>9</sup>

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9 Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, Reigns of Elizabeth and James, 414-415.

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Cecil's wrath and venomous hatred of Jesuits is evident in his correspondence with James I where he speaks of them as a generation of vipers who make no more ordinary merchandise of any thing than of the blood and crowns of princes, "I am so farr from any compassion, as I rather look to receave comandment from you to abstaine then prosecute." And James I seemed to have reciprocated in sentiment.

...and as for the distinction of their rankis, I mean betuist the iesuites, lyke venomid waspes and fyre brandis of sedition, are farre more intollerable then the other sorte, that seame to professe loyaltie, yett is thaire so plausible profession the more to be distrusted that lyke married uemen or minors, quhose uowes are euer subject to the controlment of thaire husbandis and tutoris, thaire consciences must euer be comandit and ouerreulid by thaire romishe god as it pleasis him to allowe or reuoke thaire conclusions....<sup>10</sup>

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10 Correspondence of King James VI of Scotland with Sir Robert Cecil and Others in England, ed. by John Bruce, Camden Society, LXXVIII OS, 33-34; 36-38.

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Sir Robert Napper, chief baron, writing September 31, 1593, compared the Jesuits to vultures

...who as Plinie writeth were so suttel of smell that the smell bloud three daies before the bataille & would be 3 daies before at the place of bataille: he also compared them to the Harpies in Virgil, that were paynted like Virgins but devourers of men: & so Jesuites under simplicitie bring men to perdition....<sup>11</sup>

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11 Journal of Sir Roger Wilbraham, Camden Society, IV 3rd S. 8-9.

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The apprehension as well as the amazing credulity of official minds is reflected in a report made by one of the Queen's career diplomats that the Jesuits were even in league with a plan to kill the Scottish King. "There was a plot laide by certain Jesuites and preistes to murder or poison the Scottish kinge, as it is confessed by some that are taken."<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Letters Written by John Chamberlain during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, edited by Sarah Williams, Camden Society, 79 08, 39.

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The government's propaganda had become so effective by the time the Gunpowder Plot was exposed that many were willing to put full credence in the rumor that no one but Jesuits could be the masters of it. Father Garnett, S.J., felt this very keenly and made reference to it in a letter.

All were desperate; diverse Catholics are offended with Jesuits; they say Jesuits doe impugne and hinder all forcible enterprizes. I dare not informe myself of their affaires, because of prohibition of F. General for meddling in such affairs.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> J. Lingard and H. Belloc, History of England, 7:54.

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Things came to such a pass that when practically any great crime was committed, the blame was laid automatically on a Jesuit. The attempted and actual murder of Henry IV of France was no exception to the prevailing false public opinion. And this hatred, like logs placed on a burning fire, kept the flames roaring. In 1614 the English Jesuits writing to Rome enumerated some of the opprobrious accusations with which they were credited.

We are called the Pope's janissaries; the favourite brood of Antichrist; the sworn slaves of the Pope; the reserve corps of the Catholic Church;

the most dangerous enemies of the King and country;  
 the most bigoted advocates for Popery....that Hell  
 has sent us forth fully equipped with learning and  
 other gifts....<sup>14</sup>

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14 H. Foley, op. cit., 7, part 2:1059-1060, 1066.

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The English also made capital of the misinterpreted teachings of Suarez that had been condemned in France, a Catholic country.

And now you Papists, look at your Suarez, this shining Spanish and Jesuit star....see him branded with infamy, not for his own personal convictions, but for what he holds in common with the rest of his Jesuit crew....Now that you see how the French, who are as good Catholics as yourselves have treated this and the like teachings, I am certain that you will no longer allow the reputation of these men have for learning, prudence, and zeal....make you forget your duty to your King and country....Is it possible that this Society, after so many scandals, despite the atrocious crimes it has committed ....can yet be so esteemed in England? <sup>15</sup>

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15 H. Foley, loc. cit.

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Document upon document can be found on record filled with abuse and opprobrium for the Society of Jesus. These calumnies and slanders played no small part in the hindrance of their work and were responsible for many severe proclamations and penal laws passed against the Jesuits, secular priests and Catholics in general.

The penal laws and proclamations during the reign of Elizabeth read like a litany. These began in 1578, two years before the Jesuits ever entered England. The following selections give the tenor of what they embodied. Walter Milday introduced a bill in which he described Persons and Campion as "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 into false

doctrine, and under that pretence to stir up sedition." It was during the debates of this bill that Father Persons was spoken of as the "howling wolf," and Father Campion as the "wandering vagrant." The result of this bill was a proclamation commanding under the severest penalties that no one should receive Jesuits into his house nor allow children or kinsfolk to go and study in their schools and seminaries abroad.

In 1585 a statute ordered that all Jesuits and priests ordained since her majesty's reign were to leave within forty days after the end of the parliament then in session, and that they were prohibited from entering the realm after these forty days. Lord Burghley addressed a letter to the bishops in 1587 asking them to enforce all laws and to watch those who might be harboring Jesuits and other priests.

In 1593 the Lord Mayor of London was admonished to enforce the laws more carefully and "to watch and reforme seminaries & Jesuits, & new Secretaries that refuse to come to church: which lurke in London as the endlesse laberinth of England, for largenes & blind corners."

A statute enacted in 1598 had a clause asking the person in question whether he be a Jesuit, seminary or massing priest and if he did not reply that he be committed to prison without bail until he shall "make direct and true answer."

Since the former proclamation seemingly did not produce the desired results, the government issued another in 1602 ordering the Jesuits and secular priests to leave the realm or take the consequences. Father Rivers, S.J., notes in his letter that the consequences of this proclamation would have stamped out the Catholic religion had it not been for  
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the grace and protection of God.

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16 Cf. J. Robinson, ed., *D'Ewes Journal*, 285: *Journal of Sir Roger William*, Camden Society, IV, 3rd S., 6; 35 Elizabeth c.2. *Statutes of the Realm*, 4:843-844; and H. Foley, *op. cit.*, 1:47.

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As remarked before when James I began to rule England in 1603, the hopes of Catholics brightened. But they were dampened in the next year as a result of a proclamation calling for the proper execution of all former laws against recusants. This proclamation was occasioned by the tide of conversions to Catholicism. Recusants were given a day to repair to their own dwellings, and ordered not to come to the court, or within ten miles of London without special license thereafter; and furthermore, "that all Priests and Jesuits shall depart the land by day, no more to return into the realm: and for the ministering of the oath of allegiance according to the law."

After the Gunpowder Plot penal legislation multiplied. In 1606 laws were again passed against anyone harboring or supporting in any way a Jesuit or seminary priest. This was done because the government asserted that the Jesuits or seminary priests were withdrawing the people's allegiance from the King and causing people to leave the realm "to serve a foreign power"; hence all were obliged to take the Jacobean oath before leaving England under penalty of felony.

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17 1 & 2 Jac. I, c.4: Statutes of the Realm, IV, 1020-1021; and  
3 & 4 Jac. I, c.4: Statutes of the Realm, IV, 1071-1077.

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In 1610 came another proclamation asking all non-residents of London to return to their homes and all Jesuits and seminary priests to quit the realm. Failure to comply would merit for those caught the treatment reserved for traitors. From 1610 to 1621 there seemed to be a little lull in legislation against Jesuits in particular and others in general. In 1621, however, the Commons petitioned James I for the better enforcement of the laws on record. The list of their grievances adds up to several pages. The nature of these grievances may be gathered from the following excerpts:

Most gracious and dread Sovereign....by reason whereof your ill-affected subjects at home, the Popish recusants, have taken too much encouragement and are dangerously increased in their number and in the insolencies; we cannot but be sensible thereof, and therefore humbly represent what we conceive to be the causes of so great and growing mischiefs, and what be the remedies.

1. The vigilancy and ambition of the Pope of Rome, and his dearest son; the one aiming at as large a temporal monarchy as the other at a spiritual supremacy. 2. The devilish positions and doctrines whereon Popery is built and taught with authority to their followers for the advancement of their temporal ends....9. Their open and usual resort to the houses, and which is worse, to the chapels for foreign ambassadors....11. The education of their children in many several seminaries and houses of their religion in foreign parts appropriated to the English fugitives....13. The licentious printing and dispersing of Popish and seditious books, even in the time of Parliament. 14. The swarms of priests and Jesuits, the common incendiaries of all Christendom, dispersed in all parts of your kingdom....<sup>10</sup>

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18 Rushworth, Historical Collections, 1:40-43, 1659.

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After having recounted the spreading evils and their causes, the House of Commons set forth the remedies that should be put into execution—all the while, however, implying that somebody was neglecting his duties on the issues up for complaint. James I did not receive this petition too graciously, but by 1624 both Houses were quite relieved when he did not carry through the contemplated marriage of his son to the Spanish Infanta which would have allied England with a Catholic nation—a thing abhorred by non-Catholic Englishmen since they foresaw that concessions to Catholics would necessarily follow. As the marriage did not take place, the House of Lords and Commons again demanded the better execution of the laws against "Jesuits, seminary priests, and all others having taken orders by authority derived from the See of Rome, and generally against all Popish recusants...."<sup>19</sup>

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19 Lords' Journals, III, 298.

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The reasons for the manifold proclamations and penal laws foisted upon the Catholics and their clergymen on account of their religious belief were varied. After a few weeks of experience in the mission field Father Persons wrote to the rector at Rome November 17, 1580, and explained the existing conditions in England and the possible motives behind the severe persecution breaking loose particularly after the arrival of the first Jesuits. He stated that the violence of the persecution inflicted on all Catholics throughout the kingdom was intense and the most severe since the conversion of England to Christianity.

Everywhere there are being dragged to prison, noblemen and those of humble birth, men, women, and even children; they are bound in chains of iron; robbed of their possessions, deprived of light, and in proclamations as well as in discourses and sermons they are made infamous in the eyes of the people under the name of traitors and rebels. <sup>20</sup>

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20 L. Hicks, op. cit., 39:56.

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The causes for this persecution were not so evident, but he enumerated a few: the ill-success of the English in Ireland against the army of the Supreme Pontiff (as they called it); the fear of the Scottish king, now grown up, possibly inclining to Catholicism; and the coming of the Jesuits to the Island, which was resulting in wide-spread conversions to Catholicism. These developments, Father Persons said, had filled the heretics with such wonder and amazement that they were speechless. <sup>21</sup>

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21 L. Hicks, loc. cit.

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It stood to reason that if the religion which the heretics had determined to wipe out was gaining new vitality instead, ruthless measures would have to be taken to halt it. But the group that was waging war against Catholicism did not always wish to admit they were hunting down, imprisoning and killing Catholics because of their religion. Lord Burghley in many written tracts supported the contention that the persecution was owing to the treasons of the Catholics, not to the bigotry of the Protestants; and he puts the active measures of the Popes, especially the Irish expedition, as causes for the repressive measures against Jesuits and seminary priests.

That there were some political plots afoot in which Catholics were involved is historically true. However, it is also true that whereas there were at times a few Catholics in political spider webs, by and large (in spite of the persecution against them) the Catholics were consistently loyal to Queen Elizabeth and King James I as temporal rulers.

The proclamation against seminary priests and Jesuits of April 1, 1582 was typical and remained a pattern for future legislation.

Wheras sithence which time, some example having been made for the condign punishment of such as have contemptuously broken her highness express commandment, in that behalf given by the said proclamation; and some of the said traitorous persons, namely Edmund Campion, jesuit, Ralph Sherwin, and John Briant, seminary Priests, having disguisedly and very secretly wandered in the realm, and at length been apprehended, and so thereupon justly, lawfully, publicly, and orderly endicted, arraigned, and condemned, and executed for divers treasons; and some others their complices having been likewise justly and lawfully condemned for the like crimes; her majesty finding, what through the obstinacy and malice of some, and the wilful ignorance of many others, that neither the said proclamation, nor the said examples, have wrought such effect of reformation, as, upon good hope conceived of this her forewarning, her highness had expected and desired... 22

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22 Strype, Annals, iii, 84, cited by N.A.Tierney, Church History of England, 3, appendix, xxvi-xxvii.

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The authors of the proclamation then stated that they wished no one to remain ignorant of the laws nor the reason for such stringent measures. In the proclamation, therefore, they defended the government's actions with a series of explanations: much printed matter had been falsely, seditiously, and traitorously been given out and the offenders executed; the seminary priests and Jesuits directed by the Pope were responsible for the Irish rebellion; the object of the Jesuits and seminary priests in England was to alienate the Queen's subjects and to deprive her of her life, crown and dignity; all Jesuits and seminary men who came secretly into England were to be taken for traitors; and all who after this proclamation shall wittingly or unwittingly receive, harbor, aid, comfort, relieve, or maintain any Jesuit or seminary men should be dealt with as committing high-treason to her majesty's person; and if any one now harboring any Jesuit or seminary priest does not apprise the authorities thereof will be treated for treason.

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23 Strype, loc. cit.

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That these laws were not only on record but put into effect is obvious. The Jesuits alone had eleven of their men put to death during the reign of Elizabeth and five during the kingship of James I. These sixteen Jesuits are listed today as martyrs for the faith. Furthermore, several of the Jesuits were always to be found suffering the hardships of the prisons. These men will be treated of in a later chapter.

There are plenty of records indicating that money played a part in

helping to bring about the banishment of Jesuits. For example:

To William Bowll one of the ordinary yeomen of her Majesty's chamber and Anthony Hall citizen and skinner of London upon the Council's warrant dated at Somerset House ult<sup>o</sup> Feb. 1584 being appointed and authorized by the Lords of her Majesty's privy Council to have the charge of conducting and transporting of certain Jesuits and seminary Priests out of this realm into the parts of Normandy in France in consideration of their charges and travail in that service---xli.

To John Hart of Dover in the county of Kent Mariner upon a warrant signed by Mr. Vicechamberlain and Secretary Walsingham dated at Greenwich xv Julii 1585 for his pains being employed as pilot in the Transporting over of such Jesuits, Seminar-ies and Mass priests as were banished and sent over under the charge of William Bowll one of the yeomen of the guard, and Anthony Hall the space of xij days  
---xli<sup>s</sup>. 24

24 Rot. 67 a. and b. cited by J.H.Pollen, C.R.S., 5:104.

After the assassination of the Prince of Orange, July 10, 1584, a notable change came over the nature of the persecution. The crime was disastrous not only to Spain because of her part in it but also to Spain's co-religionists, especially to the English Catholics. Immediately the cry went forth that Elizabeth's life must be protected; hence, more legislation was passed in the 27th year of Elizabeth's reign, making it high treason for priests ordained by jurisdiction derived from Rome to enter England, and assessing proportionate punishments for all who entertained them. This legislation marked the highest pitch of cruelty reached by the persecution. Banishment was ordered for the priests, and if they returned proceedings under the new act would be taken against them. Soon after January 15, 1585, twenty priests were banished. Among them were John Hart and Thomas Stephenson, (who later became Jesuits) and the Jesuits Father Jasper Heywood and James Bosgrave. Eleven of these exiles were taken from the Tower and dismissed on various dates with payments

recorded for the transport of priests by Privy Council warrants.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Cf. Record Office, Dom. Eliz., clxxv, n.38; holograph and Declared Accounts, Pipe Office, 542, cited by J.H.Pollen, C.R.S., 5:102-103.

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In the Record Office for January, 1587, may be found this unique entry "Ebor. Longley executed for receyving of Jesuits and he had lands and leases."<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> J.H.Pollen, C.R.S., 5:134.

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An excerpt or two will also illustrate that after 1584 the prisons were overflowing and new ones had to be provided to take care of the great numbers convicted for so-called high treason. High treason, however, was interpreted variously: refusing to assist at the state established church services; assisting at Mass; providing for or housing a priest; leaving England for sundry purposes; reconciling souls to the Catholic church; administering the sacraments; implication in a political plot to disrupt the government's status quo.

An Englishman writing in 1592 to Richard Rowlands, a poet then residing in Holland, described the lot of prisoners: "In prison, if they have not relief, or be not able to pay, they are used like dogs, thrown into dungeons. If they be able to pay, they must pay what price the keeper will, or else they are most pitifully used."<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> M.A.Tierney, op. cit., 3:96, 105-106.

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Father Garnett, S.J., in a report wrote that to receive the immense number of persons continually ordered into custody, six additional pri-

sons were opened during the early part of the year 1592--two at York, one at Sheriff Hutton, one in Knaresborough castle, one in the college of Rotherham, and one in Bransby castle.

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28 M.A.Tierney, loc. cit.

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In a note addressed to Sir John Fuckerling in October 1593, Attorney-General Coke reminded him that the Jesuits could be convicted under Statute 25 Eliz., cap. 3., for adhering to the Queen's enemies, and for compassing the overthrow of the State, also for comforting and abetting traitors beyond the sea, as Dallen, & Co., and also upon the late Statute against Jesuits. Then he completed the note by adding "Annias and Laton for high treason compassed beyond sea. Those at Dorsetshire for having, as Cornelius the priest confessed, been at Mass, which is treason, and having received priests, which is felony."

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29 Calendar of State Papers, Dom. Eliz., and James I, 32, cited by M.A.Tierney, op. cit., 3:356.

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Fines were another method employed to enforce the penal laws against Catholics. These fines brought in a large sum of money for the government. James I stated that from the fines of recusants he received yearly "six-and-thirty thousand pounds of good rent, in England and Ireland." In connection with the fines it should be mentioned that pursuivants were also being paid royally for tracking down recusants or priests. In 1608, however, a certain pursuivant, Udall, complained to the earl of Salisbury that he was not receiving his just compensation.

Since midsummer term last, my lord's grace (of Canterbury) and my lord of London have received, by my endeavours only, eight hundred seditious books,

two suits of church-stuff, with some silver plate, and one of those jesuits who gave £ 50 to make an escape. The pursuivant, who, upon my direction, performed these services, was offered four-score pounds, to have overslipped, and not delivered these things...Most honourable lord, deign to consider this heavy and grievous case of mine. Shall I not be able to live by mine own endeavours?... What poor subject, spending his poor wife's portion, hath, upon his own cost and travail, within these four years, delivered five several presses for printing, caused above ten thousand books to be intercepted, and caused above three hundred pounds' worth of prohibited wares to be taken and paid into the exchequer, besides sundry other particular services of import; for all which I never received any penny in recompense....<sup>30</sup>

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30 Recusant Papers, No. 140, cited by N.A. Tierney, op. cit., 4:175.

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The pursuivants became a general nuisance to all, but to Catholics in particular. In fact, their business became a middle man profession for this era of persecution. Contemporaries have left descriptions of their activities. One observed that Catholics were bought and sold like calves in the market; and if they were in prison the best way to get out was "to seek to be the pennyworth of some catchpole pursuivant who, for a reward of his service, is often permitted to have the sale of some prisoner's liberty."

In a letter evidently written by a Jesuit in 1592 to Richard Rowlands, it is stated that the searches of the pursuivants were very many and severe. The best times for their raids he said were on Sundays, holidays like Easter, Christmas and other church feast days. They would make their appearance at night, early morning, or at dinner time. They liked to come to the homes when there were few at home to resist them. This gave them an opportunity to rifle coffers and do as they pleased. They would lock up the servants, the mistress of the house and whole family and then like lords of the domain go through the dwelling. Their

manner of attacking a home varied. Often they would come with a troop of men as though for battle. They then would place guards on every side of the house, rush in and ransack every corner, "even women's beds and bosoms, with such insolent behaviour, that their villanies in this kind are half a martyrdom." They would command the men to stand and keep their places while they helped themselves to jewels, plate, money, and the like "under the pretence of papistry." Oftentimes they broke walls, untiled houses, and picked up boards from the floor which naturally entailed a great loss for the owner. There are even records on hand stating that these pursuivants asked the owner to pay them for the trouble they had in searching his house.

Even pregnant women became an object of search so much so that they had to hide themselves at the birth of their children to keep them from being baptized in the state religion. Many a woman gave birth to a child prematurely because of the "violent frights of pursuivants who, like pitiless furies, rage every where alike, without compassion, or care of the diseased."<sup>31</sup>

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31 Cf. M.A.Tierney, op. cit., 3:81, 91-92.

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After King James I began his regime the laws were executed with greater rigor. Referring to 1605, even the Anglican Bishop Goodman, a close friend of James, remarked:

...now their case was far worse than it was in the time of Queen Elizabeth; for then they did live in some hope that after the old woman's life they might have some mitigation...but now they saw the times settled, having no hope for better days, but expecting that the uttermost rigour of the law should be executed. 32

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32 Bishop G.Goodman, The Court of King James the First, 1:100.

