

**SIR THOMAS TRESHAM (1543-1605) AND EARLY
MODERN CATHOLIC CULTURE AND IDENTITY,
1580-1610**

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SHORT ABSTRACT

What did it mean to be a Catholic elite in Protestant England? The relationship between the Protestant crown and its Catholic subjects may be examined fruitfully through a study of an individual and his world. This thesis examines this relationship through the example of Sir Thomas Tresham, who has often been seen as the archetypal Catholic loyalist. It is argued that the notion of Catholic loyalism must be reconfigured to account for the complexities inherent in the relationship between Catholics and the government. The duty to honour the monarch's authority was bound up with social and national sentiment, but it often accompanied criticisms of the practice of that authority, and the ways in which it encroached on personal experience. Intractable tensions lay behind expressions of loyalty, and this thesis travels in these undercurrents of cultural, social, religious, and political conflict to investigate the nuanced relationship between English Catholics and English society.

Political resistance as classically understood — actions which directly opposed and undermined government policy — risks the exclusion of culture and identity, through which resistance was redefined. It is argued that Tresham's participation in elite activities became vehicles for resistance in the Catholic context. Book-collecting, reading, and the donation of books to an institutional library are framed as forms of resistance which countered the spirit of government legislation, and provided for the continuation of a robust tradition of Catholic scholarship on English soil. Through artistic and architectural projects, Tresham found ways to participate in elite culture which were not closed off to him, and in which Catholicism and gentility could sit side by side. These activities were also avenues for resistance, whereby the erection of stone testaments to Tresham's faith defied the government's attempts to redefine Englishness and gentility in Protestant terms, to the devastation of Catholicism. These artistic works combined piety, gentility, and resistance, and, together with Tresham's two Catholic libraries, they were to be his legacy.

LONG ABSTRACT

This thesis proceeds from two simple questions: what did it mean to be a member of the Catholic elite in Protestant England? How did the experience of proscribed religion shape noble identity? One of the best ways to examine the relationship between the Protestant crown and its Catholic subjects is through a study of an individual and his world. To historians of the Reformation, Sir Thomas Tresham is a familiar character. He asserted that Catholicism and loyalty to crown and country were not self-contradictory, despite the claims of the state. Under scrutiny, this position is found to be far more problematic than it first appears.

Historians have seen Tresham as the self-appointed leader of elite Catholic ‘loyalists’, those who asserted that Catholicism and loyalty to crown and country were neither self-contradictory nor mutually exclusive, but Tresham’s motives and preoccupations were multifaceted, all shape-shifting at different times. This thesis examines the claim of Tresham’s leadership of the Catholic laity, finding nuance in the ways English Catholics traversed a new religious, social, and cultural landscape. It uses Tresham as a way to think about the transformation of the ‘English Catholic community’, its position in English society in the later sixteenth century, and to reassess its character including its relationship with the governments of Elizabeth I and James I.

Much of the older historiography of English Catholicism has centred around the missionary priests — clergy trained in continental seminaries, including members of the Society of Jesus and other orders. Scholars following John Bossy and Christopher Haigh have looked to the relationship between Catholic elites and the missionary clergy, drawing assumptions about the extent to which these defined the character of English Catholicism. While Catholicism necessitated the pastoral relationship between priest and believer, and the English laity took great risks to maintain this relationship, it was only one part of the culture and identity of English Catholics. One of the achievements of Bossy’s *English Catholic Community* was to

demonstrate the agency of leading Catholics over the missionary clergy, but it will be instructive here to push this further, investigating these prominent lay Catholics *beyond* their interactions with priests.

Tresham's life, like those of his contemporaries, was lived day by day, and the selection of source material is necessarily holistic. The sources for this thesis offer an opportunity to investigate a significant figure and his world in depth from multiple perspectives. This is achieved through a diverse range of manuscript, printed, and material sources, including two libraries, art and architecture, family papers, and a significant manuscript compilation. The materiality of the source material receives particular attention, borrowing insights from historians of the book and of architecture.

Tresham's 'loyalism' — an English Catholic's avowed natural affection for his or her homeland and the monarch, an aversion to civil unrest, and a hope for peace — is archetypal in many accounts, but it is submitted to interrogation here. This work investigates the sincerity of Tresham's claim that political obedience and religious conscience could be separated, following on from the researches of scholars like Michael Questier, Peter Lake, and Peter Holmes into Catholic politics.

Chapter one analyses Tresham's circle and how relationships between individuals within it were enacted. It explores Tresham's correspondents in thematic groups, though the boundaries between them were often blurred. It also examines the role of the Catholic clergy in Tresham's experience of Protestant England. Problems between Tresham and his Catholic kin are explored, challenging a narrative of a harmonious, unified community based on shared religion.

The second chapter considers the relationship between Tresham and the Elizabethan regime in the 1580s. Tresham's pioneering defence in the court of Star Chamber in 1581 is recast as a test-

case for the influence of Jesuit priests on the English Catholic gentry and nobility relating to evading government questioning. Tresham's engagement with the government from his imprisonment in 1581 onwards is considered, including the petition of loyalty probably written by him in 1585 and his sequestration in the Bishop's Palace at Ely during the Armada crisis. The petition and documents pertaining to it are considered in the political context of the summer of 1584, amid concerns about the succession and Mary Queen of Scots, the Bond of Association scheme of late 1584 and the Act for the Queen's safety (1585), the publication of Lord Burghley's *The Execution of Justice* (1583) and the response penned by William Allen, *A True, Sincere and Modest Defence* (1584).

The third chapter looks at Tresham's activities from 1590 to his death in September 1605. It casts Tresham as looking beyond Elizabeth's reign, and to his own legacy, while finding outlets for definition for his Catholic identity in elite activities like building and book-collecting. There was a physical retreat when he returned to his Northamptonshire home at Rushton for the first time in a decade, his hopes for official recognition of Catholic loyalty dashed, but he did not retreat from the Catholic cause, the rights to practise his faith in his homeland. The chapter argues that Tresham, in line with the interpretation of the 1590s by scholars considering the succession, turned his attention to the prospect of the next reign. In addition, this chapter sees Tresham preoccupied by family divisions as his Vaux kinswomen hauled him through the courts, and he suffered his last imprisonment — in the Fleet — as a result. Tresham's letters during this time provide evidence of his conception of the responsibilities of Catholic kin.

In the late 1590s Tresham constructed a defiantly visual statement of his faith in his building projects — the Triangular Lodge (1593-7) and Lyveden New Bield (c. 1595, unfinished) — and by establishing two libraries as a legacy for Catholic education in England. These works of cultural patronage, it is argued, constituted a different kind of resistance to the statements, letters, and petitions of the 1580s. They were explicit statements of Tresham's faith, and they represented his

turn to future generations of English Catholics. Chapters four and five explore these in more detail.

Chapter four looks at the religious symbolism embodied in Tresham's works of art and architecture, including the buildings for which he is famous. The works are considered in chronological order: the Rushton altar-piece (1577) and the Market House at Rothwell (begun 1578), the Triangular Lodge (1593-7), and Lyveden New Bield (begun c. 1595). Tresham's buildings and works of artistic patronage are well-known to architectural and art historians, and their studies have been crucial to this analysis. In synthesising these with new insights, and in the context of a much wider exploration into Tresham's relationship with the state and society, this chapter adds nuance to our conceptions of resistance and piety, phenomena which are evidently underserved by a restriction of sources to documentary material alone.

Architecture displays hallmarks of elite identity of great use to the historian. Thus the heraldic shields mounted prominently on the market cross at Rothwell (1578) are interpreted to situate Tresham within the county elite as he saw it, and to interpret his social ambition in the years immediately preceding the period considered in this thesis. Sketches made by the Northamptonshire architect John Alfred Gotch in the nineteenth century are combined with original observations and relevant material in the Tresham Papers to form the source base for a revived analysis. The analysis makes use of the work of architectural historians as well as literary scholarship on recusant spaces. Tresham's notes and accounts for the planning and building of the Triangular Lodge and Lyveden New Bield evince his personal involvement in design and execution. His first and final architectural projects — the market cross at Rothwell and Lyveden New Bield — encapsulate the emerging gentleman who envisaged public service and influence and, twenty-six years later, an older man constructing a more private edifice which nonetheless affirmed his unapologetic adherence to his faith.

Chapter five examines Tresham as a book collector, reader and patron of learning. Tresham's donation of books to the library at St. John's College, Oxford is cast as evidence of his commitment to Catholic education and the future of the faith in England. A remarkable extant letter from Tresham to Sir John Case discussing the donation of books to St. John's is analysed. The content and character of Tresham's private library, transferred to the Brudenell family at Deene Park, Northamptonshire over the course of the 1590s, is explored in detail. Access to this private collection has facilitated an examination of Tresham's marginalia in some of the volumes most relevant to the scope of this thesis. The insights of these private interactions between reader and book enhance arguments about Tresham's politics.

This thesis proceeds from the belief that detailed study of an individual's books should not be left only to historians of the book and of libraries. Much has been learned from these disciplines, and this study incorporates an analysis of Tresham as a purchaser, reader, lender, and donor of books along with an exploration of his libraries into this study of culture and identity. Tresham shared his books with his friends in the tradition of *et amicorum*, but also had a wider audience in mind. Among the sources for this thesis are two libraries associated with Tresham. His private library was transferred to the home of the Brudenells, into whose family Tresham's daughter married in the summer of 1605. Access to the library, still in the custody of the Brudenell family, has allowed the analysis in chapter five to take in Tresham's interactions with his books and their texts through marginalia. The chapter also examines Tresham's donation of books at St. John's College, Oxford (1598-1602), a generous gift made at the request of the noted Aristotelian, Sir John Case.