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Walter H. Frere, speaking of the position of English Catholics subsequent to the enactment of the 1606 penal code, corroborates Bishop Goodman's opinion on the persecution of the Catholics: "Their cup was indeed now full: beyond three small additions to these penal laws in 1612 and 1628, Protestant ingenuity had no more that it could devise against its unfortunate victims."<sup>33</sup>

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33 The English Church under Elizabeth and James I, 330.

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A letter dated May 6, 1610 and sent from England by the Jesuits stated that five Jesuits were confined in several London prisons, three others taken since Father Walpole, and that all had refused the oath with great courage, which the writer added was generally the case with all the laity and clergy that fell into the hands of the heretical bishops.<sup>34</sup>

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34 H.Foley, op. cit., 7, part 2:1009.

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This situation of suffering continued to the end of the reign of James I. It was a matter for serious debates in the House of Lords for April and May 1624. Jesuits and priests were singled out "to be incendiaries. Their owne books shewe yt: their owne religion confesse the Jesuites to be so...." A day was again set on which all Jesuits were to be banished or to be hanged by law.

The wordes--viperous brood--to be taken away,  
and to expresse that we gyve warning uppon favour to  
by gon by a daye. All lawes against priestes and Jhes-  
uites being sharpe, to have a daye to be gone....<sup>35</sup>

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35 S.R.Gardiner, ed., Notes of the Debates in the House of Lords, 1624 and 1626, Camden Society, 24, N.S., 52-56, 62-65.

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The House of Commons, in 1625, was much alarmed over the increase of practicing Catholics and discussed ways and means for better laws and execution thereof. Sir Thomas Hoby made a report on the increase of Papists. In Yorkshire he declared "they are doubled if not trebled. In the North Riding there were 1200 convicted five yeares since, now 2400." And Mr. More made a report stating that there were 533 for Lancashire, "and in fower parishes 400 reformed by xij d. a Soday, and 80 li collected for the poore."<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Cf. S.R.Gardiner, ed., Debates in the House of Commons in 1625, Camden Society, VI N.S., 25.

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One cause alleged by the House of Commons for the increase of Catholics to the faith was the education of their children on the Continent "the number of which seminaries have bene greatly multiplied in this late tyme, whence hath issued the great swarme of Priests and Jesuits, seducers of his Majesties subjectes, dispersed over all partes of this Kingdome...."<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 18, 24.

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From the efforts made by the government to enforce the penal laws against the Jesuits and the people with and for whom the Jesuits were working, it becomes clear that the task the Jesuits had on hand to preserve and revitalize the Catholic faith was a superhuman mission.

As soon as the Jesuits set foot on English soil pursuivants, spies, and informers swarmed to capture them for the government. Father Persons in his memoirs speaks of some of the pursuivants and the spy system.

And as for spyes, true, it is, and y<sup>t</sup> as God is wont in his works to let contraries rise together, so

with this mission of them that desired to serve him, he permitted that diverse ill-disposed persons at ye very same instant repaired into England from Rome & other places that meant to be spyes in Engl<sup>d</sup> as Munday, Sledd, John Nicholls & others.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> The Memoirs of Father Robert Persons, edited by J.H.Follen, C.R.S., 2:200.

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People who became spies were often those least suspected. John Nicholls of whom Father Persons spoke serves as one example. He was a Protestant minister who voluntarily abjured heresy and then through the kindness of the Pope attended the English College at Rome. He was, however, not a fit subject for the priesthood and hence returned to England where the persecution against the Catholics was raging. He immediately apostatized and offered himself to the heretics to capture for them Jesuits and priests who had lately arrived from Rome. The heretics welcomed his service and sent him as a pretended prisoner to the Tower to get information from the prisoners. Here Lieutenant Hopton, keeper of the Tower, persuaded him to write a book especially against Jesuits. It was circulated that he was a learned Jesuit, now converted to the established state church. This caused a great sensation—a Jesuit turned convert! Nobles went to the Tower to hear this converted Jesuit preach, but only to their chagrin because he was truly an ignorant man. He left England and see-sawed on religion, but eventually returned. Hopton used him as a spy in London where he later betrayed Father Anthony Tyrell to the government.

<sup>39</sup>  
<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 4:7.

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At this same time Sledd also engaged himself as a spy. He had been

Dr. Sanderson's servant in Rome of whom Father Persons wrote to Father Agazzari, rector of the English College, June 16, 1581:

Sledd is on our track more than others, for he has authority from the Royal Council to break into all men's houses as he will and to search all places, which he does diligently, wherever there is a gleam of hope of booty. It is incredible how much we are harassed by these traitors. <sup>40</sup>

40 Ibid., 4:9

To Father Agazzari he also wrote about a spy named Caddy who at the time of Campion's trial was known by such names as Caddock and Craddock. This Caddy had been expelled from the English College in Rome on account of bad conduct.

Lawrence Caddy...having come here to London, went himself to the bishop, and freely renounced the Catholic faith, which pleased the heretics much, and they determined to make capital out of this apostasy. So it was ordered that the preacher who was to preach on the following feast at the most celebrated pulpit in London, namely, at St. Paul's Cross, should take him with him to declare publicly the things they should suggest against the Pope and the Roman religion.

Being a very coarse-looking fellow, he did this with such bad grace that they were all ashamed of him. <sup>41</sup>

41 Ibid., 4:9.

Trusted companions also turned spies. Father Persons had that experience with one called Robert Alfield. When Father Campion was captured, Father Persons retired to a house which stood in a forest very near to the public road along which Father Campion would be taken to London. Not wishing to take the unnecessary risk of speaking to him personally, Father Persons sent his servant Robert Alfield who afterwards turned traitor. Persons had accepted Alfield as his missionary companion

because the latter had been recommended to him by none other than Alfield's own brother, a priest, who felt he had converted him from his evil ways.

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42 Ibid., 4:19, 29,31.

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Recourse was also had to deception and trickery to ensnare the priests. For example a certain Justice Young and other magistrates inveigled a Father Tirrel to say Mass, hear confessions and administer the sacraments and then adroitly found out to whom he ministered these spiritual services. The purpose behind it all was to entrap those concerned and make them pay the penalties. There are also on record the names of Burden, Baker and Vachel who pretended to be Catholics at the behest of the government. They would assist at Mass, go to confession and receive the sacraments with other Catholics, only to betray them later. Another individual went so far as to pretend reconciliation to the Catholic faith through a priest in the Wisbeach prison just to entrap him; the priest was apprehended instantly. These were not isolated cases of deception; they were the common practice. Some men did not even hesitate to go to Europe to enter the seminaries on the pretext of studying for the priesthood in order that they might be better able to identify their comrades when they returned to England.

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43 M.A.Tierney, op. cit., 3:79.

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From the quoted data it is evident that the government did its utmost to destroy the Catholic religion. As a result it was virtually impossible for the Jesuits to attain their full spiritual objective, namely, to preserve the Catholic faith in England. This active governmental interference was hindrance enough to a spiritual apostolate but added to

this was the lack of unified action among the Catholic clergymen in England. They were left without a bishop from 1559 to 1624 when Dr. William Bishop was consecrated to the See of Chalcedon in partibus infidelium and appointed Vicar Apostolic over England and Scotland. The result of this non-hierarchical jurisdiction made it impossible for the clergy (secular and religious) to have well-defined directives especially to the momentous questions that would necessarily arise in a land of religious persecution. One major problem that seemed to have arisen from this condition was the political-religious Appellant Priest Controversy with its attending quarrels among the secular priests themselves, as well as some of the seculars with the Jesuits. Under normal circumstances, it would be expecting too much for a group of secular priests and religious-order men never to have any points of serious differences among themselves in their vast apostolic field, let alone during this complex period.

In 1580, Father Persons, shortly after his arrival in England, wrote that there was extreme need for a bishop to take interest in the common cause and to supply the holy oils for baptism and extreme unction.

The problems that immediately loomed up after Father Persons and Father Campion entered England would serve to illustrate what is meant by a clergy without a bishop. Father Persons realized that the sooner they left London to carry on their spiritual ministrations the better. But before doing this he wished to present himself to the ecclesiastical authorities and the clergy of the place. That act of deference and respect was the usual preliminary to a Jesuit mission and in this case it was also very important to ensure uniformity in working with the other clergy. But since there was no clergyman at liberty with ecclesiastical rank, he asked the older priests to meet in a poor man's house by the riverside near St. Mary Overies. At this meeting, known today as the

Southwark Synod of July 1580, were present the two Jesuits and Father George Blackwell, later Archpriest, and some other priests.

The questions brought up for discussion at this Synod were characteristic of the situation which confronted the missionaries. Father Persons led the discussions. He first read the instructions under which the Jesuit missionaries were working, emphasizing the prohibition of political action and declaring on oath his ignorance, until his arrival at Rheims, of Dr. Sander's expedition into Ireland. Having clarified the Jesuit position in England, the next vital question on the agenda was the rule governing the laymen's attendance at Protestant services. A committee of the Council of Trent had given a decision but there had been no official promulgation of it. Father Persons, however, following the decision of the Council of Trent, pronounced an absolute prohibition. This placed outside of the Catholic church anyone observing the law to attend Protestant services. The words that settled the matter read:

So public an act as is going to church, where profession is made to impugn the truth and to deface, alienate and bring into hatred Christ's Catholic Church, is the highest iniquity that can be committed.<sup>444</sup>

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<sup>444</sup> Robert Persons, S.J., Life of Campion, 36, cited by J.H. Pollen, The English Catholics in the Reign of Elizabeth, 334-336.

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So it was decided that this would be the sum total of what all the clergy would teach their Catholic laymen. The next question for debate was ecclesiastical and typical of England at that time. It had to do with the Sarum and Roman rite. The Sarum rite had been observed in England but now no more Sarum books were printed and the priests arriving from abroad were all trained in the Roman rite. The question, for example, of fasting under the Sarum rite was more onerous than the Roman. Naturally it would raise difficulties. It was discussed and a conserva-

tive decision given.

Nothing shall be altered in the matter of fasting from the old customs; but in what shire so ever of England (for all had not one custom, but the church of York some, and Canterbury and London others) the Catholics could remember that the Fridays, or any other day or vigil was fasted, the same to be kept and continued now, and the priests always to be the first and most forward to put it in execution. <sup>45</sup>

45 Ibid., 236.

Another topic for consideration was one that embraced no serious principle but which was difficult to settle. It had reference to the distributing of the incoming priests among the different counties, towns, and houses of Catholics. It was a major point of discipline but no definite plan was or could be formulated until the clergy could have a bishop of their own and this did not happen until 1624. Even if the clergy had decided to hold frequent meetings to bring about unified action, it would not have been prudent. This Southwark Synod proved how hazardous such gatherings could be.

The end of the Synod came suddenly. One Charles Sledd had been a servant in Rome to Dr. Sanderson or Dr. Morton, and had there come to know many Catholics. Now he had turned traitor, and began to arrest his former acquaintances. He seized Robert Johnson, priest and afterwards martyr, and Mr. Henry Orton, who was at that time actually on his way to the house where the Jesuit Fathers were; so that if Sledd had had the patience to follow his quarry home, he might have seized the whole band of missionaries at one swoop. After such a warning it was no wonder that the assembly broke up with all convenient speed. To have met at all was a brave conception, and shows how deeply every one felt the need for some sort of ecclesiastical government. <sup>46</sup>

46 Ibid., 337-339.

The last major obstacle with which the Jesuits had to cope during their apostolate between 1580 to 1623 was the Jacobean Oath of Allegiance. This oath caused serious trouble for the Catholic clergy and laymen. Since there was no bishop in England to promulgate the answer to the question whether a Catholic could take the oath without compromising his faith, confusion reigned among the clergy and the Catholic laymen.

The Jesuits were foremost in opposing the efforts of James I to impose the oath. Ironically this oath was drawn up by an apostate ex-Jesuit, Christopher Perkins, and was so worded as to give the appearance of orthodoxy. The oath, however, obtained one objective, namely, it split the ranks of Catholics into two bitter factions. Blackwell, the Archpriest, approved the oath. Many of the secular priests under his direction refused to adopt his decision. Father Holtby, S.J., the Superior of the Society in England, warned his fellow Jesuits to make no pronouncement on it until the Holy Father had given his decision. Pope Paul V in 1606 forbade Catholics to take the oath and directed Father Persons and Robert Bellarmine, S.J., to send earnest exhortations to Blackwell to instruct the clergy that it was morally impossible to take the oath. Blackwell, of course, was not submissive. He kept his clergy ignorant of the Pope's pronouncement and went so far as to take the oath and in 1607, to write a public letter advising Catholics to follow his example.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Cf. M.P.Harney, S.J., The Jesuits in History, the Society of Jesus through Four Centuries, 189.

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Father Blount, S.J., writing to Father Persons December 7, 1606, made this comment,

I would to God the customer (archpriest) would inform of all such matters as belong to him: for his silence doth argue a kind of neglect of the points; and our information maketh us more hated of the estate and secular priests.<sup>48</sup>

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48 M.A.Tierney, op. cit., 4: appendix, cxxiv-cxxv.

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Father Holtby in the Jesuit Annual Letter of 1607 described the havoc caused by the oath. Speaking of the people in Yorkshire and in the northern part of England he said they were treated most cruelly.

Their cattle are driven away, their houses ransacked, walls are broken down, chests and secret drawers are forced and searched....We may now see what a grievous persecution has been occasioned by this oath which George Blackwell defends, despite the intreaties of his friends and the letter of Cardinal Bellarmine, and others.<sup>49</sup>

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49 H.Foley, op. cit., 7, part 2:981-982.

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He added that as far as the Jesuits were concerned they did not consider the oath lawful but that there were many who followed the Archpriest and approved the course he had taken, while many more disapproved it and rightly considered submission as denial of their religion. "Nothing in all these thirty years of persecution has done such injury to religion as this scandalous example of the Archpriest, whose very virtues have helped to lead many astray. God grant that he may at length come to a better mind."<sup>50</sup>

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50 H. Foley, loc. cit.

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The Annual Jesuit letters for 1610 continued to speak of the effects of the oath. The connivance of some of the priests in the matter of the

oath lessened the resolution of some of the weak Catholics. One letter mentioned that a Father Andrew Friar, who was at liberty, declared it his opinion that the oath could be taken; that Blackwell was angry with one of his companions in prison because he refused to take it; and that Heburne, an appellant priest, was furious against those who refused it.<sup>51</sup>

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51 Ibid., 7, part 2:1018.

Even the Protestants were concerned about the division between the clergy, for they were afraid it would be of great peril to the state, "as much as the discontent of the common people against the gentry. But God defend and continue His peace, which the Pope desires to violate by instigating the papists to refuse the oath of allegiance."<sup>52</sup>

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52 Journal of Sir Roger Wilbraham, Camden Society, IV, 3rd S., 96.

Several of the Jesuit Fathers were sent to prison for refusing to take the oath. In 1607 Father William Wright was transferred from the London to the White Lion Prison where he gained fruit by instructing all in the true Catholic doctrine and giving the correct interpretation to the oath in opposition to the interpretation of the Archpriest. Among those who, although great friends of the Archpriest, refused his decision on the oath were Tobais Matthews, son of the Archbishop of York and three members of the Gage family, who subsequently were made prisoners for refusing the oath. Later five Jesuits were confined in several London prisons because they refused to take the oath.<sup>53</sup>

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53 H. Foley, op. cit., part 2:1004, 1009.

According to the diary of Yonge, the Holy Father Paul V, in 1612 "sent an inhibition to all his Catholics in England that they should not take the oath of supremacy; whereupon all were sworn anew, and many refused." <sup>54</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Diary of Walter Yonge, Camden Society, V:41 O.S., 23.

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By 1614 the Pope's interpretation of the oath was still not accepted by all of the clergy. This as was explained in the Annual Jesuit Letter for 1614 caused untold trouble for all affected by it.

The enemy of souls seems this year to have put forth all his craft and wiles utterly to ruin such Catholics as wavered in this matter; nor are there wanting those whose office it is to guide others some who maintain the lawfulness of this oath in view of the formidable consequences of refusing it... Notwithstanding its condemnation in two Apostolic Briefs and the letter addressed to him by the Most Illustrious Cardinal Bellarmine, he continued to defend it by word and writing. Our Fathers have stood in the breach, and have bravely opposed Blackwell and his adherents. Neither the tears and affection of our best friends among the Catholics, the open threats of heretics, and the secretly proffered bribes and promises of certain parties if we would be but little less outspoken, nor the prospect of some alleviation of the present calamities, have availed to turn one of our Fathers from the constant defence of the truth. Nay, more, with the help of God's grace, not only have they kept their penitents steadfast, but they have raised some who had fallen, confirmed waverers, and, both in private conferences and in published works, have confuted the weak and empty sophisms of the opposite party. <sup>55</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> H. Foley, op. cit., 7, part 2:1059.

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## CHAPTER IV

### FORMATION OF THE ENGLISH PROVINCE FROM 1580 TO 1623

Despite the fact that the Jesuits were being constantly buffeted by the tides of opposition, such as the difficulty of getting into England and remaining active, hatred for the Society as such, penal laws with their accompanying proclamations for enforcement, and the unfortunate quasi-acephalous situation existing among the Catholic clergy, the Jesuit Mission steadily progressed and took form.

In 1580 two Jesuit Fathers and a Brother comprised the total manpower of the Society in England. This number steadily grew in spite of the losses sustained by persecution. By 1624 the English Mission, now raised to the dignity of the English Province, had 152 members working in the apostolate. Of this number 148 were priests, one a scholastic and three, temporal coadjutors, lay brothers with religious vows.<sup>1</sup>

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1 H. Foley, *op. cit.*, 7, part 2:1100.

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To understand what is meant by the raising of the English Mission to the status of an English Province, it must be recalled that a General of the Order residing at Rome governs the world-wide Society of Jesus. He, like the Pope, is elected to his office for life. But so widespread is the Society, so numerous its members, so varied its enterprises that the General cannot govern alone. To carry on administrative affairs with greater efficiency, the Society is divided geographically into various regions called Provinces. The Provinces before being raised to that position are usually Vice-Provinces.

The government of this vast organisation requires gradation of vested authority in the General of the Order, Assistants General, Provincials, Vice-Provincials and Rectors or Presidents (these latter offices are usually vested in one person).

During the early history of the Society in England there resided at Rome six successive Generals: St. Ignatius from 1541-1556; James Laynes, 1558-1565; St. Francis Borgia, 1565-1572; Everard Mercurian, 1573-1580; Claudius Aquaviva, 1581-1615; and Matius Vitelleschi, 1615-1619. From this list it will be seen that Everard Mercurian launched the official English Mission and the Generals Aquaviva and Vitelleschi watched it being tossed about without anchor until 1619 when it was made a Vice-Province<sup>2</sup> and by 1623 a Province.

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<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 7, part 1:lviii, lx.

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Before the Mission was declared a Vice-Province the Fathers in England had recourse to their representatives, as it were, called Prefects who normally resided at Rome. During the infancy of this Mission there were only two Prefects, namely, Father Robert Persons until his death in 1610 and Father Thomas Owen until his death in 1618. When the Mission became a Vice-Province (1619) and a Province (1623) the office of Prefect was held by the Vice-Provincial and the Provincial who resided in England. These latter offices were held successively by Father Richard Blount from 1619 to 1638.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 7, part 1:lx, 65.

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The Vice-Prefects or Superiors who stayed with their men on the field of conflict in England were Father Robert Persons from 1580-1581;

Father Jasper Heywood, 1581-1584; Father William Weston, 1584-1587;  
 Father Henry Garnett, 1587-1606; Father Richard Holtby, 1606-1609; and  
 Father Robert Jones, 1609-1615.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 7, part 1:lx.

The records are not clear as to who succeeded to the office from 1615-1617 after Father Jones' death. At this time the last Vice-Prefect was appointed, namely, Father Richard Blount. Before his appointment in 1617 Foley's Records seem to indicate that Father Michael Walpole held the position.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 4:32.

Since a permanent residence for a Jesuit was most impracticable if he were to escape the unjust laws, it becomes rather difficult to understand how the Superior managed to see his fellow-laborers and how he called them together for special meetings to check on their temporal and spiritual progress; but it was done and with plenty of hazards. The Superiors succeeded in maintaining a house for general resort in or near London. Before and at the time of the Gunpowder Plot, 1605-1606, Father Henry Garnett, then Superior, had leased a place for general headquarters called "White Webbs." It was located upon Enfield Chase. This house played its part in the trials of Fathers Garnett and Oldcorne.

Father Oldcorne, in an examination in the Tower, March 5, 1606, says that he was with Father Garnett at White Webbs in Michaelmas term, 1604, at which time there were Fathers Blount and Lister, there, with Gilbert, Gerard, and others, to the number of ten with himself....In another examination being asked the reason of their meeting so often at White Webbs, he answered: "The cause of their meeting was, that twice a year, or once at least, they were, by their

rules, to give an account of their conscience to their Superior, and to renew their vows, and for doing thereof they were allowed three days, and came thither commonly on the Thursday, but the other two days they made themselves ready for the Sunday; and he was there at least six times before he knew the name of the house to be White Webbs.<sup>6</sup>

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6 Ibid., 1:74-89.

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As already indicated owing to the great increase of the English members of the Society, the General Martius Vitelleschi raised the English Mission to the state of a Vice-Province and appointed Father Richard Blount, Vice-Provincial. This Vice-Province took in the territory of Belgium and England. Father Blount by 1620 had scattered throughout England 109 members in the following numbers and districts:

London district.....	19
Leicestershire.....	12
Wales.....	11
Suffolk.....	8
Lincolnshire.....	6
Hampshire.....	8
Yorkshire.....	7
Staffordshire.....	10
Northamptonshire....	11
Lancashire.....	12
Worcestershire.....	5

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7 Ibid., 1:74-89.

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The districts into which the English Mission was divided were designated by such titles as Colleges, or quasi-colleges and Residences. Superiors and a proportionate number of Jesuit members were attached to each. The London district, known as the College of St. Ignatius, had its headquarters in or near London. In 1622 the Jesuits held the first Vice-Provincial Congregation. This meeting took place in London at the residence of the French ambassador in Blackfriars. The ambassadors'

houses afforded some measure of security because of the legal capacity of these officials. However, even here pursuivants did not hesitate to intrude. The reason for holding this assembly at Blackfriars may have been that there was no London residence after the breaking up of the White Webbs in 1606.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 1:74-79.

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In the Annual Jesuit Letters from the Vice-Province for 1619-1620 the latter surmise is not substantiated. The correspondent here spoke of having taken a house in London that was very retired and private. He then interestingly related how the house was used until the pursuivants caught up on the Jesuits.

...Hither our members used to come to consult together, and to make retreats. Altar staff and other things for their use were kept there. The thing could not be kept so secret but that these bloodhounds had scent of it...because Holy Week was near and they were summoned to different places or else to avoid the danger of impending tumult, all left the house except one, who was sick in bed, removing their letters and books elsewhere.

...they (pursuivants) force the sick Father to rise, and carrying him off, with two servants of the house, first to their own dwelling, while some searched and plundered the house, others were on the watch if any of the Fathers ignorant of what had occurred, might chance to come and be caught; and so it fell out that one, who could not be forewarned of it, came and was caught, and carried off to prison.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 5:996.

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The writer concluded this episode by stating that the tenant and owner of this home were fined and imprisoned, but that the Vice-Provincial who had been the prize object of their search for many years had again escaped the frustrated pursuivants.

In the year 1623, in consequence of the still rapid increase of members to the Society of Jesus, the General of the Order, Vitelleschi, raised the English Vice-Province to the status of a Province. Father Blount's authority was also raised to that of a Provincial. Father Blount in turn appointed Father Richard Banks the first Rector or Superior of the newly founded College of St. Ignatius already spoken of. This College was originally called the House of Probation (or Novitiate) of St. Ignatius, with the Mission of London. This Mission of London included the counties of Middlesex, Surrey, Kent, Berkshire, and Hertfordshire which territory was usually referred to as the London District. It retained the name of a Novitiate until 1773, but ceased to be used for that purpose after the famous "Clerkenwell search" in March, 1628. <sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 7, part lxxii.

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In the Annual Letter for 1624, written shortly after the foundation and organization of the Province, a rather clear perspective of the set-up was outlined.

We have now established in various counties of England houses of the Society, that are very convenient for conducting the business of the Mission, and serve as places of retreat for the Fathers who have been engaged in hard work. The London Novitiate is appointed for one of these houses, and is productive of the greatest good. The exercitants are occupied in all kinds of manual works among the novices and in the study of the Constitutions of the Society. Those who enter the Society here are already in Holy Orders, and occasionally also are of a mature age, and consequently of great weight with their fellow-novices; nevertheless, such is their simplicity and attention to the minutest nod of Superiors, that they seem almost to surpass those younger than themselves. Some of the veteran missionaries attached to this district occasionally meet together, ten or twelve at a time, to make the Spiritual Exercises, which are attended with good results both in recruiting their own exhausted bodily strength and in a renovation of fervour of spirit, as also in affording an

edifying example to the novices. And it is truly delightful to witness these ancient athletes after enduring the sufferings of prisons, fetters, and long and arduous toils in the vineyard of Christ, emulating novices in public acts of humility, obedience, and self-conquest. <sup>11</sup>

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11 Ibid., 7, part 2:1101-1102.

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This letter further explains that the resident Fathers in this particular district devoted themselves especially to preaching and expounding the Christian doctrine and that as a result there was a change of moral standards. Many of the people were aroused to constancy in the defence of their faith and others to the use of the sacraments and the practice of the higher duties of Christian piety. The writer specifically mentions that there were twenty general confessions and sixty-five conversions from heresy. <sup>12</sup>

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12 Ibid., 7, part 2:1101-1102.

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Peter Guilday commented very favorably on the organization of the English Province.

....It is not surprising that, with such a splendid system of controlling the work done in England, the Society should be so rich in vocations. These colleges, in startling contra-distinction to the quasi-acephalous condition of the Secular Clergy, present to us compact bodies of Catholic clergymen of the highest standard of education, the majority of them Professed Fathers, ranking in the Church as Doctors of Divinity, and all of them subjected to a long spiritual training, acting in unison under local Superiors with one general head, dispersed in every county of England and Wales. <sup>13</sup>

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13 P. Guilday, The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent, 146-148.

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To Guilday it was refreshing to meet this regularly organized body of men in a country where the secular clergy were scattered like a flock without a shepherd, the victims of a government which found them easy to persecute, and the inheritors of a "presbyterian" form of hierarchical jurisdiction which hindered and prevented them from working with the elasticity of purpose which a regular ecclesiastical organization affords.

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14 Ibid., 146-148.

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With the formation of the English Province went the tragic Blackfriars' accident called the Doleful Even-Song. Hardly had Father Richard Banks been appointed Rector when he had to bear the burden of this calamity. The accident took place October 26, 1623, at the residence of the French Ambassador, Count de Tillier, in old Blackfriars. The place was called Hunsdon House because it was so named from the Lord Chamberlain, Henry Carey and Baron Hunsdon, cousin to Queen Elizabeth.

Father Robert Drury, S.J., was preaching in a large upper room to an assembly of about three hundred persons. The floor suddenly gave way and crashed through the lower stories, killing about ninety persons including Father Drury and Father William Whittingham, S.J.

The accident made fine headlines because of the political and religious animosity of the time. A quaint and seemingly correct account of it was given in a small and rare book called the Doleful Even-Song. A copy of this was bound up with Father John Floyd's Word of Consolation. The following excerpt described the scene and the public's reaction.

The heretics, dead to all feeling of humanity, insulted and assailed those who had been dragged forth from the ruin, not only with curses, but also with mud and stones, through the streets, and au-

gured that this accident was a manifest judgement of God upon our holy faith. On the other hand, the Catholics consoled themselves with the assured hope of the salvation and happiness of the deceased, most of whom on that very day had been to confession and Holy Communion. The mourners were also relieved by the piety of the three Ambassadors of the Catholic Kings, who caused the obsequies to be celebrated with a cenotaph, a funeral sermon, and the distribution of large alms. Lastly, a learned book was published by Father John Floyd, entitled, A Word of Consolation, which tended both to wipe away their tears and to counteract the calumnies of the adversaries, proving that accidents of this kind are not always indications of anger and vengeance, but frequently of grace and favour. Nevertheless, this event appeared to many as a presage of future calamities, and of the ruin of that hope which Catholics had imbibed from the proposed marriage of Prince Charles with a daughter of Spain. <sup>15</sup>

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15 H. Foley, op. cit., 1:74-89.

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To get a perspective of the growth of the number of Jesuit missionaries in England from 1580 to 1625, a kind of chronological tabulation is here submitted. This tabulation is not set forth as being complete in detail but to indicate the almost imperceptible growth of missionaries in Great Britain.

1580: Fathers Robert Persons, Edmund Campion and Brother Ralph Emerson went over.

1581: Fathers William Holt and Jasper Heywood went to England, but Campion was put to death and Persons left for the Continent. Holt eventually left for Scotland and was later joined by Ralph Emerson who had fled to France.

1584: Father William Weston was sent over to replace Heywood as Superior. Ralph Emerson accompanied him but was arrested and lost tract of. Heywood returned to the Continent.

1586: Fathers Henry Garnett and Robert Southwell made their entry.

1588: Fathers John Gerard and Edward Oldcorne arrived in England. Gerard wrote that the only Jesuits he found were Garnett and Southwell at liberty and Weston at Wisbeach prison.

1589: Father Richard Holtby reached England.

1593: Records for this year listed seven Jesuits in England, namely, Thomas Darbischire, Richard Holtby, William Weston, Henry Garnett, Robert Southwell, John Gerard, and Edward Oldcorne.

1598: For this year the Jesuits for the English Mission were recorded as fourteen priests active, two priests in prison, and two Brothers in prison.

From this record, incomplete as it may be, it is obvious that rarely at any given time were there more than a dozen Jesuits in England during the reign of Elizabeth.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Cf. H. Foley, *op. cit.*, 4:40-41; 7, part 1:lxvi-lxviii; J. Gerard, Autobiography of John Gerard, 21.

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During the reign of James I more Jesuits entered the realm and managed to remain at liberty and this despite the fact that the penal laws were enforced with all rigor. The following is an index to the number of Jesuits under James I's regime.

1606: About forty Jesuits were in England.

1607: Forty-three members of the Society were living in England, namely, forty-two priests and one Brother.

1608: The number had risen to forty-seven.

1610: Records have fifty-two priests listed and one Brother.

1614: The mission had fifty-eight priests and one Brother.

1615: In the course of the year ten more priests were added, making sixty-eight priests and one Brother.

1619: In this year the Mission was raised to a Vice-Province which included Belgium. The total number for the Vice-Province was 212 of which 102 were priests laboring in England and the records indicate this did not include any Brothers.

1621: For this year the figures had risen to 106. Of this number twenty-four priests and one Brother were attached to the St. Ignatius College or London District.

1622: England had 116 Jesuit Fathers.

1623: The Mission was raised from a Vice-Province to a Province, including England and Belgium. The total for the Province was 218, with 112 in England proper and of this number the St. Ignatius College or London District had twenty-one Fathers and one Brother.

1625: Total for the English Province was 267 of which 152 were laboring in England.  
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17 Cf. H. Foley, op. cit., 7, part 1:clxxviii, lxxix-lxxxv; 7, part 2: 978, 984, 1033, 1074.

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## CHAPTER V

### NATURE OF THE JESUIT APOSTOLATE

In the midst of this persecution made effective by a volley of penal laws and proclamations executed through spies, pursuivants, and traitors forever on the hunt for supposedly criminal human beings, the Jesuits moved, never knowing when a fellow-member would be placed on the bloody gallows or be confined to prison torture. As explained in the previous chapter, the Jesuit organization proved an astonishing structure of spiritual efficiency and a veritable revolution in spiritual technique. This effective unity helped the Ignatian soldier in England to keep, to return, or to bring souls to his Captain, Christ, while at the same time he was in constant peril and his comrades were valiantly falling in the struggle.

This was a strange struggle for the salvation of souls—a paradox—this working with and through a civilized people who, under the guise of patriotism, savagely persecuted its fellow Christians for their religious beliefs.

In chapter three it was pointed out how the Jesuit apostles embarked from the Continent and landed on the English shores in disguise. After casting anchor, the Jesuits faced the handicap of obtaining safe lodging, remaining at liberty and bringing spiritual aid to souls without being detected by those who were constantly on their trail.

Before considering particular places of residence, a survey of the general modes of living followed by the missionary Fathers in the days of open persecution will help to clarify how the missionaries existed.

Father Henry More, the historian, has left on record at Stonyhurst

an account of how the Jesuits lived. As he indicates in his writing, it was difficult to find lodging because not only the priests but those who housed them were subject to the penal laws.

The members of the Society who hitherto have laboured in England for the consolation of Catholics, and the conversion of heretics, pending better times, had three modes of living. Some led an entirely private life at home; others were constantly moving about through various localities; while many were free either to confer at home with those who wished, or to visit others out of doors.

For, as by the law, capital punishment hung equally over the Priests and over those who harboured them in their houses, so when any secular master of a family was raised above the fear of the laws, either by nature, or grace, or the circumstances of the times or of the persons among whom he lived, he would adopt a Priest, who, in one of the three modes indicated, served the family and administered the Sacraments. And, as among all classes of men the distribution of the gifts of nature and of grace differs, so among all ranks were to be found those who were more free, and those who were more sparing in adopting Priests. The most opulent and powerful acted more cautiously than the middle or lower class, as having more to lose, and being more exposed to envy; neither did they rely upon their own power, so long as they were conscious not only of being subject to those who were still more powerful, but also of being exposed to danger from the informer. But what God had given to the middle and lower classes even, for their moderate sustenance, was as dear to them, as was to the powerful that which He had given to them for their abundance; and so, feeling that they had less means of contending against the malice of the enemy, they often became, like the more wealthy, cautious and timid in admitting the service of Priests.<sup>1</sup>

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1 H. Foley, *op. cit.*, 2:3-6.

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Father More, however, then added that from the commencement of the schism there were never wanting priests to expose themselves to the danger of capital punishment for the sake of defending the Faith, or good Catholic laymen to risk their lives and fortunes, that they might not be deprived of the helps to piety which the Sacraments offered them.

Those Jesuits who led an entirely private life at home had their room in the upper stories or attics of the houses as remote as possible from the observation of the domestics and visitors. This room usually contained an altar, a table and a bed. Great care was exercised respecting the windows. By day they were opened cautiously so that passers-by might not notice that some one lived in that sector of the house; by night they were shut with greater care to prevent the light from betraying the inhabitant. Walking in the room had to be very lightly done or cautiously made along some beam; at certain hours all movement was prohibited in order that no noise would be heard either in the room adjoining or the one beneath. As a rule, these Jesuits were not permitted to go about the house except to a neighboring room, and only then with prudence. If a Father wished to leave the house for the sake of charity, for his health or his own business, he had to go out late at night and return either when the servants were at supper or else had retired to rest.

....For there were heretics amongst these; and although the master of the house did not wholly distrust them, since they were his servants, and under many obligations to him, yet he did not so far trust them as to feel sure that they might not attest they had seen, or at least knew a Priest to be in the house. Nor did he consider that even Catholic servants should be too much trusted. Whence it happened that in a very numerous family of sixty or eighty persons, a Priest spent almost entire days, weeks, and months, alone; for except the hour of Mass at which some at least were always present by turns, and a short space of time before and after Mass, the rest of the day each one spent in his own or other's business, or in different country recreations. A female servant brought in his dinner and supper, and then immediately left. He ate and took recreation alone, unless the servant happened to return after the meal, bringing perhaps one of the boys or girls of the family; or the lady of the house might look in to apologize for not having been able to pay him a visit sooner. <sup>2</sup>

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2 Ibid., 2:3-4.

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It remains for the reader to conjure how oppressive this constant solitude must have been to men accustomed to habits of conversation with their brethren, to the consolations of frequent confession and a variety of occupations. Unless their Superior visited them, they rarely saw one of the Society, or any other priest in the house, for they were seldom allowed to go out of doors and then only after an interval of months.

The traveling missionaries in contrast were always striking tent. They were men living in the saddle for the most part. On their itinerary they assisted Catholics or brought the wanderers back to the Faith. For the most part they had at least one house to which they could retire for a few days to recruit themselves. This, in turn, enabled the surrounding Catholics to come to them for the administration of the Sacraments, especially Baptism and Extreme Unction. The rest of the time they were perpetually moving about, visiting and bringing consolation to souls.

In the evening after dinner the traveling missionary usually entered the house either openly or privately, depending upon circumstances and departed the next day. Through the skilful use of a change of names, dress, direction in which they were going, and other schemes they managed to deceive, sometimes for a long period or all the time, those whose notice they had to escape. It was to them that the chief part of the spiritual harvest fell. They thus met with and seized every opportunity of disseminating truth and implanting virtue directly or indirectly through the aid of the lay apostle. Their work, of necessity, entailed grave dangers. They were compensated, however, for this hardship by their more frequent opportunities of meeting their Superior and others

of the Society and by reaping at once the fruit of their labors. These very distractions tended to increase their piety, for after communication with others, they returned to their recollection all the more eager to draw interior fruit for themselves.<sup>3</sup>

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3 Cf. Ibid., 2:3-4.

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The third mode of living, allowed to a few, provided the Jesuits with much liberty. This consisted in leading quite a free life under the roof of the host. In such instances, the master of the house either by his own virtue or the good esteem of his neighbors was superior, as it were, to the action of the laws. Prudence was not cast to the winds; it was exercised by the head of the house as well as by the Jesuit harbored there but with this difference, they did not live in extreme servile fear of losing their freedom. In these homes the master of the house tried to engage Catholic servants who did everything within the house in a Catholic spirit. When his place became an object of suspicion he was generally "tipped-off." This gave sufficient time to put things in order, namely, to conceal the priest and all articles necessary for the Sacrifice of the Mass, or to have the priest absent himself for a time. After the storm blew over everything again returned to normal. In such homes, the Superior commonly lived so as to be at liberty to visit the members of the Society as well as to receive them at this permanent abode. Those who were privileged to carry on the apostolate under these more favorable circumstances naturally also reaped great spiritual harvests.

In the Annual Jesuit Letter for 1616 the correspondent explained that such residences had practically vanished.

But the face of affairs is now entirely changed. Scarcely one in the whole kingdom is found who can furnish the means of living after this third mode, though they were formerly numerous enough. Those who go forth to assist others in different places are forced to spend their nights travelling, and their days in helping the Catholics at home. Many are reduced to the first mode of living, they 'sit like sparrows upon the house top, expecting the happy day, and the advent of the glory of the great God,' for, humanly speaking, very little is hoped for, whichever side of the conflicting parties prevails.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 2:3-6.

After the death of Father Robert Jones, sixth Superior of the English Mission, a brief account of his arduous missionary work was related in the Annual Letter for the year 1616. This account graphically explains the life of one Jesuit who spent twenty years in bringing spiritual ministrations particularly to the Britons, the ancient inhabitants of Wales, a mountainous and not very fertile part of the country.

He had led a life full of toil and peril, amongst a people which still clings to the old religion. The summer heats, the winter blasts, made no difference to Father Jones. It often happened to him after having journeyed through the deep snow, to find that there were Protestants in the house he came to visit. In order to prevent discovery, he would wait outside for hours together in the frost and cold; he thereby contracted several ailments, a thing which often happens to our missionaries when called to administer the Sacraments at some Catholic house. They frequently have to remain exposed to the weather until a later hour, waiting for the household to retire that they may fulfill their ministry in safety. Many of them have thus caught various fevers, rheumatism, and the like maladies. But not content with these hardships incidental to his mission, Father Jones added several bodily austerities, such as frequent fastings, disciplines, watchings, spare diet, sleeping on the ground, whereby he greatly injured his health....<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 7, part 2:1077-1079.

Father Jones' death seems to have been caused through leg injuries received when hurrying in the dark to baptize a baby. Foley cites an item referring to Father Jones that shows how the government tried to keep itself informed on the activities of the Jesuits.

[The Commission] is likewise informed that in a place called Darren, in the confines of the counties of Hereford and Monmouth, Mass is weekly said by two Jesuits, Jones and Powell, with great resort unto them of persons of good quality.<sup>6</sup>

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6 Ibid., 7, part 2:627-628.

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Places of temporary or more or less permanent lodging varied with the times. Persons wrote that upon his return to London, after speaking to Campion who went northward, he found lodging sometimes in Bridewell, sometimes in the surrounding villages, and sometimes even in one of the Queen's palaces. In a letter dated November 17, 1580, to Father Agazzari at Rome, he illustrated a missionary's perpetual movement.

For though I have many places in London where I can stay, yet in none do I remain beyond two days, owing to the extremely careful searches that have been made to capture me. I think, however, that by God's favour I am sufficiently safe from them owing to the precaution I take and am going to take of being in different places from morning till late at night.<sup>7</sup>

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7 L. Hicks, C.R.S., 39:xxvi.