Understanding the books Tresham purchased or otherwise acquired, how he bound them for preservation, appearance, and to mark his ownership, offers unparalleled insight into what he thought and how he understood his position in society. Tresham's private library was large by contemporary standards, and survives, remarkably, in a near-complete, undamaged state, yet

Tresham has only been recognised as a bibliophile in the last decade or so. Tresham's book-collecting was important to him. It is significant for us because his books tell us about the formation of his ideas and his participation in an activity which was valued by other elites across confessional boundaries. Scholars are now enabled by the catalogue and explanatory commentary compiled by Nicolas Barker and David Quentin, working alongside the late Edmund Brudenell, heir to his family's library, who examined every volume and continue to repatriate books previously dispersed.

The Tresham Papers (BL Add. MSS 39828-39838) are the fulcrum of this thesis, but further manuscript sources are also crucial. The 'Jollet Manuscript' (Bodl. MSS Eng. th. b. 1-2) is a two folio volume work compiled by a layman connected to Tresham and his kin between 1605 and 1610. The analysis of this unique source asks how Tresham was viewed by his lay coreligionists in the years immediately after his death, as the Catholic community faced the challenges of responding to the frustration of their hopes for Jacobean toleration and the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot. Among its voluminous content is material compiled to commemorate the sufferings and witness of Tresham and other members of his circle. It contains material related to Tresham and several quotations attributed to him. He is described variously as a scholar and a prisoner, and he is listed with other lay Catholics who suffered for the faith during Elizabeth's reign. An account of the work's content is given and new arguments are made for the circumstances of its compilation, its authorship, and its significance to the study of English Catholicism. It is argued that the work constitutes a manifesto for English Catholics after the Gunpowder Plot. As a work compiled in the five years following Tresham's death, and partially an act of remembrance for Catholics like him, it provides an epilogue to the thesis. The manuscript was not known to the academic community until 1968. Chapter six is the first focused study of the principal elements of this rich source, and it makes new arguments for its authorship, dating, composition, and the significance of its content by drawing out meaning

from the material features of the sources as well as the texts they contain. This approach facilitates the analysis of the manuscript's contents and paves the way for further research.

The thesis closes by drawing together its argumentative threads and drawing broader conclusions. Avenues for future research are identified and the contributions of the thesis to scholarship on elite culture and society, Catholicism after the Reformation, and the place of Catholics in English society are summarised.

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ABBREVIATIONS

The place of publication throughout is London, unless otherwise stated.

Anstruther, <i>Vaux</i>	G. Anstruther, <i>Vaux of Harrowden: a Recusant Family</i> (Newport, 1950)
APC	<i>Acts of the Privy Council of England, 1542-1631</i> , ed. J.R. Dasent, 32 vols. (1890-1907). References are to page numbers unless otherwise stated.
A&R	A.F. Allison and D.M. Rogers, <i>A Catalogue of Catholic Books in English Printed Abroad or Secretly in England, 1558-1640</i> (1968)
ARCR	A.F. Allison and D.M. Rogers, <i>The Contemporary Printed Literature of the English Counter-Reformation between 1558 and 1640: an Annotated Catalogue</i> , 2 vols. (Aldershot, 1989-94)
BCH	<i>British Catholic History</i> , incl. vols. printed under its former titles, <i>Biographical Studies</i> (1951-6) and <i>Recusant History</i> (1957-2014)
BHO	<i>British History Online</i>
BL	British Library, London
Bodl.	Bodleian Library, Oxford
Bossy, <i>ECC</i>	J. Bossy, <i>The English Catholic Community, 1570-1850</i> (1975)
BQ, <i>Library</i>	N. Barker and D. Quentin, <i>The Library of Thomas Tresham and Thomas Brudenell</i> , with an introduction by J.M. Robinson (2006)
Bruce, 'Observations'	J. Bruce, 'Observations upon certain Proceedings in the Star-chamber against Lord Vaux, Sir Thomas Tresham, Sir William Catesby, and others, for refusing to swear that they had not harboured Campion the Jesuit...followed by a narrative of the Proceedings', <i>Archaeologia</i> , 30 (1844)
Burke, <i>Peerage</i>	J.B. Burke, <i>A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage of the British Empire</i> , 11th edn. (1849)
Burke, <i>Baronetcies</i>	J.B. Burke, <i>A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies of England, Ireland, and Scotland</i> , 2nd edn. (1844)
Cobbett, <i>State Trials</i>	T.B. Howell, T.H. Howell, W. Cobbett, and D. Jardine, <i>Cobbett's Complete Collection of State Trials and Proceedings for High Treason and other Crimes and Misdemeanours from the earliest period to the present time</i> , 34 vols. (1809-28)
Cogan, 'Catholic Gentry'	S.M. Cogan, 'Catholic Gentry, Family Networks and Patronage in the English Midlands, c.1570-1630', (unpublished PhD. thesis, Univ. of Colorado at Boulder, 2012)

Cokayne, <i>Baronetage</i>	G.E. Cokayne (ed.), <i>Complete Baronetage</i> , 6 vols. (1900), vol. 1: 1611-1625
Cokayne, <i>Peerage</i>	G.E. Cokayne (ed.), <i>Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, Extant, Extinct, or Dormant</i> , 8 vols. (Exeter, 1887-98)
CRS	Catholic Record Society
CS	Camden Society
CSPD	<i>Calendar of State Papers Domestic, of the Reigns of Edward VI, Mary I, Elizabeth I, and James I</i> , eds. R. Lemon and M.A.E. Green, 12 vols. (1856-72). References are to page numbers unless stated otherwise.
CSP Spain	<i>Calendar of the Letters, Despatches, and State Papers relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the Archives at Simancas and Elsewhere</i> , ed. G.A. Bergenroth 13 vols. (1862-1954).
Finch, <i>Wealth</i>	M. Finch, <i>The Wealth of Five Northamptonshire Families, 1540-1640</i> , preface by H.J. Habakkuk (Oxford, 1956)
General Armoury	<i>The General Armoury of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales; comprising a registry of armorial bearings from the earliest to the present time</i> , ed. Sir B. Burke (1884)
Gotch, <i>Complete Account</i>	J.A. Gotch, <i>A Complete Account, illustrated by measured drawings, of the buildings erected in Northants by Thomas Tresham between the years 1575 and 1605 together with many particulars concerning the Tresham family and their home at Rushton</i> (London and Northampton, 1883).
Heal and Holmes, <i>Gentry</i>	F. Heal and C. Holmes, <i>The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500-1700</i> (1994)
HoP 1509-1558	<i>The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1509-1558</i> , ed. S.T. Bindoff (1982), online edn.
HoP 1558-1603	<i>The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1558-1603</i> , ed. P.W. Hasler (1981), online edn.
HJ	<i>Historical Journal</i>
HLQ	<i>Huntington Library Quarterly</i>
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission of Great Britain
HMCR iii	<i>The Manuscripts of T. B. Clarke-Thornhill, Esq., Sir T. Barrett-Lennard, Bart., Pelham R. Papillon, Esq., and W. Cleverly Alexander, Esq.</i> , ed. T.B. Clarke-Thornhill and S.C. Lomas, Royal

	Commission on Historical Manuscripts, <i>Report on Manuscripts in Various Collections</i> , III (1904)
<i>JBS</i>	<i>Journal of British Studies</i>
<i>JEH</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
Kaushik, 'Resistance'	S. Kaushik, 'Resistance, Loyalty, and Recusant Politics: Sir Thomas Tresham and the Elizabethan State', <i>Midland History</i> , 21 (1996), pp. 37-42
<i>LJ</i>	<i>Journal of the House of Lords</i> (1767-1830), consulted online via <i>BHO</i>
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , online
<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> , online
PC	Privy Council
PCC	Prerogative Court of Canterbury
Prothero, <i>Statutes</i>	G. W. Prothero (ed.), <i>Select Statutes and Other Constitutional Documents Illustrative of the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I</i> (4th edn., Oxford, 1913), consulted online
<i>SCH</i>	<i>Studies in Church History</i>
<i>SCJ</i>	<i>Sixteenth-Century Journal</i>
SP	State Papers, consulted using <i>State Papers Online</i>
<i>STC</i>	A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave, <i>A Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640</i> , revised and enlarged by W.A. Jackson, F.S. Ferguson and K.F. Pantzer, 3 vols. (1976-91)
TNA	The National Archives, Kew
<i>TRHS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
<i>Tudor Royal Proclamations</i>	<i>Tudor Royal Proclamations</i> , ed. P.L. Hughes and J.F. Larkin, 3 vols. (New Haven and London, 1964-9)
<i>VAIR</i>	<i>Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation</i> , ed. W.H. Frere and W.M. Kennedy, 3 vols. (1910)

CONVENTIONS

Dates

Dates are Old Style, but the year is taken to begin on 1 January. Guidance on regnal years and the dates of legal terms has come from C.R. Cheney, *A Handbook of Dates for Students of British History*, rev. M. Jones (rev. edn., Cambridge, 2000).