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Later on Father Persons felt he could no longer rely exclusively on finding a lodging in the homes of Catholics, so he prepared a house on the banks of the Thames at Bridewell, a central place of refuge for himself and others. Here he stored vestments, books, crucifixes, rosaries and the like. No doubt, here he also met those who came often from long

distances to consult him. And it was here at times priests would gather for a night for a little relaxation. It was in this house that Blessed Ralph Sherwin chatted with Persons and others the night before he was captured.<sup>8</sup>

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8 Ibid., 39:xxvi.

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Referring to the first summer's activity Persons states that he worked in the shires of Northampton, Darby, Worcester, Gloucester, and Hereford; that he was accompanied by a young man, George Gilbert, and at Michaelmas day they returned and met Campion at Uxbridge where the latter took directions to write the book on the Ten Reasons.

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9 J.H.Pollen, C.R.S., 2:27.

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After the Queen's Council knew of the Jesuits' departure from London, pursuivants were sent to every county with warrants to arrest them. Persons described in detail this first apostolic work in the counties. Referring to the pursuivants he says:

They lost their labour, and we had three or four months free to follow our business, in which period, by the help and the 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 a Catholic or not, provided that he had any Catholics in his house to hear us. We entered for the most part as acquaintance or kinsfolk of some persons that lived within the house, and when that failed us, as passengers or friends of some gentlemen who accompanied us; and after ordinary salutations we had our lodgings by procurements 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 could communicate, 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. <sup>10</sup>

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10 Cited by E.L.Taunton, The History of the Jesuits in England, 64.

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Persons also has left an account of some of the things he had to do as a missionary. He says that the chief duties were answering questions of conscience, sending priests to suitable places, reconciling converts, writing letters to the wavering, begging alms for prisoners and helping them with the alms for which they implored him daily. He quickly adds in this letter that it was discouraging to see so many things yet to be done but that the consolation of seeing the joy with which the priests were received in these provinces was greater than the labor of mind and body could be.

Father John Gerard, who went over to England in 1588, had this to say about his journeys in the North of England:

At first I used to carry with me on these journeys my altar furniture, which was meagre but decent, and so contrived that it could be easily carried, along with several other necessary articles, by him who acted as my servant. In this way I used to say Mass in the morning in every place where I lodged, not however before I had looked into every corner around, that there might be no one peeping in through the chinks. I brought my own things mainly on account of certain Catholics my entertainers not having yet what was necessary for the Holy Sacrifice. But after some years this cause was removed; for in nearly every place that I came to they had got ready the sacred vestments beforehand. Moreover I had so many friends to visit on the way, and these at such distances from one another, that it was hardly ever necessary for me to lodge at an inn

on a journey of one hundred and fifty miles; and at last I hardly slept at an inn once in two years. <sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> J. Gerard, S.J., Autobiography of Father John Gerard, 46-47.

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Father Edward Oldcorne, who entered England with Gerard had what may be termed a permanent residence in the Henlip House located in the country near Worcester. Here he resided for sixteen years and with Father Henry Garnett and Brothers Owen and Ashley was discovered and captured after a search of eight days at the time of the Gunpowder Plot, 1605. This house or castle belonged to Thomas Habington [or Abindon] who suffered six years' imprisonment in the Tower for his assisting in the attempt to release Mary Queen of Scots. While residing here Father Oldcorne converted Abindon's heretic sister and by his successful labors in Worcester and the neighboring counties he won many to the Faith, strengthened the wavering, restored the fallen, and helped to station priests in strategic places. To him was given much praise for his prudent zeal.

This it was that made several apply to him what St. Jerome writes of St. John, that he founded and governed all the churches in those parts; and in good sooth all looked up to him as to their father. Such was his prudence, that he fully satisfied all; such his diligence and endurance of toil, that he never failed any one in the hour of need; and his alms supplied the wants of many poor Catholics. In fact his house might have been one of our residences in a Catholic country, such was the number of Catholics flocking there to the Sacraments, to hear his sermons, and to take advice in their doubt. His helpmate was Father Thomas Lister.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 50-52.

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After Father Gerard had arrived in England and met his Superior, he

returned to Norwich and there remained with a gentleman to whom he was led by Providence when he first landed on the northern shores.

I returned then to my friend in the county where I was first set ashore....Thus it happened that I remained for six or eight months, with some profit to souls, in the family of my first friend and host; during which time, he took me with him to nearly every gentleman's house in the county. Before the eight months were passed, I gained over and converted many to the Church: among whom were one of the brothers of my host, his two sisters, and later on his brother-in-law. One of these sisters...was my friend's housekeeper, and had been all along a red-hot-Calvinist....<sup>13</sup>

13 Ibid., 22-27.

Referring to another fine Catholic whom he had helped to a better way of life he writes:

When the house had been thus settled, I found time both for study and for missionary excursions. I took care that all in the house should approach the Sacraments frequently, which none before, save the good widow, used to do oftener than four times a year. Now they came every week. On feast days, and often on Sundays, I preached in the chapel; moreover I showed those who had leisure the way to meditate by themselves, and taught all how to examine their conscience. I also brought in the custom of reading pious books, which we did even at meals, when there were no strangers there; for at that time we priests sat with the rest, even with our gowns on. I had a cassock besides a biretta, but the Superior would not have us use these except in the chapel.<sup>14</sup>

14 Ibid., 37.

On another occasion, Father Gerard with a friend rented a house in London, but when this gentleman was imprisoned, Father Gerard was obliged to seek a new abode. This time he was determined to live in a house of one not known to be a Catholic. His novel experience or plan is told by

himself.

....I managed that this new house should be hired by a nephew of Master Roger Lee, whom with his wife I had reconciled to the Catholic Church; and as he was not known to be a Catholic, the house was entirely free from all suspicion. I had the use of this house for three years, and during that time it was not once searched; nor, even before the Queen's death, though there were many general searches made, and the prisons were choked with Catholics, did they ever come to this house.

I had a man to keep the house who was a schismatic, but otherwise an honest and upright person. When I was in residence, this man provided me with necessaries; and when I was away, he managed any business for me according to my written directions. In all appearance he was the servant of the gentleman who owned the house, and so he was esteemed and called by the neighbours; and since as a schismatic he frequented their churches, they entertained no suspicion of him, nor of the house. For myself, when I came to town, I always entered the house after dark, and in summer time scarce went out while I remained there. But my friends would come to visit me by ones and twos on different days, that no special attention might be drawn to the house from the number of visitors. Nor did they ever bring any servants with them, though some were of very high rank, and usually went about with a large number of attendants. By these means I provided better for them and for myself, and was able to continue longer in this way of life. <sup>15</sup>

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15 Ibid., 219-224.

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In their apostolic zeal, the various Jesuit missionaries, living under the most trying and dangerous conditions, made every effort to minister to souls. Richard Holtby, Superior from 1606 to 1609, made one of his headquarters about the year 1593 at Thornby, the seat of John Trollope, Esquire, where he was sought by the pursuivants. He escaped, however, and in about 1602 he was at Hebourne three miles from Newcastle in the home of Mr. Hodgson. Three years later he was at Holton, Northumberland, the seat of Launcelot Carnaby, and in 1612 he seems to

have lived in London.

Richard Blount, who later became Provincial, had himself established for seven or eight years at Mr. Darell's house in Sussex, about forty-six miles from London. While he was there, 1597 or 1598, the place was searched twice.

A narrow escape from capture is related of Michael Walpole who, as Superior from 1615 to 1617, sought to make his residence at Dona Luisa's, a Spanish lady not bound by the English law. The officials, however, were suspicious, and Spanish or not, her place was not immune to search. After Walpole had resided there for about two months, the place was suddenly surrounded at an early hour by a posse of armed men who made their entrance after forcing six or seven doors. While this was going on, the Ambassador of Prince Albert of Austria appeared on the scene and through his courteous address somewhat calmed the over-eager officials. Recognizing Father Walpole who stood nearby bareheaded, shabbily clothed, and disguised as a servant, he devised a means of saving him from his perilous situation. In an imperious tone and speaking Spanish which the Jesuit understood, he ordered him to take messages to Dona Luisa who had retired to her room. When he returned several times with an answer, the officers supposed him to be a Spaniard. Having gently rid himself of the constables, the Ambassador made a sign to Walpole to accompany him to his residence.

Englishmen often lost their lives in their efforts to protect priests. Mrs. Anne Line was hanged at Tyburn in 1602 for housing priests. On the day she was captured Father Francis Page had said Mass in her home, but somehow made his escape. In 1611 Mrs. Vaux was put into the Fleet prison following the capture in her house of the two Jesuits, John Percy and Nicolas Hart.

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16 Cf. H.Foley, op. cit., 3:3-16, 481-488; 7, part 2:1028, 1051-1052.

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In 1610, five years after the Gunpowder Plot, Father Pollard gave an account of his mode of missionary life in northeast England, and of the constancy and the heroic spirit of the Catholics.

....The number also of catholics in these parts is so great (as may appear also by the many and great sums of money granted by the king to divers Scots and pages, to be levied out of their goods), that, among my friends and acquaintance, the most of them, if not all, being gentlemen of good account, I can travel from this Lincoln to York, and so thirty mile farther, which is above eighty mile, and, within every six mile, come to a catholic house, and, for the most, within three mile; all, or the most of them, gentlemen's or gentlewomen's houses of good account: and, for all this, I will not, in all that way, go six mile out of the ready and nighest way. Such is the resolution and constancy of the catholics in those parts, that, notwithstanding all these troubles and vexations, they have rather increased than decayed, God be praised for it. The number of those who are condemned to perpetual prison, and losses of all goods and lands, for refusing the late oath, I think is greater in York prison than in all the prisons of England beside....

In the house where I lived, we were continually two priests, one to serve and order the house at home, another to help those who were abroad, who especially in any sickness or fear of death, would continually send to us for help, that they might die in the estate of God's church.<sup>17</sup>

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17 M.A.Tierney, op. cit., 4:178-179.

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Although the Jesuits were engaged in missionary work that required them to be thinking constantly of their physical and temporal welfare, their spiritual and mental welfare was not neglected. Father Persons refers to this matter when discussing meetings in his letter of November 17, 1580. Herein he states that when the summer was over they withdrew to London and assembled in places agreed upon, "and as soon as we had car-

ried out the duties [annual retreat, general confession and so forth] which the Society imposes we separated again, and yesterday Fr. Edmund set out with Rudolph for the counties assigned to him."<sup>18</sup>

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18 L. Hicks, C.R.S., 39:59.

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At one point in his autobiography Father Gerard also comments on these meetings. He writes that he visited his Superior and found these gatherings very rejuvenating.

I used to visit my Superior several times a year when I wished to consult him on matters of importance. Not only I, but all of us, used to resort to him twice a year to give our half-yearly account of conscience and renew the offering of our vows to our Lord Jesus. I always remarked that the others drew great profit from this holy custom of our Society. As for myself, to speak my mind frankly, I never found anything do me more good, or stir up my courage more to fulfil all the duties which belong to our institute, and are required of the workmen who till the Lord's vineyard in that country. 19

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19 J. Gerard, op. cit., 46-47.

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The writer of the Annual Letter for the year 1615 states that the Jesuits were scattered throughout the country each by himself except in rare cases when there were means and conveniences for keeping two together. He further mentions that in compliance with the orders of the Father General Aquaviva, the missionaries were so placed that one might help and relieve the other.

....In every county a man experienced in spirituality and the discipline of the Society is appointed prefect of spirit, to hear the six-monthly confessions and take account of conscience, by commission from the Superior, who is set over all with the powers of a Provincial. He likewise visits the several houses, and takes account of their ministries of income and

expenditures. Thus in the midst of an enemy's country our Institute is kept up as far as is feasible. We have on these matters several excellent regulations made by the late General concerning the observation of the rule, the renovation of ours in spirit, the precautions to be taken in dealing with Catholics and Protestants, which are read at the meetings for the six-monthly confessions.<sup>20</sup>

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20 H.Foley, op. cit., 7, part 2:1077.

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Generally speaking the foregoing explanation covers the modes of living for the Jesuit missionaries and the three usual places of residence. There was, however, a fourth one that played a great part in the Jesuit apostolate, the prison. Members of the Society were always to be found in the prisons, and since these places were filled with Catholics confined for the Faith, there were many souls to be cared for. Before citing particular Jesuits who were imprisoned or describing prison life in general, it will be well to consider the names of the prisons in and around London.

A number of prisons were located south of the Thames river in an area known as Southwark. The King's Bench, under the court of that name, was north of the junction of Newington Causeway with Borough Road. Further up Borough Road to the south of the Mermaid Court stood The Marshalsea, under the jurisdiction of the Marshal of the Royal Household. Close to it was the small White Lion prison. On the same road near the junction with Southwark, stood the Counter. Farther north was the Clink prison, originally part of the Bishop of Winchester's palace.

Bridewell prison was located immediately to the left of the present Blackfriars Bridge. Today Bridewell Police Station stands on part of its site. On the right of the present Farringdon Street and past Indgate Hill was located the Fleet prison. Along the present Old Bailey to the east was the site of Newgate and farther down the road was the

Poultry. In each of the last named there was a Counter prison attached to the Counter or Compter Court of the Lord Mayor. These prisons as the name implies were intended for debtors. The Gatehouse prison was in the old city gate near Westminster Abbey which faced the two western towers of the church.  
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21 Cf. J.H.Pollen, C.R.S., 1:47-48.

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Prison life and treatment varied with the times, the gaolers and the place. In a letter of 1581, Persons comments on the fate of Thomas Found, a prisoner for the Faith, who was most strictly guarded in a gloomy London castle. Here his bed was the cellar ground and the use of light was denied him. He was loaded with enormous iron fetters but despite all this he sent out jovial letters as though he were living in luxury. At Found's request Persons directed a certain priest to carry the Holy Eucharist to the prisoner. The priest was instructed to gain access to the prison by following the method of the one who had transferred the letters. He failed, however, to observe all the details for his journey and admittance, was taken prisoner, though afterwards set free.  
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22 L.Hicks, op. cit., 39:87.

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Two years later, in another letter, Persons expressed his satisfaction over the milder treatment priests were receiving in the prisons. He said that priests were no longer racked or put to death but just kept prisoners, and hence the number of priest prisoners had vastly increased. In the prison at Hull there were thirty priests while in the Marshalsea at London there were twenty-six. And he adds the comment that all of these, by some ruse or other, managed to say Mass.  
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23 Ibid., 39:179-180.

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Writing from his station of exile in Flanders, Cardinal Allen gave practically the same version as Father Persons about prison life in 1583. He received his information from his brother Gabriel who had recently returned from England. Gabriel had spent much of his time in visiting the prisons and nearly all of the confessors, except those in the Tower whom he dared not approach. He reported that in the Marshalsea as well as in the other prisons, Masses were said daily with the consent, or at least the connivance of the gaolers, who were either bribed or favorable to religion. He said that visitors were admitted to the priests either for conversation or for confession and communion. And at this time also, the priests were allowed to leave their prisons daily in order to go to various places in the city to minister to the spiritual necessities of the Catholics. The privilege was granted with the understanding that they return into custody at nightfall. Cardinal Allen, however, referring to these lenient practices, ends by observing that this kind treatment was a ruse. Although the officials bestowed much clemency on many confessors, there were priests, for example, in the London Tower who were severely handled. He believed that the intention was to turn Catholics from their Faith and holy resolutions: some were to be turned by pains and threats, others, by kind consideration and flattery.

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24 Cf. J.H.Pollen, C.R.S., 4:77.

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That these acts of leniency and corruption were practiced in the prisons is amply substantiated through the investigations made in 1588. Various accounts are to be found in the Record Office. Bribery was the

order of the day. Many waiters and servants of the prison, lieutenants as well as others who worked about the institution were engaged in delivering messages and letters, and giving other services. Keys were obtained for locks so that prisoners could visit each other. Mass was said daily, so it was stated, and there was plenty of evidence for this found in the stock vestments and other necessaries for the Mass. <sup>25</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Cf. R.O. Domestic Elizabeth, cxxvii, n.61 and cclxv, n.135, cited by J.H.Pollen, C.R.S., 21:193-196.

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But there were other forms of treatment which counterbalanced the kindness shown in certain prisons. According to a letter to Richard Rowlands, alias Verstegan, there was no limit to what pursuivants could do to priests and Catholics, unless they were of great renown. From priests, they could take everything whether purse, horse, apparel or books. The writer of the above mentioned letter has left an appalling account of the barbarities practiced at the direction or the hands of Topcliffe, a most cruel gaoler:

The manner of imprisonment of priests is, that first they are kept in Topcliffe's house, or some other catchpole's. Topcliffe ever useth to torture them by his private authority, before they part out of his doors, and keepeth their taking so secret, that sometimes it is long ere it be known where the party apprehended is, lest the rumour of his torturing should be spread abroad. From Topcliffe's house he is carried to Bridewell. There he is hanged up by the hands, in manacles, and examined upon all hateful and odious points, and used with such extremity, that his death is far less misery than his bloody usage in this place. If they find him constant, he is carried to some other prison, and there kept close prisoner, with as hard usage as may be....

They whip priests naked, as they did Mr. Deseley and Mr. Jones...in such cruel sort, that the persecutors themselves said that they had charms, to endure so patiently such tortures.

Topcliffe useth to keep them from sleep, by watching them till they are almost past their senses,

and half beside themselves; and then beginneth to examine them afresh, in that impotent mode. <sup>26</sup>

26 M.A.Tierney, op. cit., 3:117.

Brother Nicholas Owen also known as Little John of the Society, was one person so barbarously treated that he died from the effects. In his autobiography Father Gerard tells how Brother Owen was shockingly tortured upon the terrible Topcliffe rack and how, at the same time, enormous weights were attached to his feet so that after hours of this treatment, frequently repeated, "his bowels gushed out with his life." To clear the authorities of this brutal murder, it was reported that he had committed suicide. <sup>27</sup>

27 Cf. J. Gerard, op. cit., 257,271.

In some instances, prisoners starved to death. Father Pollard, in 1610, speaks of the destitute prisoners in York and the difficulty he had in bringing them much, if any, relief since that particular shire had been so oppressed by the government that the people had nothing to give in charity. <sup>28</sup>

28 Cf. M.A.Tierney, op. cit., 4:167 and J. Gerard, op. cit., 5-7.

The Annual Letter for 1611 contains a vivid picture of the prison life experienced by Thomas Strange. He was first lodged in the King's Bench where he spent three months heavily fettered. From there he was taken to the Tower and cast into a gloomy dungeon where no ray of light penetrated and the dampness of the cell put out his candle. He lay in

this place for thirty-two days without a bed, without even straw on the ground, a comfort not denied to the most atrocious criminals. His sole companions were the frogs. His diet was a stinted portion of bread and water. Noticing that his health was falling fast and fearing lest the squalor, stench and hardships of the prison might thwart the officials' scheme of further torturing him for information, the lieutenant had him removed to a room and appointed him a guard. Here for the following three days Father Strange was thrice put to the torture for two hours at a time. These long and repeated inflictions caused swellings in his hands and feet and the violence of the pain made him insensible to suffering. Even though he was wholly unable to move, they still heavily ironed him; this abuse, too, he no longer felt. He remained in this condition for three months. After an imprisonment of five years he was banished—a man broken in health and nearly blind from his sufferings.<sup>29</sup>

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29 Cf. H. Foley, *op. cit.*, 7, part 2:1021-1028.

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Another Jesuit, Father Weston, had yet other prison experiences. He was incarcerated for seventeen years. Most of that time he was in the famous Wisbeach Castle, beginning his term there in 1588. This prison, known as the "tomb of Catholics," was a dungeon located in a pestilential marsh. Treatment meted out here was at first severe, but after 1592 a great deal of liberty was allowed. It was during this time that a majority of the priests with Father Weston at their head adopted a sort of college life in prison. The minority, however, strongly opposed this, causing a division to develop into the well-known "Wisbeach Stirs." Of course, the place was subject to surprise inspections to see whether any incriminating data or material could be found on the prisoners. Father Weston tells how carefully they always put away the chalice and vest-

ments in utmost secrecy after daily use and service. After seventeen years of prison solitude and sufferings he, too, was released, broken in health and practically blind.<sup>30</sup>

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30 Cf. J.H.Pollen, C.R.S., 1:72-78.