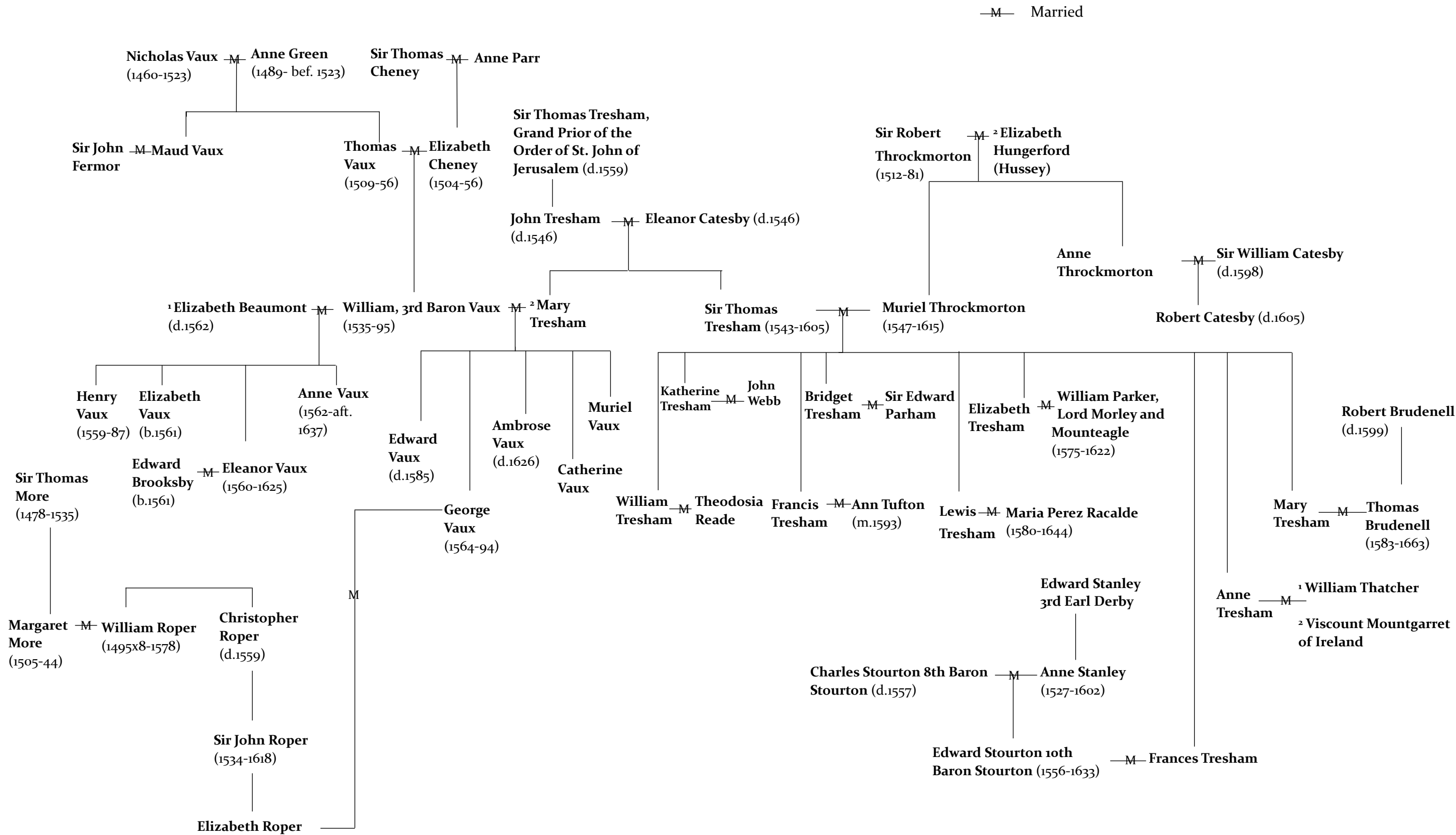
Spelling

In quotations from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources i/j and u/v are not modernised. The thorn (þ) has been rendered as ‘th’. Certain common abbreviations and contractions have been silently expanded: ‘w^t’ and ‘wth’ for ‘with’; ‘w^{ch}’ and ‘w^{ch}’ for ‘which’; ‘o^r’ for ‘our’; ‘Ma^{tie}’ and other variants for ‘Majesty’; S^r for ‘Sir’; þ^t for ‘that’ and þ^e for ‘the’. ‘P’ abbreviations — ‘pro’, ‘pre’, ‘per’, ‘par’ — and tildes are expanded in italics — ‘n’, ‘m’, and ‘i’. Likewise ‘s’ abbreviations — ‘ser’ — and ‘es’ graphs are expanded in italics. The punctuation, underlinings, italicisations, deletions, additions in original quotations have been preserved as far as possible, except for in the capitalisation of the titles of texts. Quotations in languages other than English are italicised. The use of bold in quotations from primary sources reflects the appearance of the original.

Biblical quotations

Lines of Scripture, except where they are quoted directly from primary sources, are taken from the Vulgate (Latin) and Douai-Rheims (English) versions, consulted in a parallel online edition (www.drbo.org).

Genealogy of Tresham and related families



TIMELINE

Significant events in Tresham's life, with details of his imprisonments.

1543

September Thomas Tresham born to John Tresham and Eleanor, née Catesby. His parents die in **1546** and he is raised as a ward of Sir Robert Throckmorton

btwn. **1553-8**

marries Muriel Throckmorton

1559

inherits Rushton from his grandfather

1575

knighted at Kenilworth

1577

commissions crucifixion scene for Rushton

1578

work begins on the Market Cross at Rothwell

1580

meets Jesuit priests Edmund Campion and Robert Persons; pursues recusancy

1581

August Tresham, Lord Vaux, and Sir William Catesby questioned by local justices in relation to Campion

15 November same men tried in Star Chamber for contempt; committed close prisoners in the Fleet and fined

1582

January Mass in Vaux's cell in the Fleet, attended by Tresham and others

1583

after **April** and by **June** house arrest at Hoxton

1588

July imprisoned at Ely, the residence of the Bishop of Ely (vacant)

Michaelmas imprisoned at Buckden, the residence of the Bishop of Lincoln

1592

February-May at Hoxton, likely under house arrest

1593

Triangular Lodge begun

January at Rushton

January-February at Hoxton

late **February** at Lyveden

April at Hoxton

late **April** at Rushton

May at Lyveden; at Hoxton

June at Rushton

July at Hoxton

1594

Lyveden New Bield begun

mid-February imprisoned in the Fleet

July at Rushton

November at Hoxton

1595

30 August Vaux dies at Irthlingborough.

1597

Triangular Lodge finished

July-October imprisoned at Ely

1598

March at Rushton

1599

Summer imprisoned in the Fleet

October at Rushton

1599-1600

October - January imprisoned in the Fleet

1600

March at Rushton; **April** at Hoxton

1601

May at Rushton; **June** at Hoxton

1603

January at Rushton; at Hoxton

1603-1604

April-October at Rushton

1604

November at Hoxton

1605

July at Lyveden

11 September dies at Rushton, buried at St. Peter's, Rushton (no longer extant).

12 November Francis Tresham committed to the Tower following the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot.

23 December Francis dies in prison. Treated posthumously as a traitor and decollated.

INTRODUCTION

I do not think any account of a single religious body in post-Reformation England can make much sense if it does not take notice of the baffling fertility of the religious imagination of Englishmen.¹

John Bossy, ECC

I comende my Soule to god and haveinge received first all the rites of the holie Catholyke Church my bodie to be laide and intered by my husband hopeinge steadfastlie that as we lived together in the feare and love of god and suffered and indured many tentations and troubles for his name sake and the vndoubted Catholyke and apostolyke faith by his grace soe by his mercie we shall arrise together to our endles compforte at the last daie.²

Muriel Tresham, TNA PCC PROB 11/127

I: Tresham and his time

This thesis is about being Catholic in early modern England.³ It is concerned with the ways in which elite Catholics traversed a new social, cultural, political, and religious landscape and, in particular, the ways in which that experience interacted with and was shaped by elite culture. It does so through the lens of Sir Thomas Tresham (1543-1605), a familiar character to historians of the Reformation, of Catholics, and of the gentry. He is remembered as a prominent Catholic recusant, one who refused on grounds of conscience to abide by the statute requiring him to attend the services of the Church of England.⁴ He is cited often alongside his brother-in-law, William, third Baron Vaux (1535-95), for the same reason.⁵

Historians have seen Tresham as the self-appointed leader of Catholic 'loyalists', those who asserted that Catholicism and loyalty to crown and country were neither self-contradictory nor

¹ Bossy, *ECC*, p. 5.

² TNA PCC PROB 11/127, fol. 178r-v, at fol. 178r, Will of Muriel, Lady Tresham, 6 July 1615. Tresham's will does not survive.

³ 'Catholic' in this thesis means adherence to the Roman Catholic Church, with the Pope at its head as Christ's vicar.

⁴ The term can apply to the principled refusal (from the Latin '*recusare*') to attend church services by any non-conformist, Protestant or Catholic, but its use in this thesis refers exclusively to Catholics.

⁵ See, for example, J. Bossy, 'The Character of Elizabethan Catholicism', *P&P*, 21 (1962), pp. 39-59, at pp. 40-42; idem, *ECC*, pp. 37-9 and *passim*.

mutually exclusive.⁶ Under scrutiny, this leadership appears far less deliberate, and examination of Tresham's 'loyalism' reveals a more complex balancing act, between 'loyalism', 'resistance', 'compromise', and other less tangible activities, all shape-shifting at different times and existing on a non-linear spectrum.

Tresham shared his abiding Catholic faith with his wife, the extract of whose will, above, serves to emphasise the place of their faith. Even people of extraordinary piety and devotion had earthly concerns which were at times conflicting. Yet faith was all-encompassing, and Bossy's dictum above thus underpins this work. But social identity, and the world it was part of, was also comprehensive, and was appreciated by individuals.

In order to complete the picture of English Catholicism in this period, both general and individual studies are needed, and they must converse with each other. This individual study does not pretend to speak for the whole of the English Catholic experience; indeed, it illustrates that no single quality can define the experience of an individual, let alone a national community which saw itself as part of a universal Church. It does, however, contribute the depth required to understand properly how overarching themes played out in the lives of notable individuals, and observes the ways in which the Catholic experience intersected with major political moments.⁷ As 'society in microcosm', the experience of a family makes an apt case-study.⁸ The temperature of the Elizabethan and Jacobean regimes' feelings towards their Catholic subjects can be measured through the statutes and proclamations they issued, but we cannot know what legislation and the ideas it reflected meant without considering how it affected those who were

⁶ A. Morey, *The Catholic Subjects of Elizabeth I* (1978), p. 161; W.R. Trimble, *The Catholic Laity in Elizabethan England, 1558-1603* (Cambridge, MA, 1964), pp. 132, 213, 253; A. Pritchard, *Catholic Loyalism in Elizabethan England* (1979), pp. 49-51; J. Lock, 'Tresham, Sir Thomas (1543-1605)', *ODNB*; M.C. Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion, c. 1550-1640* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 103-4. For a critique, see Kaushik, 'Resistance', p. 39.

⁷ Questier, *Catholicism and Community*, p. 18 proposes his methodology in similar terms.

⁸ V. Larminie, *Wealth, Kinship and Culture: the Seventeenth-Century Newdigates of Arbury and their World* (Woodbridge, 1995), p. 1.

subject to it. This approach has proved successful in exploring three major Catholic families over a longer time period, the Brownes, the Vauxes, and the Throckmortons, all of whom had connections to the Treshams.⁹ Recent interest in the cluster of Midlands Catholic families of which Tresham was the fulcrum has ably explicated the operation of social structures and demonstrated the significance of these families, occasioning a focused study which delves deeply into Tresham himself.¹⁰ Tresham, as a prominent layman whose interventions attracted the interest — often critical — of privy councillors, missionary clergy, coreligionists, and both hostile and friendly neighbours, demands such a study. In order to situate Tresham and his family tradition in time and place, a short biography is offered here.

Biography

Sir Thomas Tresham (fig. 1) was born to John Tresham and Eleanor, née Catesby, in September 1543. He was raised in the belief that his salvation rested in the doctrines and traditions of the Catholic Church, and that the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Saints would intercede for him with the Triune God: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Trinitarian doctrine had a particular resonance with Tresham, and he heard it in his name: ‘Tres-am’. A religious experience affirmed this while Tresham was in prison at Ely in the 1590s:

yf ytt bee demanded why I labor so muche in the trynitye, and passion of christe ... This ys one pryncipall instance therof. ... yt fortuneth that fulcyss my then servant reedyng in the christian resolution ... ther was vppon a wynscott table, att that instant three lowde knokkes (as yf yt had been with ane yron hammer) yeven to the great amazing of mee, and my -2- *servantes*.¹¹

⁹ Anstruther, *Vaux*, Questier, *Catholicism and Community*; P. Marshall and G. Scott (eds.), *Catholic Gentry in English Society: the Throckmortons of Coughton from Reformation to Emancipation* (Farnham, 2009).

¹⁰ The Midlands Catholic gentry, including Tresham, are the subject of two recent doctoral theses: Cogan, ‘Catholic Gentry’; L.A. Verner, ‘Post-Reformation Catholicism in the Midlands of England’ (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of London, King’s College, and Univ. of Hong Kong, 2015). The oft-cited article on Tresham is Kaushik, ‘Resistance’. Tresham has recently received attention as part of a popular work focusing on the Vaux family: J. Childs, *God’s Traitors: Terror and Faith in Elizabethan England* (London, 2014).

¹¹ BL Add MS 39831, fol. 13r, Memorandum in Tresham’s hand. The incident is also discussed in F. Young, ‘The Bishop’s Palace at Ely as a Prison for Recusants, 1577-1597’, *BCH*, 32/2 (2014), pp. 195-218, at p. 208.



Fig. 1 Sir Thomas Tresham (Boughton House), by kind permission of the Duke of Buccleuch & Queensberry KBE.

The Treshams had a strong tradition of fidelity to the Catholic Church. Tresham's grandfather and namesake (c. 1500-59) had been made the Grand Prior of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, a significant honour, when it was restored under Mary on 6 May 1557, and though he had held it for fewer than two years when he died in March 1559, his tomb at Rushton represents him in the

resplendent armour of the Order.¹² Tresham lost his parents young and was raised as the ward of Sir Robert Throckmorton at Coughton Court, Warwickshire.¹³ He married Throckmorton's daughter Muriel amid Catholic restoration during the reign of Mary I and together they had six daughters and three sons.¹⁴ A fourth son, Thomas, died in infancy.¹⁵ Tresham was educated at the Inns of Court, matriculating at the Middle Temple on 3 November 1560, and attended Christ Church, Oxford, likely in the 1560s, but there is no reference to his matriculation.¹⁶

Little is known of Tresham's life and religious politics before 1580 other than that he seems to have attended the parish church as the law required, but meeting the Jesuit Robert Persons in that year guided him to recusancy — refusal to attend church, bringing with it punitive fines and government suspicion. Gentility and faith were fundamental to Tresham's understanding of his world, and they are at the heart of this thesis. The Tresham Papers do not bear witness to Catholic doctrine, and this subject has been left for further research in order to prioritise the social and cultural aspects of the Catholic experience. His faith inspired the buildings for which he is famous, all of which reveal a personal connection to the Catholic religion. An earlier architectural project, the Market House at Rothwell (begun 1578), evinces Tresham's understanding of his role in society before he embraced recusancy, as a gentleman naturally

¹² P.R.N. Carter, 'Tresham, Sir Thomas (c. 1500-1559)', *ODNB*. This biography is based on this and related *ODNB* articles, and material cited therein. Sir E. King, rev. Sir H. Luke, *The Kings of St. John in the British Realm. Being the Official History of the Most Venerable Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem* (1967), pp. 110-115. Thomas Tresham had not been a knight of the Order prior to its restoration.

¹³ Lock, 'Tresham, Sir Thomas (1543-1605)'.

¹⁴ Bodl. MSS Eng. Th. b. 2, fol. 871v.

¹⁵ Lock, 'Tresham, Sir Thomas (1543-1605)'; Tresham's son Thomas was buried at the parish church of St. Peter, Rushton, on 15 February 1573: *Parish Register of Rushton (Northamptonshire), 1538-1837*, trans. W.L. White, ed. P.A.F. Stephenson (Leeds, 1929), p. 36.

¹⁶ *Register of Admissions to the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple*, vol. 1, *Fifteenth Century - 1701*, ed. H.A.C. Sturgess, 3 vols. (1949), p. 25; *HMCR* iii, p. 116; see p. 205, below. Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, pp. 270-3 discusses the education of young men at the Inns of Court; W. Prest, 'Legal Education of the Gentry at the Inns of Court, 1560-1640', *P&P*, 38 (1967), pp. 20-39, esp. pp. 23-5, discusses the widespread recognition that elites needed and obtained a legal education to equip them for estate management and the litigious culture of elite society.

invested in local administration.¹⁷ His doctrinal beliefs, and those of his contemporaries, are left for further research.

The Treshams had cultivated a robust tradition of public service: Tresham's grandfather Thomas was pricked as sheriff of Northampton four times, served as Justice of the Peace, and was honoured in 1557 as Grand Prior of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, re-established under Queen Mary.¹⁸ An earlier ancestor, William, husband of Isabel Vaux, was Attorney General to Henry V and three times Speaker of the House of Commons.¹⁹ Tresham was pricked as sheriff of Northampton in 1573 and knighted at Kenilworth in 1575, but from 1580 his recusancy was a barrier to his serving in local government as his ancestors had done.²⁰

In an earlier generation, the knights William Catesby, Thomas Tresham, and William Vaux had been killed in 1461 during the seizure of power by Edward IV of York because they were loyal to the Lancastrian Henry VI.²¹ In 1581 the same names appeared again on government lists of dissenters, great-grandsons by several degrees. Vaux, Tresham, and Catesby were questioned about the Jesuit Edmund Campion, whom they were suspected of having harboured.²² They were tried for contempt in the court of Star Chamber, and were committed to the Fleet as close prisoners. Thus began the years of trial which followed Tresham and his kin until their deaths. After his release from the Fleet in March 1583, Tresham suffered nine further periods of imprisonment. In 1583, he was under house arrest at an unsuitable house in Hoxton in

¹⁷ Gotch, *Complete Account*; Tresham's architectural projects are the subject of ch. 4.