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A summary of John Gerard's experiences may serve as a conclusion to this subject. He had the distinction of serving two prison terms. The first term which lasted more than a year was inflicted upon him because, as a lay student, he had made an attempt to leave England without proper permission, a thing difficult to obtain. He fared quite well in the Marshalsea. He says their cells were searched for church-stuff and that on one occasion they were betrayed by a man who feigned Catholicity. He told the authorities about the stored sacred objects and Catholic books which, when taken away, filled a cart to capacity. In Gerard's cell were found nearly all the requisites for Mass. His next door occupant was a priest and between their cells they had discovered a secret way of opening the door so that they had Mass nearly every morning.<sup>31</sup>

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31 J.Gerard, op. cit., 5-7.

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Father Gerard's second incarceration took place after several years of missionary work as a Jesuit. This time he first was confined in the miserable and uncomfortable Counter. From the Counter he was transferred to the Clink where he skilfully organized a prison parish from among the many Catholics who were held there. His spiritual apostolate was so gratifying that he preferred it to being at liberty. Instead of the lewd songs and blasphemies as at the Counter, prayers arose in the room next to his. The prisoners soon came to his door and showed him

how to open a freer communication with them. This was, at first, through a hole in the wall covered with a picture. Through it they soon supplied him with letters from his friends and with writing material. Through it he also received Holy Communion. This did not last long for the Catholics contrived to fashion a key that opened his door. Now they could take him to another part of the prison where he said Mass and administered the Sacraments, for all the prisoners had obtained keys to their cells.

Father Gerard said that he had as neighbors just those whom he would have selected had the privilege of choosing been his. His next door cell neighbor was Brother Ralph Emerson, S.J., apprehended in 1584. The latter was eventually sent to Wisbeach where he was attacked with palsy and partial paralysis. After twenty years of confinement, Ralph Emerson was banished and died soon after. Above Gerard's cell was Father John Lilly, and round about him good men, all true to the Faith. In the beginning, he spoke to persons only through the hole in his cell wall. Later he received a more tolerant gaoler whom he managed at will by coaxing and by bribes. He persuaded the gaoler to visit him only at specified times when he would be in his cell. This gave him liberty to go out to hear confessions and to reconcile many to the Church.

....Some of these were heretics, but the greater number were only schismatics, as I could deal more freely with these than with the others. It was only after long acquaintance, and on the recommendation of trusty friends, that I would let any heretics know how little restraint was put upon me. I do not remember above eight or ten converts from heresy, of whom four entered religion. Two joined our Society, and the other two went to other Orders. As for schismatics I brought back a goodly number of them to the bosom of the Church. Some became religious; and others gave themselves to good works in England during the persecution. Of these last, was Mr. John Rigby, afterwards martyred....

During my stay in the prison, I found means to give the Spiritual Exercises. The gaoler did as I wished him to do; he never came to me without being

wished him to do; he never came to me without being called, and never went into my neighbors' rooms at all. So we fitted an upper chamber to serve as a chapel, where six or seven made the Exercises, all of whom resolved to follow the counsels of Christ our Lord, and not one of them flinched from his purpose.<sup>32</sup>

32 Ibid., 93-99.

Gerard went so far as to procure for himself the habit of the Society which he continued to wear, even in the face of all London when he was lead forth from prison for the various examinations or trials. On these occasions people crowded to see a Jesuit in his habit, but the preachers were exasperated at what they termed open defiance of them.<sup>33</sup>

33 Ibid., n.113.

The zeal of Gerard extended beyond his prison parish. Priests entering England were often at a loss for directions as how to find their fellow-laborers, but with Father Gerard in a fixed abode, instructions were given them to contact him for advice and needed information. Since he could not always have safe places to which he might send them, he managed to rent a house and garden and furnished it with necessities through the alms of friends.

....I maintained them there, till I had supplied them, through the aid of certain friends, with clothes and necessaries, sometimes even with a residence, or with a horse to go to their friends and kinsmen in the country. I covered all the expenses of this house with the alms that were bestowed on me. I did not receive alms from many persons, still less from all that came to see me; indeed, both out of prison and in prison, I often refused such offers. I was afraid that if I always accepted what was offered, I might scare from me souls that wished to treat with

me on the business of their salvation; or receive gifts from those that could either ill afford it, or would afterwards repent of it. I made it a rule therefore, never to take alms except from a small number of persons, whom I knew well. Most of what I got was from those devoted friends, who offered me not only their money but themselves, and looked upon it as a favour when I took their offer.<sup>34</sup>

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34 Ibid., 93-99.

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Eventually Father Gerard was taken to the Tower where he went through the Topcliffe tortures (one writer says fourteen times) that left his arms and hands senseless and useless for months. With the aid of friends, he escaped through a Tower window and left England for the Continent.

## CHAPTER VI

### SURVEY OF THE SPIRITUAL HARVEST

Throughout this turbulent period the Jesuits saw themselves attaining their objectives: to bring courage to the faltering, comfort to the sorrowing and heavily burdened and peace to the hearts of men; to rescue souls from eternal perdition; and to save the people of a nation from totally abandoning the Catholic faith that had been brought to the Island in the early centuries of Christendom. The sufferings they endured while engaged in their spiritual conquests and the blood shed by their fellow-Jesuits watered the soil from which sprang the spiritual harvest.

The first Jesuit missionaries found varying degrees of faith among the persecuted Catholics in England. Persons, after a five month sojourn, wrote November 17, 1580, that within the past few months many a gentleman of high rank, wealth and influence had been imprisoned for the Faith. He further added that not only the old prisons but the many newly constructed ones were spilling over with Catholics willing to suffer for their religious convictions and that the pursuivants, though still on the hunt for more, were in truth wearying of the great numbers. He also stated that in the previous month, it had been reported, that 50,000 names had been received of those refusing to attend the churches<sup>1</sup> of the heretics.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Letters and Memorials of Father Robert Persons, S.J., edited by L. Hicks, C.R.S., 39:58.

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In August of the same year Father Persons had given a more detailed and personalized account of the religious fervor of the people.

To be brief, there is a vast field here in which to labour with fruit, if only there were enough men of our company. So that before all things else we must beg you to send us, as soon as possible, a good number of efficient men. The duty which falls to us is of the greatest moment, not only for the reputation of the Society, but also for the recovery of this kingdom, and for the common cause of the Catholic Church....

Then, while our Lord leaves us free, the hope of fruit is very great, for we are so welcomed, so occupied, that both time and strength fail us. I am obliged daily during my journey to make two or three discourses to gentlefolk, who are so affected by the Spirit of God that they are ready for any enterprise, however signal. On almost all occasions they offer themselves and all their property, and their zeal and fervour is wonderful, especially in three respects.

First in hearing Mass, at which they assist with such sighs and frequent sobs that, dry though I am, it moves me to tears despite myself. The second is their reverence and zeal towards the Holy Father. For, greatly as they should do appreciate his authority, this is not so great as their love. Hence it comes that as soon as they hear these words: 'Let us pray for our Pontiff Gregory,' in the litany, they raise their hands and voices to heaven with an unanimity that is wonderful. The third is their wonderful fortitude of mind and readiness to suffer any travail on account of religion.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Cited by J.H.Pollen, The English Catholics in the Reign of Elizabeth, 362-365.

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Edmund Campion corroborates Persons' experiences of the eagerness with which the people welcomed spiritual leadership and their readiness to follow.

They hear with exceeding greediness, and very often receive the Sacraments, 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 for our Society that I dare scarcely touch the exceeding great reverence all Catholics do unto us.<sup>3</sup>

3 Ibid., 369-371.

Further on in his letter, Father Campion also pleads for laborers in the vineyard. Writing about the confusion in the ranks of heretics who already had ceased to boast of a few apostates and martyrs to their cause, he stated by comparison,

....we have Bishops, Lords, Knights, the old nobility, patterns of learning, piety and prudence, the flower of youth, noble matrons; and of the inferior sort innumerable, either martyred at once, or by consuming imprisonment dying daily. At the very writing hereof the persecution rageth 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.<sup>4</sup>

4 Ibid., 369-371.

In his attempt to make clear the object of the Jesuit mission Campion wrote what is known as The Challenge which he addressed to the Lords of Her Majesty's Privy Council. This daring explanation had a heartening effect on the oppressed Catholics. Hitherto, for at least the past generation, the Catholics had not a single external success to cheer them in their painful and humiliating struggle against an overpowering, ever-present enemy. It was true, there were examples of patience, of firmness and other virtues, but these were insignificant in comparison with the vast superiority of their enemies' forces, the saddening remembrance

of many falls, and the ever-disappointed hope of help to come. The controversy twelve years before, no doubt, cheered them but since then there was little that had given them heart or courage. But with Campion had come the challenge "to all and every" of the enemy "and the most principal that may be found." Its spirited enthusiasm, its inoffensiveness, and the recollection of Campion's academic triumphs, caused it to be read avidly by Catholic and Protestant alike.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Ibid., 353.

A few excerpts from The Challenge will illustrate its force and influence.

My charge is, of free cost to preach the Gospel, to minister the Sacraments, to instruct the simple, to reforme sinners, to confute errors--in brief, to crie alarme spiritual against foul vice and proud ignorance wherewith many my dear Countrymen are abused.

I never had mind, and am strictly forbidden by our Father that sent me, to deal in any respect with matter of State or Policy of this realm, as thing which appertain not to my vocation, and from which I do gladly restrain and sequester my thoughts.

....Many innocent hands are lifted up to heaven for you daily by those English students, whose posteritie shall never die, which beyond seas, gathering virtue and sufficient knowledge for the purpose, are determined never to give you over, but either to win you heaven, or to die upon your pikes. And touching our Societie be it known to 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 you 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 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.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 350-352.

Campion's zeal knew no bounds and souls were anxious to avail themselves of his spiritual ministrations. In his first two days in London, forty or more came to him for the Sacrament of Penance.<sup>7</sup>

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7 Cf. L. Hicks, C.R.S., 39:xvi.

With the advent of the Jesuits and the establishment of seminaries on the Continent, the Protestants hope of ridding England of Papistry and the Marian priests failed. An ardent Protestant, Fleetwood, who was a Justice of the Peace in Lancashire, hearing of the arrival of the seminary priest, Laurence Johnson, a future martyr, exclaimed: "Nay, we strive in vain. We hoped that these Papistical priests dying, all Papistry should have died and ended with them, but this brood will never be rooted out; it is impossible ever to be rid of them, nor to extirpate the Papistical faith out of the land."<sup>8</sup>

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8 Ibid., 39:xxvii.

The general esteem in which the Jesuits were held by both the Catholic clergymen and lay people helped much to bring about a renaissance of spiritual confidence. Persons in his letter of November 17, 1580, to the General of the Order made this observation:

We have many most generous helpers. The secular clergy is everywhere at one with us. Nay, with every demonstration of affection, it defers to us, so that it makes one anxious about living up to the reputation of the Society, which is everywhere so high, while we feel ourselves so far from that degree of virtue which they reverently look for in us. So much the more, then, do we need your prayers.<sup>9</sup>

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9 Cited by J.H.Pollen, The English Catholics in the Reign of Elizabeth, 369.

Father Birkhead, Superior of the secular clergy, in his letter of 1584 to Father Agazzari residing in Rome, was most appreciative of the fine work the Jesuits were doing in England and begged that the Order continue to send more of its men.

....I wish to thank repeatedly both your Reverence and your Order, for the benefits conferred not on myself only...but also for those which you bestow on your nation above others constantly sending such eminently prudent and holy men to convert it....The members of your Society who first came to us, advanced the cause of religion so well—Father Campion by his glorious death, Father Robert by his labours, prudence and industry, both of them by holy living, constant preaching, exhortations, printing books and other numerous works of the same class—that all the Catholics in the country earnestly ask, beg, yearn for other men of the same Order to be sent to us as soon as possible...I earnestly entreat you in the name of my fellow priests and of all other Catholics to assist by your petitioning and working the accomplishment of the end desired.....<sup>10</sup>

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10 Father Persons' Memoirs, edited by J.H.Pollen, C.R.S., 4:152-153.

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Only a year after Persons and Campion had made their entrance into England, Cardinal Allen wrote to Father Agazzari about the work Persons was accomplishing.

....He preaches continually, he resolves cases of conscience. The Catholics in the midst of persecutions have less scrupulous consciences than anywhere else that I know of, and have an opinion of the Father that they will not acquiesce in the judgement of any common priest unless it is confirmed by Father Robert....He is continually appealed to by gentlemen and by some of the Council for necessary advice...it is supposed there are twenty-thousand more Catholics this year than the last.<sup>11</sup>

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11 State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, 149: no.51, cited by E.L. Taunton, The History of the Jesuits in England, 75.

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When Robert Southwell entered England in 1586 in company with Henry Garnett the peoples' depression of spirit again heartened. At this time probably the only Jesuit in England was Weston, and because of that fact the Catholics felt they were being abandoned by the Jesuits. Father Southwell remarked this in a letter to the General Aquaviva, July 25, 1586,

Our arrival here had wonderfully cheered and inspirited the Catholics, for they had previously been complaining that they were practically abandoned by the Society, and were full of misgiving, thinking that their pastors, dismayed by difficulties, were abandoning the flock that never stood in greater need of their care....<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> "Unpublished Documents Relating to the English Martyrs," edited by J.H.Pollen, C.R.S., 5:309.

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Individual testimony of the respect in which the Jesuits were held is to be found in state papers recording the trials of those persecuted for the Faith. A certain John Fynch was asked whether he had ever spoken with a seminary priest or with a Jesuit. He replied: "I have bene conversant with some seminary priests, but not with any Jesuit, for which I am sorry."<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 5:85.

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Anthony Rivers, S.J., in some of his correspondence for March 9, 1603, speaking about the Rev. William Richardson's trial, related how the Chief Justice asked the martyr whether he was a Jesuit. To this he replied, "no." Then the Chief Justice asked him what he thought of the Jesuits. He answered, "They are good and religious men."<sup>14</sup>

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14 H. Foley, op. cit., 1:56.

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Much as the English Parliament members hated the Jesuits they admitted their religious zeal. In a letter August 1581, to Father Agazari, Persons mentioned the fact that he and Campion were spoken of as 'a lurking wolf,' and 'an interfering and ubiquitous Jesuit.' Members of Parliament knew that both priests were very busy preaching nearly every day, beginning the first thing in the morning; then they wrote, and after dinner they usually changed their quarters, and while riding to the next place meditated on what they were to preach the next day. After supper, so it was said, they heard confessions or settled cases of conscience. In other words, Parliament was well informed of their activities.<sup>15</sup>

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15 Cf. L. Hicks, C.R.S., 39:83.

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As indicated in earlier chapters religious vocations were many in this land of spiritual confusion. Young laymen, inspired by the heroic apostolate of the Jesuits, flocked to join not only the Society of Jesus but other Orders and Congregations, as well as the secular priesthood. Thus new apostles were being constantly trained who would later replace or increase the ranks of those who labored to keep the flickering lamp of faith burning in England.

The direct effect of the Society's network of missionary activity brought it into contact with many of the people of the highest class. As a result, there were vocations to the Order from a number of the old English Catholic families. For example the Petres had eleven sons in the Society; the Plowdens, nine; the Poles, ten; the Pultons, sixteen;

the Bedingfields, the Stourtons, the Keynes, the Tichbournes, the Mostyns, the Cliffords, the Talbots, the Gerards, the Walpoles, the Irelands, and many other families gave numerous sons to the Order.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Cf. Peter Guilday, The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent, 148.

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In 1582 Persons wrote of his success of sending a priest, ostensibly as a lay scholar, to the University of Cambridge. The result was that within a few months seven young men of great promise and talent were sent to the seminary at Rheims and others were expected.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Cf. L.Hicks, C.R.S., 39:108.

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Cardinal Allen on August 8, 1583, wrote to Agazzari the Rector of the Roman Seminary, that fifty young men had arrived to study in the seminary at Rheims.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Cf. Father Persons' Memoirs, edited by J.H.Pollen, C.R.S., 4:115.

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John Gerard, who had gone to labor in England in 1588, wrote in his autobiography with some detail about four young men entering the Society and then returning as apostles to their homeland. One of these men was Father Strange who suffered imprisonment in the Tower of London where he underwent many grievous tortures and a long solitary confinement. Before Father Strange had entered the Society he had resided with Father Garnett for two years. While with Garnett he arranged to dispose of his property, for he wished not to be encumbered with any of his worldly possessions when he entered the Society. Before he had left for the Continent he

brought to Gerard a friend of his, Hart by name, a man of great worldly substance and an only son. Not long after meeting Father Gerard, he, too, decided to dedicate his life to the service of Christ in the Jesuit Order. The third gentleman to whom Father Gerard referred was Thomas Smith, a well-educated schismatic. He found it difficult to become a Catholic, but once converted he also joined the Society. The fourth young man was a Roger Lee.<sup>19</sup>

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19 Cf. John Gerard, *op. cit.*, 219-224.

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Campion's martyrdom in 1581, along with Alexander Briant, S.J., and Ralph Sherwin, a secular priest, had a soul stirring influence on England. In the Annual Letter to Rome for 1581 detailed observations were recorded relative to this trio of martyrs.

A notable result of this may be seen in the reconciliation of no less than ten thousand who have been received this year into the Church, though, as we are aware, a great, not to say the greater part of this abundant harvest is, under God, to be ascribed to the blessed martyrs, Campion, Briant, and Sherwin. Their precious deaths, the iniquity of which is confessed by many even of the heretics, have borne so much fruit, that both Catholics and their adversaries affirm that, had they lived a hundred years, their lives could never have availed so much as their brief but glorious death, for of the heretics nearly four thousand have been reconciled to the Church, and many now stand forth boldly and undauntedly. Numbers, too, take such delight in bonds and persecution as to appear insensible to suffering; nay, so great is the renewed fervour of the Catholics, that since the beginning of the persecution Masses have never been so frequently and fervently celebrated, nor so numerous attended, as they are at present, in every quarter of London. No one seems to shrink from danger, and if disturbed by the officers of justice, they scarcely care to do more than pass to the next door, where the Mass is resumed. In fact, the damage which this execution has done to the Protestant cause is such that they despair of ever recovering their losses.

This glorious trio of martyrs may be likened to three flowers culled from the seed-plots of martyr-

dom, the Society of Jesus, the Seminary of Rheims, and this College. <sup>20</sup>

20 H. Foley, op. cit., 6:78.

A year later Persons wrote to Father Agazzari that Walsingham had declared that it would have been better for the Queen to have spent 40,000 gold pieces than to kill those priests publicly. Many Protestants, especially the more moderate ones, favored the Catholic position and had a good opinion of it on account of the uncompromising attitude of the martyrs and other Jesuits with whom they discussed doctrinal subjects. After elaborating on the conversions, and the renewal of fervor and good will among the Protestants, Father Persons concluded that because of this spiritual rejuvenation the persecutors were almost bursting with indignation and wrath. <sup>21</sup>

21 Cf. L. Hicks, C.R.S., 39:133.

The success of the mission of Blessed Edmund Campion is an outstanding marvel of English religious history. He definitely halted the full tide of victorious Protestantism. Peter Guilday wrote, "...There is no other page in the English Counter-Reformation equal in glory to that of Campion's holy warfare in the name of Christ." <sup>22</sup>

22 Op. cit., 121.

The Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford summed up the effects of Campion's death as follows:

This I can say with truth 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....<sup>23</sup>

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23 Cited by Richard Simpson, Edmund Campion, 461.

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A notable conversion at Campion's martyrdom was that of a Protestant, Henry Walpole, who later joined the Society and in 1595 also received the palm of martyrdom. He was standing beside the block where Campion was being cut into quarters. As the hangman threw the quarters into the cauldron of boiling water a drop of the bloody mixture splashed upon Walpole's clothes. He afterward told Ignatius Basselier, S.J., that at that moment he felt that he must become a Catholic.<sup>24</sup>

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24 Ibid., 454.

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Fathers Holt and Heywood who went to England in 1581 also had remarkable success with conversions. Dr. Henshawe, a seminary priest, in company with the two Jesuits stated in a letter that within a space of three months spent in Staffordshire they had converted 228 persons to the Catholic faith.<sup>25</sup>

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25 Cf. H. Foley, op. cit., 1:389-390.

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In his autobiography, Father Gerard recounted many a feature item on his spiritual labors. These, today, aid a reader to understand how the white harvest was gathered. One conversion that he related was brought about through the efficacy of the last sacraments, particularly Extreme Unction. A rather determined Protestant husband of a wife converted to Catholicism had made her endure much on account of her religious convictions. When she was at the point of death he allowed her to receive the last rites because of his great love for her.