¹⁸ P.R.N. Carter, 'Tresham, Sir Thomas (c. 1500-1559)', *ODNB*.

¹⁹ J. Lock, 'Tresham, Sir Thomas (d. 1471)', *ODNB*.

²⁰ *idem*, 'Tresham, Sir Thomas (1543-1605)'.

²¹ *idem*, 'Tresham, Sir Thomas (d. 1471)'. See also J.S. Roskell, *Parliament and Politics in Late Medieval England*, 3 vols. (1981), ii, 137-51; 267-77; 307-36.

²² Lock, 'Tresham, Sir Thomas (1543-1605)'; J.J. LaRocca, 'Vaux, William, third Baron Vaux (1535-1595)', *ODNB*; Catesby lacks an *ODNB* entry but is discussed in that of his son: M. Nicholls, 'Catesby, Robert (b. in or after 1572, d. 1605)', *ODNB*. Owing to the tendency of early modern families to share Christian names, this thesis encounters three men called Thomas Tresham. For the avoidance of confusion, references to 'Tresham' will always refer to Sir Thomas Tresham (1543-1605); 'Vaux' always to William, third Baron Vaux (1535-95); likewise 'Catesby' indicates Sir William Catesby (1547-98).

Shoreditch. Along with other gentry and noble Catholics he was imprisoned as a precaution during times of particular anxiety about Spanish invasion: in 1587, at the Bishop of Lincoln's residence, Buckden, Huntingdonshire; from 1588 until 1590 at the Bishop's palace at Ely with a few months' respite at the end of 1588; and again at Ely throughout the 1590s. He was given permission to translate his imprisonment at Ely to house arrest at his own house at Hoxton in April 1590, and in 1593 the Earl of Essex granted him a reprieve to go to Rushton, but by spring 1594 he was again in the Fleet. His final imprisonment in 1599 was unconnected to his recusancy, the result of a suit in Chancery brought against him by his nieces Muriel and Elizabeth Vaux, after he refused to pay their marriage portions. His letters from this period describe his sadness that Catholic kin should turn against each other when they should be a close community. He died, after a short painful illness, at Rushton in September 1605 at the age of 62.²³

Place

Tresham and his kin lived in north-east Northamptonshire and neighbouring Warwickshire. As befitted families of their social position, they moved between their land holdings in the Midlands and houses in London and its suburbs until they were constrained by the statutory measures against Catholics. In Northamptonshire, the Treshams had their principal seat at Rushton Hall as well as a manor house and lands at Lyveden. The Brudenells of Deene, Tresham kin from 1605, were closest to Lyveden, and their parkland bordered the Kirby estate of Sir Christopher Hatton. Another Thomas Tresham, a cousin, headed a cadet branch at Newton. The Vauxes, principally at Harrowden Hall and at Irthlingborough, were some twelve miles south (fig. 2). Other families were further afield and are, only coincidentally, less central to the thesis. The Catesbys were at Ashby St. Ledgers, some twenty-five miles south-west of Rushton, and Lapworth, Warwickshire. The Throckmortons were due west of Northampton at Coughton

²³ Lock, 'Tresham, Sir Thomas (1543-1605)'; Tresham's various imprisonments have been worked out through consultation of his correspondence, but are also summarised (with small differences) in Cogan, 'Catholic Gentry', appendix 1.

Court, Warwickshire, some sixty miles from Rushton. The religious composition of Northamptonshire was a striking mix of Puritan and Catholic, and the presence of powerful Catholic families in the county may have fuelled the determination of Puritan clergy and their elite patrons to stamp out popery.²⁴ Nearer London, Tresham had houses in the village of Hoxton, Shoreditch, north of the City, and at Tothill Street, Westminster. South of the river, Lady Tresham rented for a time from the Sussex Brownes at Montagu House, Southwark (fig. 3).²⁵ The Vauxes had a property at Hackney, the site of the exorcism described in Thomas Jollet's manuscript.²⁶

In 1559 Tresham inherited lands consolidated decades earlier by his grandfather, a form of estate management which was customary for early sixteenth-century heirs.²⁷ Tresham took these lands and made them work for him, maximising their economic potential and angering many of his tenants. Rents were pushed up, in one instance by a factor of five, and he pursued lands owed to him in the courts. After regaining control of pastures leased out by his grandfather, he took to sheep-farming, expanding the land for this purpose by the unpopular method of enclosure. A total flock of around 3,600 was concentrated at Rushton, Pipewell, and Lyveden, and had swelled to almost twice that size by 1597. Within a century the value of the Tresham lands doubled, and continued to rise so that in 1590 it was worth more than £1,000 *per annum* in rents. His sheep, sold for meat, breeding, and wool, earned him a further £1,500 *per annum*, and he also profited from the sale of horses, hogs, oxen, corn, hops, cheese, pigeons, and hides at markets at Market Harborough, Banbury, Coventry, and London. Mary Finch estimated Tresham's annual income by 1590 at around £3,500.²⁸

²⁴ W.J. Sheils, *The Puritans in the Diocese of Peterborough, 1558-1610* (Northampton, 1979), p. 105.

²⁵ For the Brownes, see Questier, *Catholicism and Community*; for Montagu's Southwark residence see H. Roberts and W.H. Godfrey (eds.), *Survey of London*, vol. 22, *Bankside, The Parishes of St. Saviour and Christchurch Southwark* (1950), pp. 43-44, online edn.; *BHO*, s.v. 'Montague Close'.

²⁶ See ch. 6, pp. 263-8, below.

²⁷ Finch, *Wealth*, pp. 68-72; 182-3.

²⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 74-6.



Fig. 2 Portion of map of Kettering and Corby, Northamptonshire, showing the estates relevant to the thesis - those belonging to Tresham, Vaux, and Brudenell. Cassini historical map, old series 1824-1835 (Southampton, 2006), reproduced with permission. Numbered sections enlarged below.



1. Tresham estates — Rushton, showing Rushton Hall and the Triangular Lodge; Newton (cadet branch); Rothwell; Orton just seen to the south-west.



2. Lyveden, showing manor house ('old building') and New Field ('new building'), with Brigstock Park to the west.



Fig. 3 Map showing the locations of various Tresham references: the parish of Shoreditch, where Tresham was at Hoxton; the Fleet Prison; St. Mary Overie with Montagu House adjacent, and St. Margaret, Westminster, with Tothill Street adjacent, sometime residences of Lady Tresham. Version of the Agas map used by kind permission of *The Map of Early Modern London* project, ed. Janelle Jenstad, mapoflondon.uvic.ca.

Tresham's efforts to bolster his lineage and prosper his estate were undermined.²⁹ His estate was ruined despite his successful estate management, but not as a result of recusancy fines.³⁰ These fines between 1581 and 1605 totalled around £8,000, just over two years' income, and were not sufficient on their own to ruin so healthy an estate.³¹ The costs of gentility also helped to accrue debts. Tresham participated in the hospitality and cultural patronage of elite society by entertaining lavishly, buying books, and commissioning works of art and architecture.³² Building was managed with characteristic thriftiness, with the bulk of materials sourced from Tresham's own quarry at Pilton and from Sir Christopher Hatton's at Weldon. His prolific architectural work is likely to have cost Tresham less than £2,000.³³ The costs of elite society compounded financial difficulty. External threats to Tresham's estate were many, but his legacy was also blighted by ubiquitous social menaces from within which brought unplanned and disastrous expenses: folly and impecuniosity. His son Francis' attachment to the circle of the second Earl of Essex and involvement in the attempted rising in 1601 cost Tresham upwards of £3,000 in fines. Francis' failure to change his ways saw him 'much subject and in daunger for debts, by judgments, executions and outlaryes' in 1605.³⁴ He died in December 1605 in the Tower of London awaiting trial and certain execution for his complicity in the Gunpowder Plot; he was decollated posthumously and his head displayed at Northampton.³⁵ Tresham's son Lewis' financial recklessness, which compounded the debts incurred in Tresham's lifetime and Francis' forfeiture of lands, was the eventual catalyst for the family's financial ruin.³⁶

While the actors of this thesis hailed from Northamptonshire and neighbouring communities, much of the action occurred elsewhere — in Tresham's various prisons — until the 1590s, when

²⁹ Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, pp. 24-6.

³⁰ For the state penalties, see below, pp. 28-9.

³¹ *ibid.*, p. 146; Finch, *Wealth*, p. 99.

³² See chs. 4 and 5.

³³ Finch, *Wealth*, pp. 72-83. See also Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, pp. 108-9.

³⁴ Finch, *Wealth*, pp. 92-3, quoted in Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 140 n. 6.

³⁵ Nicholls, 'Tresham, Francis'.

³⁶ Finch, *Wealth*, p. 99.

he was in Northamptonshire for longer periods. The *locus* of the thesis is, therefore, in the letters sent and received by Tresham and those close to him and, later, in his books and buildings. There are glimpses of the problem of coexistence at the county level in chapter three, in examples such as Tresham's ride into Northampton to proclaim the new King James, and the problems between gentlemen and tenants, but the thesis is principally about people.³⁷

Tresham and English Catholics

In his own time the Elizabethan regime saw in Tresham a potential leader or advocate for English Catholics. In 1581 in the Court of Star Chamber, Tresham engaged the Queen's lawyers in questions which struck at the heart of the Protestant regime's attempts to secure the religious conformity of all of the Queen's subjects. The defence he offered, with its claims about conscience, constituted a potential theoretical threat to the Elizabethan polity: the implications for the loyalty and obedience of the gentry and nobility through the claims made about oaths were taken seriously, and the sentences handed to Tresham, Vaux, and Catesby reflected the court's commitment to making an example of them, *pour encourager les autres*. Chapter two describes the context of the petition of loyalty organised by Tresham and others and presented to Elizabeth in 1585. While the Bond of Association was testing Protestant commitment to the Elizabethan regime, the recusants John Townley and John Coppage, associates of Laurence Vaux and prisoners in Manchester, looked to Tresham for guidance about a possible petition.³⁸ Other Catholics, as well as the regime, saw in Tresham potential for leadership. As the product of a

³⁷ Coexistence has a vast literature of its own, and is not the focus of this thesis. See A. Walsham, *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500-1700* (Manchester, 2006); J. Bossy, *Peace in the Post-Reformation* (Cambridge, 1995); J. Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration in Protestant England, 1558-1689* (Harlow, 2000); B. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA, and London, 2007); A. Morton and N. Lewycky (eds.), *Getting Along? Religious Identities and Confessional Relations in Early Modern England: Essays in Honour of Professor W.J. Sheils* (Farnham, 2012); W.K. Jordan, *The Development of Religious Toleration in England*, 4 vols. (1932-40), i-ii; Holmes, *Resistance and Compromise*, pp. 211-214; A. Milton, 'A Qualified Intolerance: the Limits and Ambiguities of Early Stuart Anti-Catholicism', in A. Marotti (ed.), *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts* (Basingstoke, 1999), pp. 85-115. Peter French found that intellectual interests transcended confessional boundaries in the circle of John Dee and could be eirenic: P. French, *John Dee: the World of an Elizabethan Magus* (New York, 1972), ch. 6, esp. pp. 135-42.

³⁸ Trimble, *Catholic Laity*, p. 131.

group of avowedly loyal Catholics, the petition reinforced for the regime the idea that there was a distinct Catholic community who were using arguments about conscience to refuse to obey the statutes. A similar petition, presented in 1604, underscored for policy-makers the continued presence of a disruptive Catholic group in England.

Tresham's extant papers have much to tell us about the experience of imprisoned Catholics; of personal connections between individuals; of the content of petitionary letters; of the personal context of landmarks in the relationship between Catholics and the regime; of lay Catholic views of the succession beyond the polemical literature of figures such as Robert Persons; of the ways in which Catholic elites envisaged their place in the world; of how they sought to present themselves to future generations. Michael Questier observed that '[i]f one does know what leading Catholic gentry thought about major political questions it is usually through fortuitous survival, for instance the accidental discovery of Sir Thomas Tresham's papers', but no published work has yet tackled Tresham and his papers as its principal focus.³⁹ Through a focused study of Tresham and his world, this thesis does precisely that.

II: Historiographical themes

In order to focus on the contributions made by this thesis, and for reasons of space, a full bibliographical essay on the evolution of the historiography of the English Reformation, and of the place and experience of Catholics, is not offered here. This thesis is based on a body of historical writing which began with the Reformation. The literature is vast and magisterial overviews are available elsewhere.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, it will be necessary to establish the

³⁹ See p. 39, below; M.C. Questier, "The Government of this Church by Catholic Bishops hath always been a Strength and Defence unto the Kingdom": Episcopacy and the Catholic Community in Early Seventeenth-Century Sussex and Beyond', in M. Dimmock, A. Hadfield, and P. Quinn (eds.), *Art, Literature, and Religion in Early Modern Sussex: Culture and Conflict* (Farnham and Burlington, VT, 2014), pp. 169-94, at p. 171.

⁴⁰ For example, A. Walsham, 'In the Lord's Vineyard: Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain', in idem., *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain* (Farnham, 2014; repr. 2016), pp. 1-52.

intellectual framework for the thesis, and to set out the foundations laid by scholars past and present.

Politics: the choices facing English Catholics

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the question of how best to obey God preoccupied men and women, from monarchs to their lowliest subjects. The enmity between the Pope — cemented in *Regnans in excelsis*, the bull excommunicating Elizabeth in 1570 — and the English crown divided spiritual and temporal loyalties so that English Catholics were faced with seemingly impossible choices: to obey God as their Church and its traditions instructed meant defying the laws of the land, and inviting the increasing penalties that brought, but obeying the monarch as the statutes and proclamations demanded imperilled salvation. The guidance of pastoral literature, itself often polemical, exposed ruptures in the unity of the Catholic Church and left English Catholics in a position of uncertainty. Negotiating the demands of the regime sometimes meant interacting with its representatives, sometimes with other Catholics of varying political hues, and sometimes with different temperatures of Protestant. Writing about conversion, Michael Questier captured the inseparably bound nature of religion and politics in the period: ‘once the battle lines were drawn, a decision to become a Catholic or a Protestant in England should always be partly a matter of politics and partly a matter of religion’.⁴¹

In framing discussions of religious, political, and social history, various shorthands for the legislative, conciliar, and governmental bodies which helped the monarch to rule are common, ranging between ‘state’, ‘establishment’, ‘regime’, and others. Tresham understood himself as one of his monarch’s loyal subjects and paid due reverence to the official bodies – Parliament, the courts, the Privy Council – and their officers whose duty was to serve. Various terms evolved to articulate the relationships embodied within a complex political entity. In order to ‘describe the form of union underlying civil government’, contemporary political writers spoke of ‘realm’, the

⁴¹ M.C. Questier, *Conversion, Politics, and Religion in England, 1580-1625* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 2.

'body politic', and sometimes the 'nation', reigned over by a sovereign to whom obedience was due. Tresham and his peers sometimes used the term 'state' in the context of the sphere occupied by those who helped the monarch to govern and it therefore has a place in this analysis, but conceptions of it were contested and continue to be so.⁴² It is used here — as it was by Tresham and Vaux — to denote the 'body politic' with the monarch at its head.⁴³ Vaux, for example, spoke of his 'loialtie to her majestie, or dutie to the estate', and Tresham of 'all thinges of alleageance and state'.⁴⁴ From time to time the term 'regime' will appear here. It is used to encompass succinctly, though imperfectly, the Protestant monarchs and their administrations, while noting that the two were not always of one mind.⁴⁵

Legislation

The escalation of anti-Catholic legislation as the backdrop to Tresham's experience is charted briefly here. Elizabeth's government established legislative and administrative ways of defining conformity and exacting loyalty from her Catholic subjects in 1559 and 1563, with particular fervour from 1581. Laws against Catholics initially hinged upon recusancy, the most visible sign of non-conformist identity. Dramatically increased penalties for recusancy in Acts of Parliament of 1581 and 1593, with refinements made to the receipt of fines in 1587, intensified associations between recusancy and disloyalty and made the decision to refuse to attend the services of the Church of England more and more consequential. From 1581, non-attendance would be punished by £20 per lunar month, and offenders who persisted beyond twelve months had to present themselves 'bound with two sufficient sureties in the sum of £200 at the least to good behaviour' to the appropriate authorities. By 1593, persuading others to recusancy was

⁴² S. Alford, 'From Estate to State, Subject to Citizen? Some Later Tudor Vocabularies', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 15/1 (2002), pp. 86-8; N. Dauber, *State and Commonwealth: the Theory of the State in Early Modern England, 1549-1640* (Princeton and Oxford, 2016), pp. 1-2.

⁴³ Q. Skinner, 'A Genealogy of the Modern State', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 162 (2008), pp. 325-70, at p. 327. See also *OED* s.v. 'estate', 6a and 'state', 21a.

⁴⁴ Bruce, 'Observations', pp. 83, 92.

⁴⁵ *OED* s.v. 'regime' n. 2; P. Collinson, 'The Monarchical Republic of Elizabeth I', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 69/2 (1987), pp. 392-424, at p. 407; P. Williams, *The Tudor Regime* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 351-9.

punishable by imprisonment until a public declaration of conformity was made, and those who refused to do so would be made to abjure the realm, that is to say, to leave England and never return. Unlicensed return or refusal to abjure on a corporal oath — one sworn on a sacred object — became a felony.⁴⁶ Those subject to abjuration of the realm forfeited their goods and chattels in perpetuity, and their lands until death. A further act in the same year gave recusants forty days to return home and restricted their movement to within a five-mile radius. Those without goods and chattels worth more than a certain amount would suffer abjuration.⁴⁷ Though attendance at church on Sundays and feast days had been mandated by the 1559 Settlement of Religion, the religious policies of the 1560s had sought to manage the expectations of competing confessional groups and to mollify Catholics in particular.⁴⁸ Legislative developments marked a concerted effort to place considerable economic and personal strictures on English Catholics to compel them to conform. In each statute the same point was made: if the accused would attend church as the manifestation of their obedience, all would be forgiven.

The limited nature of the government's investigation of recusancy prior to 1581 may give a false impression of the extent of conformity. Early enforcement was hampered in part by the perceived impermanence of religious change by parishioners, cultivated by the experience of reformation under Edward VI and Catholic renewal under Mary I over just eleven years.