....Having made her confession and been anointed she received the Holy Viaticum; and, behold, in half an hour's time she so far recovered, as to be wholly out of danger; the disease and its cause had vanished, and she had only to recover her strength. The husband seeing his wife thus snatched from the jaws of death, wished to know the reason. We told him that it was the effects of the holy Sacrament of Extreme Unction that it restored bodily health when Divine Wisdom foresaw that it was expedient for the good of the soul. This was the cause of his conversion....<sup>26</sup>

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26 John Gerard, op. cit., 22-27.

During the early period of his public apostolate Gerard wrote that he had reconciled more than twenty fathers and mothers of families of great rank but, for the safety of the families, he could not reveal their names. Of persons not so blest with the goods of this world and servants, he converted or reconciled so many that he could not remember the exact number. He, too, had the good fortune to confirm many weak and pusillanimous souls and to hear numerous general confessions. During this same period he wrote that many souls received the inspiration to a more perfect life, among them he mentioned Edward Walpole, S.J. <sup>27</sup>

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27 John Gerard, loc. cit.

By giving the Spiritual Exercises to secular priests, Father Gerard indirectly worked for the greater spirituality among Catholics, both priests and lay persons. He told of a priest who went through the Spiritual Exercises with much profit and frequently declared thereafter that until he had made them he knew not what was the duty of a priest. This grateful priest had a deep attachment to Father Gerard and when the latter was in prison aided him with his charities. He continued to consult Father Gerard in his doubts and difficulties and confided to him that through his help he was now gaining thrice as many souls as before.

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28 Ibid., 30.

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Unasked and unexpected a very young man, the grandson of an Earl, came to Gerard to ask whether he could make the Spiritual Exercises. The Jesuit inquired what prompted him to make such a request. The young man explained that in a book put forth against the Society the enemies mentioned that he had been induced through the Spiritual Exercises to embrace the religious life and was thus wheedled out of his immense wealth. Since the Earl knew that the story was false and that a great wrong had been done to the Society he said that he came to make good what the enemy had falsely stated. He made the Exercises with much fervor and later asked that he be permitted to have a priest live incognito in his home from which the priest could operate to spread the kingdom of Christ. In connection with this episode Gerard mentioned that he had converted two heretical ministers, one of whom became a priest.

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29 Ibid., 248-250.

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While in prison Father Gerard converted one of the gaolers. This man immediately gave up his position, sold the right of succession to the gaolership, and then went to Italy where he became a religious. Later he returned to England and soon found himself in the very prison where he had been gaoler.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 122-123.

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Father Gerard pointed out very definitely that the faith of the Catholics in some sections of the country was stronger than in other sections. In the places where many of the common people were Catholics and almost all inclined to the Catholic faith, it was easy to bring many into the Church and to have them assemble to listen to the sermons—particularly was this true of Lancashire county where 200 were present for the Mass and sermon. He added, however, that these very same people scattered easily when the storm of persecution drew near, and came back again when the alarm was over. In some parts of the country, Catholics were few in number. He gave one illustration, remarking that where the Catholic population was sparse, the converts were usually of the higher classes who could afford to pay the fines for non-conformity or who had enough prestige safely to disregard the law. In these particular sections, according to Gerard, a missionary first had to gain the gentry and then the servants, for Catholic masters could not get along without Catholic servants.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 37-38.

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William Baldwin, S.J., who had been taken by pirates and committed to the Bridewell prison brought peace of soul to a distraught young man.

When Father had been taken prisoner he passed himself off for an Italian who could speak no English. It was difficult for him to keep his disguise for he was carefully watched. In the prison he found a Catholic youth half despairing between remorse for certain false accusations against others, which had been wrung from him by torture, and fear that he might be racked to death if he retracted. Father Baldwin found it difficult not to be of help. Finally charity prevailed. While the Protestant fellow-prisoners were asleep, he managed to hear the youth's confession and give him comfort. Not long after the young man was again put through the tortures under which he collapsed and died without again failing in fortitude. After about a year Father Baldwin, in 1595, obtained his own release from prison.

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32 Cf. "Unpublished Documents Relating to the English Martyrs," edited by J.H.Pollen, C.R.S., 5:287.

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In Sir John Puckering's papers are accounts of two men who, after being converted through the Jesuits, were made to suffer for the Faith. One was Hugo Moore who was condemned and executed for being reconciled to the See of Rome by Thomas Stevenson, S.J. The other was Henry Foxwell who, although later pardoned, was also condemned for being reconciled to Rome. Foxwell was a convert of Father Baldwin.

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33 Cf. Ibid., 5:158.

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Richard Holtby, Superior of the English Mission from 1606 to 1609, in the Annual Letter for the year 1607, gave an account of the apostolate after the storm of the Gunpowder Plot and the new law respecting the taking of the Jacobean oath. He wrote that the Catholics availed

themselves of every opportunity to fortify themselves with the sacraments against the storms of persecution; that they received a large number of general confessions; that many made the Spiritual Exercises, and that there were many cases of forgiveness of injuries, of restitution of usurious gains, and of voluntary contributions for the relief of those in prison for the Faith of whom every prison contains a certain number.

As spiritual guides, Father Holtby said their chief duty was to teach and prepare the people to bear with patience the growing evils of the times, prepare them to suffer everything for Christ and His Church, and to forecast the assaults and afflictions with which they were repeatedly visited, so that they might be firmly established in the purpose of suffering and dying for their religious convictions.

He further added that in the midst of these alarms and vexations many returned to the Church and some entered religion; a certain number, too, were well affected by the Faith but deferred conversion. He recounted the following instance of a deferred conversion.

Among these is a Protestant minister, a Doctor of Divinity of mature age, and one of the Queen's chaplain's, who after a conference with Father Wright, was convinced of the truth. He beheld with satisfaction the conversion of his eldest son, his wife a Catholic, but for the sake of the children, of whom he has seven, he hesitates to move. He paid frequent visits to our Father in prison, was generous in his gifts, counselled his escape, declaring that the very next Sunday, either in person, or by deputy, he would maintain the lawfulness of his escape, at St. Paul's Cross....Ten members of one family have refused the oath; many others have done the same. Many who had fallen away have been restored, and have girded themselves anew to the conflict.<sup>34</sup>

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34 H. Foley, *op. cit.*, 7, part 2:982-983.

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In the Annual Letter for the year 1614, the correspondent stated

that it would be neither safe nor prudent to give a detailed account of the ministry of the Society or its results, but added that not one of the Jesuits has failed to gather many sheaves to the Lord's garner. In fact, throughout the letter conversions and reconciliations were mentioned in general. One famous convert, however, was pointed out in particular. This was Benjamin Carrier, who after taking the doctor's cap of divinity, was appointed chaplain and preacher to King James I, whose confidant he became as a result of his virtues and learning.

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35 Cf. ibid., 7, part 2:1054 and 1:623.

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In another letter for the year 1614, the writer spoke of the hatred those not of the Faith bore towards the Society, noting, however, that their malignant craft profited them nothing. Again seven new candidates had been admitted into the Order and many more were daily offering themselves. Then, too, those Catholics who could not be provided with a Jesuit chaplain, sought the Fathers in order to take counsel concerning their more important spiritual affairs. This was the practice particularly of those who wanted advice concerning their religious vocation and those who wanted to make a general confession in order to enter into a closer union with God. In fact, the Jesuits were always in demand in every vicissitude and their decision was sought in many graver spiritual and temporal matters. The people deeply appreciated their help and presence, and when possible showed their gratitude by charitable donations that the Jesuits in turn used in the promotion of the apostolate.

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36 Cf. ibid., 7, part 2:1070.

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It is not the intention of this research paper to create the impression that all credit for the renaissance of the Catholic faith during the years of religious revolution in England is to be credited in the ledger for the Jesuits; however, it does remain a fact that they served as a strong spiritual force in sustaining the Faith of the secular priests as well as that of the people; consequently examples of heroic faith were manifested in and out of prison and even on the gallows.

Tierney, citing from records in the State Paper Office for the year 1614, wrote that there were in custody in the three metropolitan prisons of Newgate, the Glink, and the Gatehouse, no less than thirty-six priests, forty-seven laymen and seven women, making a total of ninety individuals confined for their religion. Again when James I, in 1622 through the intercession of Count Gondomar of Spain, released the Catholics imprisoned under the penal laws, particularly the Jacobean oath, some 4,000 persons of whom 400 were priests, obtained their liberty.<sup>37</sup>

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37 Cf. H.A.Tierney, op. cit., 4:178-179.

As the years went on the fervor and zeal of the Jesuit Fathers continued. In 1623 special mention was made of the zeal of William Whittingham who had met his death in the Blackfriar incident. This priest had been confined in Newgate for a long time. But the prison could not keep him from catechising and instructing the ignorant people and reconciling heretics to the Church. In one year he had made 150 converts to the Catholic Church. He was commonly known as the priest of the poor,<sup>38</sup> especially poor children.

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38 Cf. H. Foley, op. cit., 7, part 2:1099.

In 1623, the year the English Vice-Province was raised to a Province, the Jesuits in England had gained 2,630 converts from heresy. The zeal of Father Percy in propagating the Faith was greatly extolled. His long imprisonment in London drew much attention on the part of the Catholics and Protestants alike. Four Calvinistic ministers visited him in prison, and after several conferences were converted to the Catholic Church. Among others who renounced heresy at this time was Viscount Purbeck, son of the Countess of Buckingham, and many sons of barons, knights, and esquires, many of them descendants from ancient families. And when the illustrious Countess of Buckingham wanted to change her religion and the King heard of it, he wished a religious disputation to be conducted for the purpose of inducing her not to yield. Father Percy was asked to defend the Catholic cause. Francis White, who had prestige among the Protestant ministers, was chosen by the King to oppose the Catholic cause. The King, however, to avoid embarrassment changed the oral debate to a written one. He proposed to Percy nine questions in writing upon the points of greatest controversy between Catholics and Protestants. Father John Floyd, however for reasons not clear, furnished the answers instead of Percy, and as the effect of these was especially feared, Francis White wrote an insolent and prolix book upon the same subject. This was, however, refuted with much learning by Father Floyd.

Thus the Fathers of the Society in every possible way defended the doctrines and teachings of Christ and enacted the role of Good Shepherds to scattered, misdirected and persecuted flocks of the fold.

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39 Cf. *ibid.*, 7, part 2:1098-1099.

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## CHAPTER VII

### JESUIT MARTYRS OF THE EARLY APOSTOLATE

Throughout this treatise references have been made directly or indirectly to the Jesuit martyrs. Only God knows the number of those who actually suffered martyrdom during the persecution; however, from among the number of those who gave up their lives for the Faith, sixteen are generally spoken of as martyrs: eleven who died under the Elizabethan rule, and five under James I.

Since these heroic men contributed so much through their work, suffering and death to the apostolate, it is only fitting to climax the early history of the Jesuit struggles to gain a spiritual beachhead in England with a brief identification biography of each. These men will be treated here chronologically depending upon the year of their martyrdom.

Several of these sixteen martyrs have been alluded to in previous chapters and others received detailed attention. The life and death of Fathers Thomas Woodhouse and John Nelson were treated in chapter one. Father Woodhouse in 1573, and Father Nelson in 1578, constitute the English proto-martyrs for the Society.

Approximately a year after the Society of Jesus officially sent its first missionaries into England, Edmund Campion and Alexander Briant earned the martyr's palm, December 1, 1581, at the Tyburn gallows, London. Since Father Campion's heroic life and death have been well popularized no more need be written here. The first martyr then to be honored with a brief biography will be Alexander Briant.

Alexander Briant, born at Somersetshire in 1551 or 1553, studied at Oxford where he was a pupil of Robert Persons who taught there before he became a Jesuit. Having been converted to Catholicism, he left for Rheims where he was ordained a secular priest in 1578 and sent back to the English Mission 1579 with twenty other priests of whom four became martyrs the same year. He reconciled the father of Robert Persons to the Catholic church. His missionary career was brief. A party of pursuivants, in search of Father Persons, carried Briant off April 28, 1581, to the Compter prison, London. From here he was transferred to the Tower where he was most inhumanly tortured besides being brought near to death through hunger and cold. Needles were thrust under his nails and his body was disjointed and torn by the rack. Two years previously he had entertained the desire to become a Jesuit but found it impossible owing to his missionary occupations. Now in prison, he wrote to the Fathers in England asking and receiving the privilege of being admitted to the Society. He was convicted for high treason under a statute passed in the twenty-seventh year of Elizabeth's reign, and suffered death at Tyburn, December 1, 1581, with Campion and the secular priest<sup>1</sup> Ralph Sherwin.

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1 H.Foley, op. cit., 7, part 1:84.

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Thomas Cottam was born in Lancaster county in 1549. He received his A.B. degree from Oxford in 1568. After his conversion through the instrumentality of Thomas Founte of Belmost (who later became a Jesuit) he entered Douay College which he left after some years because he ardently desired to go to the East Indian Missions. He went to Rome and obtained permission to join the Society, April 8, 1579. Six months later, during his novitiate, he became ill and the doctors recommended that he return

to his native climate. On his way back to England he was ordained priest at Rheims. He arrived at Dover, June 15 or 18, 1580, and was shortly after arrested. Eventually he was committed to the Marshalsea prison, June 27, 1580, where he was brutally tortured and then removed December 25, 1580, to the Tower where he underwent the excruciating suffering of the rack and the "Scavenger's Daughter." After being condemned for his priestly character and for being a Jesuit, he was dragged on a hurdle from Newgate to Tyburn with his blessed companions, the Rev. William Filbie, Luke Kirby and Lawrence Richardson, and was hanged, May 13, 1582.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 7, part 1:174.

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John Cornelius born at Cornwall in 1557, entered Oxford but not liking the "new religion," he went to Rheims. After some time, April 1, 1580, he entered the English College, Rome, for his advanced studies and theology. Having been ordained a priest, he left for England in 1583. After laboring with great spiritual profit for a few years, he was seized at Chideock Castle, Dorset, where he was chaplain to Lady Arundell, the widow of Sir John who had been his financial patron while attending Oxford. Sunday, April 14, 1594, he was taken to London from where he was remanded to Dorchester for trial. While he was in prison under condemnation of death, he asked admittance and was received into the Society. He was executed at Dorchester on July 4, 1594, with his three fellow captives, Thomas Bosgrave, Esquire, a relative of the Arundells and probably brother of James Bosgrave, S.J., John Carey and Patrick Salmon, servants of Chideock.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 7, part 1:170.

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Robert Southwell was born at Horsham, Norfolk county in 1560 or 1561. He made his early studies at Douay College and Paris and then entered the Society in Rome, October 17, 1578, where he finished his higher studies with great honors. After receiving Holy Orders he was made Prefect of studies at the English College, Rome. In company with Henry Garnett, S.J., he left for England, May 8, 1586. After a fruitful mission of six years spent in dangers and sufferings, he was betrayed at the house of Mr. Bellamy, Uxendon Hall, Harrow-on-the-Hill, on Sunday morning July 5, 1592. He was seized by Topcliffe, the brutal priest-hunter, who took him to his home where he tortured him as he pleased. Tortures were also applied to him in the Tower where he was confined for about two and a half years. On February 18, 1595, he was moved to Newgate (the last stage to Tyburn) and thrust into the horrible subterranean dungeon called Limbo. On February 20, he was tried by the Lord Chief Justice Popham and other judges. He made a brilliant defence but was found guilty of high treason because of his priestly character. Condemned to die, he met a glorious martyrdom February 21, 1595.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 7, part 2:725-726.

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Henry Walpole, who attributed his conversion to the witnessing of the death of Campion, was born at Docking, Norfolk, 1558 or 1559. He arrived in 1582 at the English College, then at Rheims. He entered the Society at St. Andrew's Rome, February 4, 1584, and was ordained at Paris, December 17, 1588. The day after he entered England, December 5, 1593, he was seized, was conveyed to the Tower of London and there tortured no less than fourteen times upon the rack. As a result of this cruelty, he lost the use of his fingers. Later he was tried at York and condemned for high treason because of his priesthood. He suffered the

usual brutal death April 7, 1595, at York.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Cf. ibid., 7, part 2:808.

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Roger Filcock was a native of Sandwich, Kent. He made his early studies at Douay College (then at Rheims). For his higher courses and theology he was sent to the English College of the Society in Valladolid, September 29, 1590. After his ordination he went to England. He had long desired to enter the Society of Jesus, but Father Henry Garnett for some reason of prudence delayed until the young priest had struggled with the dangers of the mission for two years. Father Garnett had arranged to send him to Belgium for his novitiate but he was arrested and confined in the Newgate prison where he made a brief probation of a few months instead. He was brought to trial in February 1601, and found guilty according to the 27th Statute of Elizabeth. Contrary to all law, he was convicted with no witness against him, upon a conjecture or suspicion of his priestly character. He suffered death February 27, 1601, at Tyburn with his noble fellow-martyrs Mrs. Anne Line, his worthy hostess, and Father Mark Barkworth, O.S.B., whose death he had to witness before his own took place.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 7, part 1:254.

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Robert Middleton born 1571, was a native of the diocese of York, probably of the old Yorkshire family of that name. He was educated at the English Jesuit College at Seville and then sent to the English college at Rome. Although it is not definitely known when he was ordained, it is conjectured to have been early in 1598, for he was sent to the English Mission, April 20, 1598. He applied to Father Henry Garnett,

soon after his arrival, for admission to the Society. This is evident from a letter dated June 30, 1599, written by Father Garnett to the General of the Order, Vitelleschi, asking that Father Middleton be granted the permission. He was admitted into the Society while in a London prison before he was remanded to Lancaster for trial and execution in March, 1601. Like his fellow-Jesuit martyrs he was convicted on account of his priesthood which according to law was comparable to being a traitor.<sup>7</sup>

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7 Ibid., 7, part 2:962-963.

Francis Page was the last Jesuit to be martyred under Queen Elizabeth. His birthplace is not definite; it may have been Harrow-on-the-Hill, county Middlesex or more probably Antwerp. At first he took up the study of law in London, but after making a retreat under Father John Gerard who was then a prisoner in the Clink, he resolved to become a priest. His studies for the priesthood completed, he was ordained and sent to England where he labored principally in London. On Candlemas Day, 1601, when he was about to say Mass in the house of his penitent, the venerable widow, Mrs. Anne Line, who was shortly after put to death for harboring priests, he had a marvellous escape from arrest. Soon after this event he was accepted into the Society by Father Henry Garnett but was seized by the pursuivants before he could leave England for his novitiate. He was tried and condemned and then hanged, drawn and quartered at Tyburn, April 20, 1602, with the customary barbarities. He made and signed the simple vows of religion on his passage to the hurdle on which he was dragged to Tyburn.<sup>8</sup>

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8 Ibid., 7, part 1:563-564.

Four of the five Jesuit martyrs during the reign of James I, suffered principally as victims of the Gunpowder episode. They were Fathers Edward Oldcorne and Henry Garnett, and Brothers Ralph Ashley and Nicholas Owen, who were arrested at Hinlip Castle and executed in 1606. The fifth, Thomas Garnett, was condemned primarily because he would not compromise the Faith by taking the Jacobean oath or oath of supremacy.

Edward Oldcorne of York was born 1561. He studied his humanities at the English College, Douay (then at Rheims). For his advanced studies he entered the English College, Rome, April, 1582, where he was ordained August, 1587. A few days after his ordination he was received into the Society with John Gerard, by the General of the Society, Aquaviva. In company with Father Gerard, he landed at Norfolk, England, 1588. He did the best he could about completing his noviceship on the missions. His successful apostolate centered around Worcestershire. He was seized at the Hinlip Castle, near Worcester, in the winter of 1605, during the Gunpowder Plot disturbances. Eventually he was placed in the London Tower, tortured upon the rack with more than pagan brutality for five hours on four or five days. Then he was returned to the Worcester Goal, tried at the Lent Assizes, 1606, condemned to death with Brother Ralph Ashley, and executed upon the gallows at Red Hill, near Worcester, April 7, 1606.<sup>9</sup>

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9 Ibid., 7, part 1:558-559.