Following Christopher Haigh, Alexandra Walsham saw continuity in the 1560s and 1570s, arguing that recusancy was an impulse borne out of the polarization of confessional identity which developed over the course of Elizabeth's reign.⁴⁹ The official Catholic position on recusancy was addressed by the Council of Trent in 1562: Catholics were forbidden to attend the

⁴⁶ 23 Eliz. Cap. I, 28 & 29 Eliz. Cap. VI, 35 Eliz. Cap. I-II. All references to statutes are from Prothero, *Statutes*. OED s.v. 'corporal', 5a. For the implementation of recusancy legislation, see F.X. Walker, 'The Implementation of the Elizabethan Statutes against Recusants 1581-1603' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of London, 1961) and a forthcoming article by Simon Healy in *BCH*; I am grateful to Dr. Healy for sharing his statistical analysis of the exchequer records with me.

⁴⁷ 35 Eliz. Cap. I-II.

⁴⁸ 1 Eliz. Cap. II; A. Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge, 1993), p. 11. See also Walker, 'Implementation'.

⁴⁹ Walsham, *Church Papists*, pp. 14, 20-21.

services of the Church of England, but the English may not have been aware of the opinion until 1593 apart from a reference to it by Gregory Martin in 1578.⁵⁰ John Feckenham wrote to counsel recusancy in February 1563 in a treatise circulated in manuscript, and Laurence Vaux circulated a letter explaining Pope Pius V's condemnation of church attendance in November 1566: 'we may not communicate or sociate our selves in company with scismatyke or heretyke in devine thynges; theare is noe exception or dispensacion can be had for anye of the laitie, if they wyl stande in the stayte of salvacion'.⁵¹

On one level, the relationship between Catholics and the government is patently important. In the sense that the temperature of the Catholic threat from plots, invasion, or clerical agents, determined in part the state's treatment of Catholics, this in turn influenced the ways in which Catholics negotiated their position, but the relationship was neither linear nor fixed; it could depend on changing political circumstances at home and abroad. Accordingly, these circumstances are summarised in chapters two and three.

J.C.H. Aveling conveyed sensitively the world view of elite Catholics, recognising that 'religious faith was inextricably mixed up with [their] sense of family, gentry, and estate', and that Catholics were responsible for upholding 'an ancient and essential order of religion and society in a world of flux which had turned against it'.⁵² Yet Catholic families were no more harmonious than others. Even Catholic kin under persecution encountered the kinds of problems which beset any elite families — legal squabbles over land, money, and marriage, as well as other sources of discord. Chapter one demonstrates how true this was for the Treshams and the

⁵⁰ G. Crosignani *et al* (eds.), *Recusancy and Conformity in Early Modern England: Manuscript and Printed Sources in Translation* (Rome, 2010), pp. xviii, 9-25; xxii, 111-115.

⁵¹ *ibid.*, pp. xix, 30-57; 60-63, at p. xix,

⁵² Aveling, *The Handle and the Axe*, p. 161.

Vauxes; research on the Browne and Throckmorton families suggests that disputations and confessional divisions were not unique.⁵³

The 'English Catholic community' and the gentry

All students of English Catholicism are heirs to the fierce debates between John Bossy and Christopher Haigh in the 1970s and 1980s about the nature of English Catholicism and the character of its community of believers. Despite its origins in what he saw as a failed missionary experiment, *contra* Bossy, Haigh's conclusion that English Catholicism was 'a rump community, the residue of a process of failure and decline', chimes with Bossy's memorable summary of English Catholicism as a 'progress from inertia to inertia in three generations' of apolitical laity who had separated themselves from English society.⁵⁴ This thesis sits at the intersection of these two Venn diagrams: the response of English Catholic laymen and women, political by necessity, to the new world in which they found themselves.

Thanks to the work of Alexandra Walsham, Michael Questier and others, we now recognise that the English Catholic community was not comprised of recusants alone, but of individuals grappling with the choices forced upon them by hostile circumstances and settling, often messily, on shifting courses of conformity along a spectrum. 'Occasional conformists' juggled church attendance with private beliefs in order to satisfy sceptics; much maligned 'church papists' likewise held fast to Catholic beliefs while attending Protestant services, but often registering their dissent through acts of poor behaviour. They were wolves in sheep's clothing to hostile Protestants, and schismatics to their coreligionists, but they were a significant group.⁵⁵

⁵³ Questier, *Catholicism and Community*, p. 18; Marshall and Scott (eds.), *Catholic Gentry in English Society*, esp. S. Cogan, 'Reputation, Credit and Patronage: Throckmorton Men and Women, c. 1560-1620', in *idem*, pp. 69-91.

⁵⁴ Haigh, 'From Monopoly to Minority', p. 132; Bossy, 'Character', p. 57; Bossy, *ECC*.

⁵⁵ Walsham, *Church Papists*, pp. 1-3; Questier, *Catholicism and Community*.

Christopher Haigh called for research into the Catholicism of non-elites, but there is good reason to concentrate on Tresham.⁵⁶ There are more popular voices to be found, and they contribute depth to the picture of Tresham's social milieu where possible, but their voices are mediated by their circumstances — the non-elites who feature here are usually writing to their master or employer. As the exploration of Tresham's correspondents in chapter one demonstrates, no 'social nexus' had impermeable confessionally-defined boundaries; early modern men and women interacted with a range of individuals. But Catholics like Tresham did surround themselves with sympathetic kin to strengthen familial bonds of confessional allegiance, and Tresham tended to correspond with sympathetic coreligionists.⁵⁷ Tresham's immediate concerns tended towards his family and kin, but it is clear that he saw himself as part of a community of believers whose Englishness was bound up with their Catholicism. In making difficult choices for the sake of his faith, Tresham also considered the place of his fellow English Catholics.

John Bossy concentrated on the withdrawal of Catholics into a seigneurial community, gesturing to the displacement of religious practice into the domestic sphere and the admittedly inconsistent removal of Catholics from local government.⁵⁸ Yet in looking at particular Catholics we are looking at English society more broadly. In asking what Tresham can tell us about the Catholic community this thesis is concerned with Catholics in English society, not outside of it.⁵⁹ Catholics were unmistakably a part of society, whether the interested parties liked it or not.

⁵⁶ C. Haigh, 'The Fall of a Church or the Rise of a Sect? Post-Reformation Catholicism in England', *HJ*, 21/1 (1978), pp. 181-6, at p. 183. For studies of popular Catholicism, see M.B. Rowlands (ed.), *English Catholics of Parish and Town, 1558-1778* (1999); W.J. Sheils, 'Catholics in a Rural Community: Egton Chapelry, 1590-1780', *Northern History*, 34 (1998), pp. 109-33.

⁵⁷ Questier, *Catholicism and Community*, p. 60 observes similar commitment to Catholic marriages. See also J. Bossy, 'Blood and Baptism: Kinship, Community, and Christianity in Western Europe from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Centuries', in D. Baker (ed.), *Sanctity and Secularity: the Church and the World*, 10, *SCH* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 129-43, esp. pp. 131-2. For the significance of kin in English society, see D. Cressy, 'Kinship and Kin Interaction in Early Modern England', *P&P*, 113 (1986), pp. 38-69; J.E. Kelly, 'Kinship and Religious Politics among Catholic Families in England, 1570-1640', *History*, 94/315 (2009), pp. 328-43.

⁵⁸ Bossy, *ECC*, esp. ch. six; idem., 'Character'.

⁵⁹ This approach is proposed in Marshall and Scott (eds.), *Catholic Gentry in English Society*, p. 1.

But what did this presence of Catholics in English society look like? How did the participation of gentlemen like Tresham in elite culture shape English society, and how did it shape them?

Historians have asked whether Elizabethan Catholicism took on a new character through the influence of the missionary clergy and their Counter-Reformation influences, or whether it owed its nature to the continuity of traditional practices and customs.⁶⁰ Tresham's Catholicism both preserved old ways and carved out new ones, because he found his circumstances radically altered, and unfixed. Both discontinuity and continuity were present. While there may have been calls in some quarters of the missionary clergy for the institution of 'a reformed and regulated Catholicism', there is evidence that the traditionalism of the gentry held it back. For example, it appears that Tresham and the other lay Catholics present at the Southwark Synod in 1580 overcame calls from the Jesuits to impose Tridentine fasting rules on English Catholics.⁶¹ It was agreed that local customs should be followed as before.⁶²

The primary issue for Bossy and Haigh was the relation of English Catholicism under Elizabeth and her successors to late-medieval religious practice in England. Bossy argued for something largely new, imported by missionary priests to replace the ashes of a dead religious practice with post-Tridentine revivification. In opposition to Bossy, Haigh saw continuity, emphasising the role of the Marian priests who were not ejected in the 1560s.⁶³ Michael Mullett, following Haigh and influenced by Eamon Duffy and J.J. Scarisbrick's characterisations of a vibrant, popular pre-

⁶⁰ Scholars contributing to this debate are cited throughout this introduction, but summaries of the viewpoints may be found in Haigh, 'Continuity of Catholicism'; Bossy, *ECC*; A. Walsham, 'Translating Trent? English Catholicism and the Counter Reformation', *Historical Research*, 78/201 (2005), pp. 288-310; P. Hughes, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in England* (1942); see A.G. Dickens, 'The First Stages of Romanist Recusancy in Yorkshire, 1560-1590', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 35/138 (1941), pp. 157-82; Aveling, *The Handle and the Axe*; Trimble, *Catholic Laity*; Morey, *Catholic Subjects*.