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Henry Garnett was born at Nottingham, 1555. His early education was obtained at Winchester College and before he was ready to enter Oxford he embraced the Catholic faith, renounced his bright earthly prospects, crossed over to Spain, and from there went to Rome where he entered the Novitiate of St. Andrew, September 11, 1575. In his higher

studies in the Roman College he had the distinction of having had for his teachers such famous Jesuits as Suarez and Bellarmine. For awhile he taught at the Roman College. With his fellow-martyr Robert Southwell, he left Rome, May 8, 1586, and arrived in England, July 7. He succeeded William Weston in the office of Superior of the English Mission because Father Weston had been placed in the Wisbeach prison in 1587. He held this office for eighteen years passing through constant dangers and sufferings under a number of aliases and disguises. Although closely pursued, he never actually fell into the hands of the enemy until his arrest in 1605 at Hinlip Castle. He was professed of the four vows, May 8, 1598. On the basis of available evidence he was falsely charged with complicity in the Gunpowder Plot and was seized with Father Edward Oldcorne and Brothers Owen and Ashley at Hinlip Castle, the seat of the Abington family, near Worcester. He was taken to the London Tower and after much delay and twenty-three examinations, was indicted for high treason, convicted, condemned to death, and executed in St. Paul's Churchyard, May 3, 1606.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 7, part 1:288.

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Brother Ralph Ashley, known also as George Chamber, was a temporal coadjutor of the Society. There is no record of his birth or birthplace. In the Douay Diary there is a note stating that he had been a cook at the Douay College which he left April 28, 1590. Very probably from here he went to Valladolid where he entered the Society at the English College. Because of bad health he left the College and in the company of Father Tesimond, who likewise was ill, returned to England, March 9, 1598. Brother Ralph was sent to assist Father Oldcorne who resided at Hinlip.

After serving him for eight years, he was arrested with Brother Nicholas Owen, at Hinlip, January 23, 1606. Along with Brother Nicholas Owen and Fathers Garnett and Oldcorne, who were apprehended a few days later, he was taken to the London Tower. Having been cruelly tortured on the rack, he was sent back to Worcester with Father Oldcorne and tried and convicted with him at Worcester, during the Lenten Assizes, 1606. Both were executed together at Red Hill, outside the city, Monday, April 7, 1606.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 7, part 2:19-20.

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Brother Nicholas Owen, alias Little John, was also a temporal coadjutor of the Society. There is no record of his birth, place of birth, or the date of his entrance into the Society. It is inferred that before joining the Society he aided the Jesuits as a trusty servant in their missionary labors. It is quite certain that he entered the Society before 1580, and Father Henry More listed him among the earliest English temporal coadjutors of the Society. He is known particularly for constructing hiding places which, in order to secure secrecy, he always made himself. As a result of this work, he saved the lives of numerous priests, thus essentially contributing to the preservation of the Faith in England. Finally he was arrested with Father Henry Garnett, at Hinlip Castle, in the winter of 1606, and placed in the Marshalsea prison from which he was afterwards removed to the Tower. He was shockingly tortured upon the Topcliffe rack, and in addition had enormous weights attached to his feet. After frequent repetition of this cruelty, nature gave way and, to use the words of John Gerard, "his bowels gushed out with his life." This judicial murder took place in the presence of the rack master and commissioners appointed to examine him, but not a word of evidence crossed his lips that would in any way serve as a clue

to arrest or incriminate others. The date of his death is not certain. One examination took place March 1, 1606, and Father Garnett in his letter of March 3, 1606, spoke of him as living. Some place his death as late as November 12, 1606. The Privy Council, ashamed of the moral effect of their brutal ferocity practiced on Brother Owen, stated and suborned witnesses to prove that he committed suicide with a knife. This calumny did not benefit them any, for it has been amply refuted<sup>12</sup> by Father John Gerard in his narrative.

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12 Ibid., 7, part 1:561.

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Thomas Garnett, born in London, 1574, was a nephew to Father Henry Garnett. He made his humanities at St. Omer's College and his higher studies at the recently founded English College at Valladolid. Having been ordained a secular priest he went to England in company with Father Mark Barkworth, O.S.B., later martyr. After about six years of beneficial missionary work he was admitted to the Society of Jesus by his uncle September 29, 1604. Like many others of his fellow-martyrs, he was captured at the port when he attempted to return to the Continent to make his novitiate. He was confined in the Gatehouse prison, Westminster, and then in the Tower. Fortunately, he was banished in 1606 along with forty-six other priests from various prisons. He entered the Novitiate of St. John, Louvain, in February, 1607. He made his novitiate under Father Thomas Talbot. Because of his long imprisonment his probation was curtailed. After having made his simple vows July 2, 1607, he returned to England, where he was soon betrayed by Rouse, an apostate priest, who knew him well. Again he found himself in his old abode, the Gatehouse prison. His first examination took place before the Bishop of

London, November 17, 1607. After more examinations and efforts to induce him to take the Jacobean oath, he was indicted for treason, tried, and condemned at the Old Bailey Sessions for his priesthood, and hanged at Tyburn, June 23, 1608.<sup>13</sup>

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13 Ibid., 7, part 1:289.

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## CONCLUSION

### ENGLISH PROVINCE OF 1918

The Ignatian soldiers who started the ride into the valley of death in 1580 had by 1623 formed an impregnable beachhead with the formation of an English Province. Courageously they rode and well, for in the English Province of today there are not two Jesuit Fathers and a lay brother unfurling the Standard of Christ but approximately 900 members.

The valiant conflicts from 1580 to 1623 can only be measured in the light of history. The spiritual battles, as has been seen, left their dead and wounded in martyrs and confessors for the Faith. The English government left no stone unturned to defeat these heroic men and to frustrate their objectives which were to preserve and advance in the Catholic religion all who were found to be Catholics, and secondly to bring back the heretics.

It took a well-disciplined battalion to keep England from becoming a completely Protestant nation. Since the soldiers were to observe discipline and correspond with their leaders and fellow-soldiers they could not be skirmishers and vedettes constantly acting alone far in advance of their base. To avoid this disaster that would ultimately follow from such disorganization the Society strove to gain a base, the English Province. With the establishment of this Province there came the strength and encouragement that derives from corporate action.

The foundation of this Province proved more costly in lives and trials and more discouraging than had been generally foreseen. At

times when the clash of conflict was most devastating there was left on the field but a lone Jesuit. The enemy was not always from without, as has been proven, but sometimes from within the Jesuit Society itself. This trial became somewhat disconcerting when occasionally a fellow-Jesuit turned traitor and informer in favor of the persecuting government. However, when once the command had been given the soldiers sallied forth undaunted and when necessary made the supreme sacrifice for the salvation of souls and the nation.

Even after the foundation of the Province had been laid it continued to be difficult to hold throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. During the reign of Charles I, in 1628, only one Jesuit, Blessed Edmund Arrowsmith, was put to death. This number was considerably augmented during the Cromwellian days. Ten Jesuits were slain or died in prison because of brutal treatment. Further losses were sustained as a consequence of the frenzied hysteria created by the Oates Plot of 1679 when eight more Fathers met their death on the scaffold and thirteen as a result of prison confinement.

After 1700 the persecution was not one of blood but of repression. Every means was employed to render impossible any notable advancement in behalf of the Catholic cause. By 1773 when the Society had 274 members in the Province, of whom 140 were resident in England, it had to endure another vital blow--its suppression. With its restoration in 1814 the Jesuits began slowly to regain their foothold in England. And today the light of its glorious resurgence is casting its warm influence over the world.

The influence of the English Province is radiated primarily through the eleven colleges, all of which have an excellent reputation in educational circles; through the four retreat houses for lay people; through

the giving of the Spiritual Exercises to priests and religious; and through the direction of souls and religious societies in twenty-five large parishes or residences such as those in London (Farn Street and Stamford Hill), Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Preston, and Glasgow. Probably one of the finest undertakings started shortly after World War I is the minor seminary for late and delayed vocations conducted by the Fathers at Osterly.

The Province eventually extended its work beyond the shores of the Island. In 1834 it began its first foreign mission in Calcutta, but it had to be relinquished. In 1854 it opened a mission in British Guiana and later in Rhodesia. Today in southern Rhodesia about 100 Jesuits operate colleges at Salisbury and Grahamstown and twenty-six residences and stations. In addition to these specific fields of labor the Society through its members is constantly enriching the scientific, literary and other fields of scholarship.

And thus the English soil revivified with the martyr's toil and blood continues to send forth spiritual fruit unto the day of the Eternal Harvest.

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Born: Sheboygan, Wis., May 9, 1892.

Died: Milwaukee, December 3, 1935.

Taught his successor at St. Augustine's, Herbert Schuster. Nothing else known.

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Organist for the choir at St. Matthew's before 1920. Otherwise unidentified.

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Organist for the choir at St. Agnes' from 1948 to ?.

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Born: Caledonia, Wis., June 3, 1869.

Died: Milwaukee, June 25, 1950.

Graduated from the Normal School in 1890, teacher and organist at Belleville, Ill., (Cathedral, before Lindenberger?) 1890-1892. Composer. One son became a Capuchin, Fr. Dominic; another son, Hugo, became an organist; and two daughters became nuns.

Sources: Caecilia: many, many mentions, Berichte, etc. See especially: XVIII (Feb., 1891), p. 7. Fleischmann, St. Francis, in passim, especially p. 47. Milwaukee Journal, June 26, 1950, I, p. 13, obituary. Souvenir und Adressbuch, p. 42. Golden Jubilee, p. 21. Death Records, 1950, Doc. #4745.

MEYER, LOUIS.

Mentioned as teacher and organist of Old St. Mary's, but not identifiable, unless he is the Louis Meyer who graduated from the Normal School in 1882. If he was at Old St. Mary's, dates are completely unknown.

Sources: Bruce, St. Mary's, p. 73. Golden Jubilee, p. 21.

MEYER, OLIVE E.

Organist of St. Anne's, 1926-1943. Organist of St. Francis', 1943-1952.

Sources: Associated Compilers, Sketch Book, p. 178. Personal knowledge.

MEYER, WILLIAM J. L.

Organist of St. Patrick's, 1890?-1917?. Organist of old St. Joseph's, 1917?-1925?. Cathedral organist, 1925?-1944.

Born: Dorr, Mich., September 27, 1866.

Died: Milwaukee, September 27, 1944.

Apparently graduated from the Normal School, date

unknown. May have been in Chicago in late 1880's. Conducted his School of Music from 1896 or 1897 until bought by M.U. in 1926. Dean, Milw. Chapter, A.G.O., 1926-1928. See obituary for other musical activities and his educational background.

Sources: Souvenir und Adressbuch, p. 41. Milwaukee Journal, September 28, 1944, II, p. 12, obituary. City Directory listings from 1890. Wascher, Who's Who, p. 121. Bolton, Centennial History, p. 108. A.G.O., Milw., Year-book and Directory, p. 8. Death Records, 1944, Doc. #6616.

#### MICKLER, WILHELM C. F.

Cathedral choirmaster, director of Palestrina Society, 1876-1885.

Born: Germany, 1824.

Died: Milwaukee, June 8, 1888.

Studied and taught in Germany before coming to Milwaukee in 1873. Established a Conservatory of Music, other local musical activities.

Sources: O'Hearn, Fifty Years, pp. 215-16. Caecilia, I (May, 1874), p. 10. [Flower], History of Milwaukee, p. 592. Milwaukee Sentinel, many listings, see Index under Mickler and Palestrina Musical Society. Death Records, Vol. 58, No. 289.

#### MIHM, LOUIS.

Teacher and organist of Old St. Mary's, 1874?-1875?. But he may not have been the organist. For many years was in charge of the boys at the St. John's Deaf Mute Institute, St. Francis, Wis.

Sources: Bruce, St. Mary's, p. 73. Caecilia: I (Jun., 1874), p. 10; II (Apr., 1875), p. 58. Conard, History of Milwaukee, I, p. 190. Hewing, Catholic Church, p. 914.

#### MODERSKI, WALTER H.

Organist of St. Vincent de Paul's, 1919?-1939.

Born: Milwaukee, January 22, 1894.

Died: Milwaukee, June 15, 1941.

Had other business interests, according to City Directory listings.

Sources: Milwaukee Journal, June 13, 1941, II, p. 4, obituary. St. Vincent de Paul, p. 34. City Directory listings, 1915-1940. Death Records, 1941, Doc. #4437.

MUDROCH, HATTIE NOWAK.

Organist of St. John de Nepomuc's from about 1916 until sometime after 1927. Excellent background.

Source: Wascher, Who's Who, p. 126.

MULLEN. The name of a family in church music.

MULLEN, GEORGE J.

Organist of St. Jude's, St. Patrick's and St. Rose's, in order, from late 1930's to 1944. Cathedral organist and choirmaster, 1944 to 1963.

Born: Oconomowoc, Wis., December 21, 1918.

Died: Milwaukee, April 25, 1963.

Studied under his father, Simon S. Mullen; B. Ch. M. degree from Gregorian Institute; M.Mus., U. of Montreal.

Sources: Bolton, Centennial History, p. 108. Milwaukee Journal, April 15, 1956, VI, p. 18; April 26, 1963, I, p. 19, obituary. Death Records, 1963, Dec. #4122.

MULLEN, SIMON S.

Organist of St. Thomas Aquinas', 1925-1960. Other positions at unidentified churches in Watertown and Oconomowoc, Wis. Came from a very musical family. His mother, Mary Mulvaney, was an organist at Fox Lake, Wis. See 1956 Journal article for other family members and education.

Sources: Milwaukee Journal, April 15, 1956, VI, p. 18. Johnson, Blackwell, p. 115.

MULLEN, MRS. SIMON S. (MARY JOSEPHINE McCOLLOW)

Organist of St. Bernard's from 1926?-1960?.

Born: Juneau, Wis., December 12, 1884.

Died: Milwaukee, August 11, 1967.

Studied with her husband. Organist at Immaculate Conception, Juneau, Wis. around 1900, organist of St. Jerome's, Oconomowoc, 1920?-1926?.

Sources: Milwaukee Journal, April 15, 1956, VI, p. 18; August 13, 1967, II, p. 8, obituary. 25th Anniversary. St. Bernard's, p. 19. Death Records, 1967, Dec. #6697.

MÜLLER, PETER B.

Teacher and organist of Old St. Mary's, 1873-1874.

Born: 1851?

Died: St. Lawrence, Wis., November 13, 1874.

He was the first graduate of the Normal School (1873) who secured a position in Milwaukee, as far as we know.

Sources: Caecilia: I (Mar., 1874), p. 11; II (Jan., 1875), p. 12, obituary.

#### MUSKATEVC, LEO.

Organist of St. John the Evangelist's, 1937-1943. Organist of St. Hedwig's, 1943-?. Choir director at St. Margaret Mary's, 1955-1963. Graduate of Alverno, M.Mus. from De Paul U. Much musical activity, interested in musical therapy.

Sources: Sleva, Diamond Jubilee, p. 37. 10th Anniversary, St. Margaret Mary, n.p. 50th Anniversary, St. John the Evangelist, p. 19. Catholic Herald-Citizen, February 5, 1944, p. 13; February 12, 1944, p. 5.

#### NATUS, JOHN G.

Choir director of St. Elizabeth's, 1902-1903.

Born: Milwaukee, February 29, 1870.

Died: Milwaukee, December 18, 1937.

Was a teacher at St. Francis' from 1894 to 1898.

Little else known, even City Directory listings not informative.

Sources: Bittle, Souvenir Book, p. 71. Bittle, Funfzig Jahreder, pp. 23, 63. City Directory listings, 1894-1937. Death Records, 1938, Dec. #428.

#### NEMMERS, MICHAEL LUDWIG.

Teacher and organist of: Immaculate Conception, St. Cloud, Minn., 1875-1878; St. George's, Kenosha, Wis., 1878-1880; St. Mary's, Iowa City, Iowa, 1880-1881; St. Procop's, Cleveland, Ohio, 1881-1883; St. Philomena's, Pittsburg, Pa., 1883-1885; St. Francis', 1885-1892. Organist of St. Boniface's, 1892-1905; Holy Rosary, 1905-1912; Holy Trinity, 1912-1929.

Born: St. Donatus, Iowa, August 30, 1855.

Died: Milwaukee, November 24, 1929.

Graduated from the Normal School in 1875. In 1892, founded the M.L. Nemmers Publishing Co. Composer.

Sources: Wilmer, Erinnerungsblätter, pp. 74, 96. Fleischmann, St. Francis, p. 47. A Brief Review, p. 19. Bruce, Holy Trinity, p. 51. Nemmers, "Nemmers," Catho-

lic Choirmaster, XXVIII (Sept., 1942), pp. 112, 139.  
 Nemmers, "Nemmers," Caecilia, LXXXII (July-Aug., 1955),  
 pp. 196-97, 200. Milwaukee Journal, November 26, 1929,  
 I, p. 12, obituary. Death Records, Vol. 568, No. 176.

NOVAK, JOSEPHINE.

Organist of St. John the Evangelist's, 1936?-?.

Source: 50th Anniversary, St. John the Evangelist, p. 19.

O'CARROLL, MR.

Assistant Cathedral organist under Arthur Weld,  
 1890. Not otherwise identified.

Source: O'Hearn, Fifty Years, p. 217.

ODENBRETT. The name of a family in church music.

WUERST, MARTHA J.

Organist of St. Thomas Aquinas', 1903-1909. Con-  
 fused City Directory listings. Disappears from Directory  
 in 1909, but may have married a man named DiFabio, but  
 untraceable.

Sources: Johnson, Blackwell, p. 115. City Directory  
 listings, 1891, 1894-1909; 1915-1917 listings under  
 DiFabio; 1916 listing also under Wuerst-DiFabio. See  
Death Records, Vol. 402, No. 341, for relationship.

ODENBRETT, PHILLIP.

Assistant director of St. Francis' around 1870.

Born: Germany, March 20, 1843.

Died: Milwaukee, June 12, 1916.

Was an organ builder and storekeeper. See Sentinel  
 Index and City Directory listings for business interests.  
 Grandfather of Martha J. Wuerst (DiFabio?).

Sources: Fleischmann, St. Francis, p. 12. Death  
Records, Vol. 382, No. 268.

O'HEARN, MARY. See entry under AYLWARD.

OLINGER, ANTHONY.

Led choir at laying of cornerstone of St. George's,

September 30, 1917. Not otherwise identified.

Source: Aneed, Syrian Christians, p. 35.

OLSZEWSKI, ANTON.

Teacher and organist of St. Stanislaus', 1871?-1873?.

Born: Poland, January 17, 1842.

Died: Milwaukee, April 14, 1893.

There is doubt that the Death Record and later City Directory listings are of the same person as the earlier listings.

Sources: Zloty Jubileusz, n.p. Punda, Pamietnik Jubileuszowy, p. 66. City Directory listings, 1871-1873; 1877-1893. Death Records, Vol. 106, No. 380.

OTIS, RAYMOND.

Organist of Old St. Mary's, 1940-?.

Source: City Directory listings, from 1940.

PFEIFER, EURELIA.

Choir director of St. Aloysius', for many years after 1933.

Source: Saint Aloysius, p. 15.

POLCZYNSKI, JOHN F.

Teacher and organist of St. Casimir's, 1898?-1909?, organist, 1909?-1918?. Graduated from the Normal School in 1897. Other business interests.

Sources: Golden Jubilee, p. 22. Souvenir und Adressbuch, p. 44. The Official Catholic Directory: 1909, p. 87. City Directory listings, 1898-1917.

PRAWDZIK, WIKTOR S.

Organist of St. Stanislaus' from 1923 at least to the 1940's.

Sources: Zloty Jubileusz, n.p. Punda, Pamietnik Jubileuszowy, p. 66.

PRELOZNIK, MRS. HELEN.

Choir director of Holy Trinity in 1950.

Source: Centennial Celebration, Holy Trinity, p. 7.

RIBLER, CONSTANTINE. (RIEBLER)

Teacher and organist of old St. Joseph's, 1863?-1867?. City Directory listings die away.

Sources: Erinnerungsblaetter St. Josephs, p. 80. City Directory listings, 1863-1879.

RIES, CONSTANTINE.

Teacher and organist of: old St. Joseph's, 1857-1859; Holy Trinity, 1859-1860; Old St. Mary's, 1860-1862??. Professor at the Salesianum, 1862-1865. Teacher and organist of Holy Trinity, 1865-1869. Organist of St. Francis' from 1870??. Teacher and organist: of St. Francis', 1872-1875; Old St. Mary's, 1875-1876; Holy Trinity, Detroit, 1876-1877.

Born: Baden, Germany, 1829.

Died: Milwaukee, April 16, 1887.

Studied at Karlsruhe and Mannheim. Came to America in 1852 (Detroit?), to Milwaukee in 1857?. With the exception of the dates for the Salesianum and the last three churches, all of the above positions are open to question. Was active in cultural affairs, wrote articles, taught public school, had his own business college. One son became a priest, Fr. Henry Ries, and taught at the Normal School. Many obituaries, listed in the sources, have not been examined.

Sources: Fleischmann, St. Francis, in passim, esp. pp. 12, 42, 45. Wilmer, Erinnerungsblätter, pp. 76-77. Bruce, St. Mary's, p. 73. Caecilia: I (Mar., 1874), p. 10; II (Oct., 1875), p. 154; IV (Feb., 1877), p. 28; XIV (Jun., 1887), p. 46, obituary. Many other listings. Catholic Vindicator, April 11, 1872, p. 3. Milwaukee Sentinel, September 21, 1877, p. 8. Erinnerungsblaetter St. Josephs, p. 80. Bruce, Holy Trinity, p. 19. City Directory listings, 1858-1860, 1865-1876, 1878-1886. Death Records, Vol. 49, No. 24.

RITMANICH, HELEN.

Organist of St. John the Evangelist's around 1950.

Source: 50th Anniversary, St. John Evangelist, p. 19.

## ROE, HORTON.

Organized St. Boniface's choir in 1963. Active in church music in Green Bay. Instructor in music at M.U. Composer.

Source: St. Boniface Parish, n.p.

## ROOS, MR.

Organist of Holy Angels', 1914?-1918?. Otherwise unidentified.

Source: Souvenir Holy Angels', p. 34.

## ST. VINCENT, AMAND de.

Called the principal teacher of Wm. A. Ehlman. Not known to have actually participated in church music, was the editor of the Seebote from its founding in 1851 to January, 1854, in which he debated anti-Catholics. Founder of the Catholic Young Men's Association of Milwaukee. City Directory listings are almost useless. Seems to have left the city after 1854. No other information.

Sources: [Flower], History of Milwaukee, pp. 526, 587. Milwaukee Sentinel, January 28, 1852, p. 2; July 22, 1852, p. 2. Cehlerts, Wisconsin Newspapers, p. 168.

## SCHAEFER. The name of a family in church music.

Bernard Schaefer settled in Slinger, Wis., in 1875, and began building organs. He had fifteen children. Three of his daughters became nuns, one of whom is listed below. After a reorganization of the company in 1913, it made a standard seven rank organ which can still be found in many Catholic churches in Wisconsin. More recently the company manufactured a small unified organ.

## SCHAEFER, CHARLES G.

Organist of Grand Rapids, Mich., Cathedral to 1897?. Organist in Cleveland, Ohio, 1897?-1899?. Organist at Mount Calvary, Wis., (Capuchin monastery), 1899?-1904?. At Lawrence college, Appleton, Wis., until 1914?. Organist at St. Sebastian's before 1923. Organist of St. Michael's, 1932-1950.

Born: Bavaria, March 21, 1870.

Died: Milwaukee, April 29, 1958.

Graduated from the Normal School in 1897?.

Sources: Caecilia: XXI (Jan., 1894), p. 4; XXIV (May, 1897), p. 19; XXVII (Feb., 1900), p. 8. Milwaukee Journal, May 1, 1958, II, p. 2, obituary. City Directory listings, 1915-on. Clifford, Golden Jubilee, p. 33. [Millmann], 25th Jubilee, p. 38. Death Records, 1958, Dec. #3911. Souvenir und Adressbuch, p. 45.

SCHAEFER, SR. M. CHERUBIM, O.S.F.

Born: Slinger, Wis., January 11, 1886.  
See text, pp. 46, 82, for her work.

Sources: Ellinwood, History, pp. 232-33. Caecilia, LXV (Aug., 1938), pp. 245-80.

SCHEIDT, GEORGE.

Listed as teacher and organist of Old St. Mary's, dates unknown [late 1870's?]. Otherwise unidentified.

Source: Bruce, St. Mary's, p. 73.

SCHMIDT, F.

Assistant organist of the Cathedral in 1880 and in 1890. May be the man identified as one of the leading voices in the Milwaukee Musical Society. Otherwise unidentified.

Sources: O'Hearn, Fifty Years, pp. 216-17. [Flower], History of Milwaukee, p. 584.

SCHMIDT, PETER.

Listed as organist and teacher of Old St. Mary's, dates unknown. Not identifiable.

Source: Bruce, St. Mary's, p. 73.

SCHMITT, FRANK.

Organist of St. Robert's in 1962.

Source: Fifty Years of Grace, p. 16.

SCHNEIDERWITH, (H.) AUGUST.

Teacher and organist of old St. Joseph's, 1882?-1890.  
Teacher and organist of St. Augustine's, dates unknown.

[1898?-1900?]

Born: Germany, April 7, 1840.

Died: Milwaukee, May 13, 1931.

His obituary claims he taught at old St. Joseph's school for thirteen years (1882-1895), was in the insurance business for thirty-three years, from about 1897 to 1931.

Sources: Erinnerungsblaetter St. Josephs, p. 80. Milwaukee Journal, May 14, 1931, I, p. 5, obituary. City Directory listings, 1882-1930. Death Records, 1931, Doc. #4198, erroneously listed date of death as May 14th.

SCHREIBER, GEORGE.

Organist of old St. Joseph's in 1954. Later at St. Sebastian's. Organist of St. Thomas Aquinas', 1964-1967.

Sources: St. Joseph's, p. 79. Personal knowledge.

SCHROEDER, JOHN J. (JOSEPH?)

Listed as teacher at St. Hyacinth's, (1882?) 1886-1892. May have been organist instead of K. J. M. Malek, although Caecilia seems to make a point of calling him teacher.

Sources: Caecilia: IX (May, 1882), p. 39. XXV (Nov., 1898), p. 50, obituary. City Directory listings, 1886-1892.

SCHRUPP, THEO.

Listed as teacher and organist of old St. Joseph's in 1874, but this is questionable. Probably just a teacher. Otherwise unidentified.

Source: Caecilia, I (Apr., 1874), p. 10.

SCHUSTER, HERBERT.

Organist of St. Augustine's from 1935 to ?. Studied under his predecessor, Henry Malsack.

Source: Abrahamson, Golden Jubilee, pp. 43-45.

SCHWEMER, MRS. EVAN. See entry under CULLEN, CECILIA.

SEIDL, MRS. JOSEPH.

Organist of St. Aloysius' in 1945.

Source: St. Aloysius, p. 15.

SHALECKI, RHODA DARLING.

Organist of St. John the Evangelist's around 1950.

Source: 50th Anniversary, St. John Evangelist, p. 19.

SINGENBERGER, OTTO A.

Organist of St. Paul's, Chicago, 1899-1903?. Choirmaster of St. Lawrence's, 1907?-1910?. Taught at the Normal School 1903-1910. Cathedral choirmaster, 1913-1925. Organist at Mundelein, Ill., seminary, 1925-1938. Milwaukee diocesan music supervisor, 1929-1942. Organist of St. Gile's and St. Bonaventure's, Chicago, at the time of his death.

Born: St. Francis, Wis., 1883.

Died: Chicago, March 30, 1944.

Graduated from the Normal School in 1898. May have directed a number of other choirs in Milwaukee area, but no definite evidence. Other local musical activity.

Sources: Golden Jubilee, pp. 14, 22. Pfarrregeln, St. Laurentius, 1909, p. 61. Caecilia: XXVI (Nov., 1899), p. 48; XXXII (Sept., 1905), p. 68. Obituaries: Milwaukee Journal, April 1, 1944, I, p. 3; Catholic Herald-Citizen, April 8, 1944, p. 4; Milwaukee Sentinel, April 3, 1944, I, p. 4.

SMITH, RAYMOND J.

Organist at Fort Wayne, Ind., 1954-1957. Teacher and organist of St. Jude's (Wauwatosa), 1957-1960.

Born: Milwaukee, October 9, 1930.

Died: Milwaukee, May 14, 1960.

Active in local musical activities. He suffered a stroke at the organ console during Mass.

Sources: Milwaukee Journal, May 15, 1960, II, p. 10, obituary. Death Records, 1960, Doc. #4754.

SMOLIK, LOUISE.

Organist of St. Margaret Mary's since 1963.

Source: 10th Anniversary, n.p.

## SOMMERS, GEORGE WILLIAM.

Teacher in Bellevue, Iowa, in 1875. Listed at St. John's Deaf Mute Institute in 1879. Teacher and organist of Holy Trinity, 1880-1885. Organist of St. Boniface's, 1889-1890. Organist of Old St. Mary's, 1909?-1939?.

Born: Milwaukee, April 24, 1857.

Died: Milwaukee, December 14, 1944.

Graduated from the Normal School in 1874.

Sources: Bruce, St. Mary's, p. 73. A Brief Review, p. 19. Caecilia: II (Apr., 1875), p. 58; VI (Sept., 1879), p. 142. Catholic Herald-Citizen, April 23, 1944, p. 23, obituary. Milwaukee Sentinel, September 3, 1879, p. 8; August 1, 1880, p. 8; obituary, December 15, 1944, I, p. 4. Milwaukee Journal, December 14, 1944, I, p. 19, obituary. Death Records, 1944, Doc. #8408.

## STECKEL, MISS.

Director of St. Thomas Aquinas' choir sometime between 1901 and 1903. Otherwise unidentified.

Source: Johnson, Blackwell, p. 115.

## STEGE, G.

Organist of St. Sebastian's before 1923. Otherwise unidentified.

Source: [Millmann], 25th Jubilee, p. 38.

## STEMPER. The name of a family in church music.

There were three brothers: two of them, John and Thomas, entered the church music field; and the other, Henry T., became a priest and subsequently pastor of St. Boniface's Church, Milwaukee. There was also a nephew, Math. P.

## STEMPER, JOHN H.

Organist of the following churches for approximately the number of years indicated: Sacred Heart, St. Francis, Wis., three years; St. Boniface's, Chicago, seven years; Holy Name, Sheboygan, Wis., two years, order unknown. Organist of St. Boniface's, 1911-1936. Organist of St. Leo's, 1936-?. Graduated from the Normal School in 1899. Excellent background. Famous for his boys' choir and its

presentation of the "Messiah."

Sources: A Brief Review, pp. 29, 52. Wascher, Who's Who, p. 175. Golden Jubilee, p. 22.

STEMPER, MATH. P.

Organist of St. Elizabeth's, 1926-1960's. Before this conducted the Stemper School of Music in Freeport, Ill.

Sources: Bittle, Souvenir Book, pp. 34, 71. Rosner, Souvenir Book, pp. 30, 37, 41. Personal knowledge.

STEMPER, THOMAS.

Teacher and organist of St. Boniface's, 1906-1911. Born: Port Washington, Wis., December 6, 1883. Graduated from the Normal School in 1901. Taught school. In 1911 took over the European Statuary and Art Company. Founded the Milwaukee Church Supply Company. Directed the Festival Singers in later years.

Sources: Golden Jubilee, p. 22. A Brief Review, pp. 22, 29. The Official Catholic Directory: 1909, p. 87. The Official Catholic Directory: 1911, p. 92. Zloty Jubileusz: 50 Lat: Kazimierz, p. 43. Associated Compilers, Men of Milwaukee, p. 255.

SULLIVAN, LEONARD.

Organist of St. Stanislaus' in 1959.

Source: 1959 Yearbook St. Stanislaus, p. 18.

SWIERZY, KARL.

Teacher and organist of St. Stanislaus', 1877-1895. Born: Germany, October 30, 1850. Died: Milwaukee, August 6, 1895. Nothing else known of him.

Sources: Zloty Jubileusz, n.p. Punda, Pamiętnik Jubileuszowy, p. 66. City Directory listings, 1877-1895. Death Records, Vol. 132, No. 12.

TAYLOR, ROGER F.

Listed as organist of Immaculate Conception in early 1930's.

Born: Milwaukee, April 17, 1910.

Studied at Pio Nono (?) and under local teachers. Accompanied the Damenchor under director Otto Singenberger. Was in the tavern supply business, moved to Chicago about 1938.

Sources: Associated Compilers, Sketch Book, p. 194. City Directory listings, 1926-1942.

THIESSEN.

Listed as an early teacher at Holy Trinity. The City Directory records a Louis Theiss who was a teacher from 1871-1879, but he lived on the East and West sides. Must be considered unidentified.

Source: Bruce, Holy Trinity, p. 19.

TOUSSAINT, MRS. FRANK.

Assistant Cathedral organist, occasionally filled in as director, 1887. Otherwise unidentified.

Source: O'Hearn, Fifty Years, p. 216.

TRIMBORN, (MATHIAS P.)

If this is the Trimborn listed as an early teacher at Holy Trinity, he is listed as a teacher only in 1867, other listings as laborer, peddler and clerk.

Sources: Bruce, Holy Trinity, p. 19. City Directory listings, 1858-1880. Death Records, Vol. 17, No. 341.

ULLRICH, FRANZ XAVIER.

Teacher and organist of old St. Joseph's, in 1866 for certain, possibly from 1862-1867. Very little known.

Sources: Erinnerungsblaetter St. Josephs, p. 80. City Directory listing for 1866. Milwaukee Sentinel, May 5, 1870, p. 1 (?).

USZLER. A family in church music for three generations.

Joseph was the grandfather; Louis, the second generation; and of the third generation, Ann and Casimir became organists, one daughter became a nun, and others sang in choirs.

## USZLER, ANN.

Organist of St. Mary Magdalene's from before 1927 to ?. Succeeded her father at St. Josaphat's in 1941, to at least the 1950's. Teacher at the Wisconsin Conservatory of Music.

Sources: Souvenir Album St. Josaphat's, pp. 56-57. Wascher, Who's Who, p. 189. Milwaukee Journal, March 7, 1941, II, p. 8.

## USZLER, CASIMIR.

Organist of St. Adalbert's, 1920-1925. Organist of St. Josaphat's, Chicago, in 1941.

Sources: [Garvey], Our Story of Fifty Years, n.p. Milwaukee Journal, March 7, 1941, II, p. 8.

## USZLER, JOSEPH.

Organist of St. Hedwig's, 1885-1887?. Then organist in South Milwaukee or Cudahy. Listed again as organist in 1899 and 1900, but no church indicated.

Born: Poland, March 19, 1834.

Died: Milwaukee, September 6, 1900.

Apparently moved to vicinity of the Normal School, but Joseph did not return to live with his son immediately, so he must have had a job.

Sources: City Directory listings. Death Records, Vol. 183, No. 309.

## USZLER, LOUIS.

Organist of St. Josaphat's, 1891-1941.

Born: Poland, April 21, 1867.

Died: Milwaukee, March 6, 1941.

Graduated from the Normal School in 1891, apparently. Famous for his choir work, and his Polish cultural activity.

Sources: Souvenir und Adressbuch, p. 51. The Official Catholic Directory: 1909, p. 88. The Official Catholic Directory: 1911, p. 93. Souvenir Album St. Josaphat's, p. 56. Wascher, Who's Who, p. 189. Milwaukee Journal, March 7, 1941, II, p. 8, obituary.

## WALSH, MISS M.

Assistant Cathedral organist from about 1880 to 1887. Married in 1887; otherwise unidentified.

Source: O'Hearn, Fifty Years, p. 216.

WANNER. The name of a family in church music.

WANNER, ALOIS. (ALOYSIUS)

Organist of St. Anne's, 1935?-1940?. Organist of St. Leo's, 1940?-1967; also organist at St. Caecilia's, Thiensville, Wis., during this period. Organist of St. Caecilia's, Thiensville, Wis., since 1967.

Born: Milwaukee, December 18, 1910.

Worked part-time in insurance business. Piano tuner and re-builder. Had a male choir at St. Leo's.

Source: Personal knowledge.

WANNER, MAX.

Organist of St. Leo's, 1925?-1940?. Organist of old St. Joseph's, 1943?-1953?.

Born: Milwaukee, September 6, 1902.

Been in insurance business since 1919. Two of his sons, Joseph M. and David M., became priests. Director, Milwaukee Musical Society, 1934-1936??

Source: Personal knowledge.

WEINMAN, ANTHONY G.

Teacher at St. Francis Xavier's, Taos, Mo., in 1880. [At Fond du Lac, Wis., in 1881??] At St. Louis, Mo., in 1881. Cathedral organist, 1888-1890. Teacher and organist of Old St. Mary's, 1890-1892. Organist of St. Rose's around 1895 and 1898?. Graduated from the Normal School in 1879. Taught at the Normal School, 1879-1880 (?). Worked for various Milwaukee music stores, 1892-1902. Founded A. G. Weinman Piano Co. in 1903. In 1904 this became Ross-Schefft-Weinman Piano Co. (417 Broadway). Apparently died in 1920 or 1921, but no record or obituary can be found.

Sources: Caecilia: VII (Dec., 1880), p. 188; [VIII (Dec., 1881), p. 156]; XII (Aug., 1885), p. 63. Golden Jubilee, pp. 13, 20. Souvenir und Adressbuch, p. 52. Bruce, St. Mary's, p. 73. O'Hearn, Fifty Years, p. 217. Golden Jubilee, St. Rose, p. 18. City Directory listings, 1890-1920.

WEIS, MRS. JOSEPH.

Organist for the St. Agnes' choir, 1939-1948.

Source: St. Agnes, n.p.

## WEISEND, ELIZABETH

Organist for thirty years of St. John's, South Milwaukee.

Born: September 6, 1880.

Died: Cudahy, May 2, 1967.

Was a public school teacher.

Sources: Milwaukee Journal, May 4, 1967, II, p. 2, obituary. Death Records, 1967, Doc. #4173.

## WELD, ARTHUR.

Cathedral choirmaster, 1890-1891. Came from Boston to direct the Arion Musical Club. Nothing else known.

Sources: O'Hearn, Fifty Years, p. 217. City Directory listings, 1891-1893.

## WINKEL, WINAND A.

Teacher and organist of Holy Trinity, 1874-1880, and 1892-1912. Teacher and organist of St. Michael's, 1912-1914.

Born: [Madison, Wis.], August 12, 1857.

Died: Milwaukee, May 19, 1914.

Graduated from the Normal School in 1874. Served from 1880-1892 in Illinois, apparently, for his son was born in 'Wausau, Ill.' A music teacher also, he engaged in local musical activity. Otto Singenberger honored him especially while at St. Lawrence's by naming him an honorary member, among the many active Caecilians at the time.

Sources: Bruce, Holy Trinity, pp. 43-44. Caecilia: I (May, 1874), p. 10; I (Dec., 1874), p. 14. Souvenir und Adressbuch, p. 52. Golden Jubilee, p. 20. The Official Catholic Directory: 1909, p. 88. Pfarrregeln St. Laurentius, p. 65. Milwaukee Sentinel, August 1, 1880, p. 8. Evening Wisconsin, May 19, 1914, p. 9, obituary. Death Records, Vol. 246, No. 476, son: Winand H. Death Records, Vol. 353, No. 424. City Directory listings, 1875-1880, 1892-1913.

## WITTEMAN, REV. FRANK H.

Directed choir at the church he founded and was pastor of, from 1930 to 1937.

Born: Milwaukee, August 5, 1893.

Died: Milwaukee, March 18, 1943.

Sources: St. Agnes, n.p. Death Records, 1943,

Doc. #2999. Milwaukee Journal, March 19, 1943, II, p. 4, obituary. (Obituary in error when it says no immediate survivors, as informant was a Madaline Witteman [4060 North 26th Street]).

WITTEMAN, MARIE. See entry under EICHHOLZ, MRS. CHARLES.

WRANGOFSKI, CECELIA.

Organist of St. Matthew's, 1920-1924, for the choir, 1924-1926. Later married John Rosman.

Source: 50th Anniversary, St. Matthew's, p. 19.

WROBLEWSKI, AUGUST.

Teacher and organist of St. Stanislaus', 1876-1877. Otherwise unidentified.

Sources: Zloty Jubileusz, n.p. Punda, Pamiętnik Jubileuszowy, p. 66. City Directory listing for 1876.

WUERST, MARTHA J. See entry under ODENBRETT.

ZABLOCKI, CLEMENT J.

Organist of St. Vincent de Paul's, 1932-1948.

Born: Milwaukee, November 8, 1912.

Active in politics: Wisconsin state senator, 1942-1948. U.S. Representative (Wis. 4th), since 1948.

Sources: St. Vincent de Paul, p. 34. Blue Book, 1964, p. 15.

ZEINTZ, LORENZ J. (ZEINZ)

Teacher and organist of old St. Joseph's, 1860-1863.

Born: Oberpfalz, Bavaria.

Died: October 12, 1905, not in Milwaukee.

Sources: Erinnerungsblaetter St. Josepha, p. 80. Caecilia, XXXIII (Jan., 1906), p. 8, obituary. City Directory listings for 1860-1862, see also p. 16 in 1862.

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