⁶¹ See Questier, *Catholicism and Community*, pp. 161-3 and G. Kilroy, *Edmund Campion: a Scholarly Life* (Farnham and Burlington, VT, 2015), p. 169.

⁶² Haigh, 'Continuity of Catholicism', p. 63.

⁶³ Haigh, 'Fall of a Church', p. 182; on the clergy, see P. Marshall and J. Morgan, 'Clerical Conformity and the Elizabethan Settlement Revisited', *HJ*, 59/1 (2016), pp. 1-22; F.E. Smith, 'The Origins of Recusancy in Elizabethan England Reconsidered', *HJ*, 60/2 (2017), pp. 301-32.

Reformation Church, found late medieval piety among Elizabethan Catholics, and Patrick McGrath found sympathy with Haigh's recognition of the Marian clergy.⁶⁴

Forces for reformation within the Catholic Church gained fullest expression in the Council of Trent (1545-63) and worked to bolster the Church against the rise of Protestant heresy.⁶⁵ It was this post-Tridentine Catholicism that Bossy found growing in England after the arrival of the missionary priests. Works by Alexandra Walsham, Ethan Shagan, and Michael Questier reframed questions about the missionary clergy and captured the nuance of the lay Catholic experience, and it is in this vein that this thesis continues in chapters two and three.⁶⁶

Priests

One of the achievements of Bossy's *English Catholic Community* was to demonstrate the agency of leading Catholics over the missionary clergy, but it will be instructive here to push this further, investigating these prominent Catholics beyond their interactions with priests to emphasise that the laity were not passive, even 'parasitic' recipients of the missionary agenda.⁶⁷ Clerical influence, a mainstay of historiography since the sixteenth century, will be found to have been far more nuanced than Bossy's picture of the 'seigneurial' elite recusant household allows. This thesis places elite laymen like Tresham centre stage, rather than seeing them as the supporting cast in a clerical drama. As such, the clergy is not the primary concern of this thesis. This is not to say that the clergy had no impact on Tresham and his kin, nor that they are

⁶⁴ M.A. Mullett, *Catholics in Britain and Ireland, 1558-1829* (Basingstoke, 1998), p. 6; see E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c. 1400- c. 1580*, 2nd edn. (New Haven and London, 2005); J.J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People* (Oxford, 1984); P. McGrath, 'Elizabethan Catholicism: a Reconsideration', *JEH*, 35/3 (1984), pp. 414-28.

⁶⁵ See, for example, Walsham 'Translating Trent?'; T.H. Clancy, *Papist Pamphleteers: the Allen-Persons Party and the Political Thought of the Counter-Reformation in England, 1572-1615* (Chicago, 1964); J. Bossy, 'The Counter-Reformation and the People of Catholic Europe', *P&P*, 47 (1970), pp. 51-70; Hughes, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation*.

⁶⁶ Walsham, 'In the Lord's Vineyard', pp. 13-16; E. Shagan (ed.), *Catholics and the 'Protestant Nation': Religious Politics and Identity in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 2005); Questier, *Catholicism and Community*.

⁶⁷ Questier, pp. 23-4; Walsham, 'In the Lord's Vineyard', p. 13; Haigh, 'Continuity', p. 67.

irrelevant: without priests there could be no sacraments, and no salvation. Meeting Edmund Campion and Robert Persons in 1580 was consequential for Tresham. He embraced recusancy thereafter, and his first clash with the Elizabethan regime originated in his association with Campion. Determined recusants like Tresham — the small band of twelve gentry and nobility who were still paying the £20 per lunar month fine at the end of Elizabeth's reign — were made examples of by the Elizabethan and Jacobean regimes and were tarnished by their adoption of a policy insisted upon by Robert Persons, irrespective of their private feelings about the Jesuit.⁶⁸ Though they disagreed about the formation and character of the English Catholic community, Haigh and Bossy reached a rare consensus on the undeniable centrality of the gentry and nobility to the English mission, but neither afforded sufficient agency to the laity in shaping their own experience. The contention of this thesis is that by setting aside the question of clerical influence, we can develop a more nuanced picture of the laity. The nature of Tresham's interventions into religious politics were not simply regurgitations of printed statements by members of the continental colleges, and the study of his books in chapter five shows that his interests ranged much more widely.

The Catholic laity

The dismissive view of conforming Catholics as acquiescent, no longer defensible since the publication of Alexandra Walsham's *Church Papists*, weakens the contribution made by some earlier studies of the Catholic laity.⁶⁹ Trimble's study of the *Catholic Laity* was too narrow in its definition of Catholicism, suggesting that the Vauxes were "perhaps the only sincerely Catholic family in the peerage".⁷⁰ Work by Michael Questier on the Elizabethan Brownes has demonstrated just how varied conformity could be.⁷¹ Yet there is a risk that without categories of Catholic identity — church papist, recusant, loyalist conspirator — the whole of English society

⁶⁸ For the implementation of recusancy statutes, the standard work is still Walker, 'Implementation'.

⁶⁹ Walsham, *Church Papists*; see, for example, Morey, *Catholic Subjects*.

⁷⁰ Trimble, *Catholic Laity*, p. 30, quoted in R.B. Manning, *Religion and Society in Elizabethan Sussex: a Study of the Enforcement of the Religious Settlement, 1558-1603* (Bristol, 1969), p. 257 n. 3.

⁷¹ Questier, *Catholicism and Community*, p. 66 and *passim*.

becomes amorphous and we are left more puzzled than when we started. Rather than dismissing them altogether, we ought to engage with these categories as porous, and as guiding rather than constraining our research. Haigh's Catholic felt a sense of belonging which was recognised by his or her coreligionists, and it was this social impulse, together, we must assume, with an indiscernible private relationship with God, which made Tresham a Catholic rather than his decision to practise recusancy.⁷² Family tradition, too, was central to Catholic identity, as captured by Mervyn James as 'this training of the will to graft the life of virtue on to those inherited merits which came with blood and descent to the heirs of ancient stocks'.⁷³

For the purposes of this study, aspects of multiple established definitions for the social groups under consideration are employed. The gentry, to which Tresham belonged, may be understood most simply as 'the class immediately below the nobility', but because this stratified sense of class does not fully convey the character of the group, it is supplemented with the definition worked out by Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes through a robust appraisal of contemporary social, geographical, economic, and cultural considerations: 'the gentry were that body of men and women whose gentility was acknowledged by others'.⁷⁴ Gentry lifestyle included various forms of behaviour, including book-collecting, building, entertaining, estate-management and hunting, as well as public duty, for 'gentlemen were not born and bred for a private and retired life, but for society and action in the commonwealth'.⁷⁵ Men like Tresham could not be uninterested in politics, for they were by rank, tradition, education, and through their estates invested in it. The titled nobility, of which Vaux was a part, constituted the upper echelons of English society, the lords, barons, earls, and viscounts whose lands, titles, and influence were theirs by right.⁷⁶ The term 'elites' is used throughout this thesis as an imperfect shorthand, and

⁷² Haigh, 'Fall of a Church', pp. 154-5.

⁷³ M.E. James, *Family, Lineage, and Civil Society: a Study of Society, Politics, and Mentality in the Durham Region, 1500-1640* (Oxford, 1974), p. 146.

⁷⁴ *OED*, s.v. 'gentry, *n.*', 1 a. and 2 a.; Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 19.

⁷⁵ *ibid.*, p. 282.

⁷⁶ *OED*, s.v. 'nobility, *n.*', 3.

it may be useful to note that the character of the households of gentlemen such as Tresham may not have differed widely from those of titled nobles such as the second viscount Montagu.⁷⁷

Resistance and 'loyalism'

Resistance in this thesis is not limited to violence. The would-be assassins of Elizabeth were tiny in number, and they did not have a monopoly on Catholic dissent. Tresham and others like him broke laws governing religious conformity because they believed that the government should not compel the monarch's subjects to act against their conscience. Catholics defied the *spirit* of legislation, the vilification of their coreligionists as traitors, and the association of their beliefs with superstition, and recusants also disobeyed the law itself. When religious observance was bound up with political obedience, aspects of everyday life were redefined as resistance. This thesis is interested in the forms that this resistance took as a result of the climate in which it was enacted.

A central issue in the historiography of English Catholicism and in this thesis is 'loyalism', an English Catholic's avowed natural affection for his or her homeland and the monarch, an aversion to civil unrest, and a hope for peace.⁷⁸ For the gentry, this was coupled with a sense of being of a 'common mind', that is to say, being of a similar social and cultural formation tending towards leading by example and performing acts of public service.⁷⁹ Tudor thinkers stressed that obedience was a religious duty.⁸⁰ Tresham's impulse towards loyalty came as part of his gentility and he is often described as the archetypal recusant 'loyalist'.⁸¹ In Catholic historiography, 'loyalism' has been emphasised as a phenomenon present in all but a tiny minority of English

⁷⁷ Questier, *Catholicism and Community*, p. 26 notes that Montagu employed around fifty servants. The Treshams at Rushton may have had as many as fifty-two: Finch, *Wealth*, p. 81.

⁷⁸ J. Bossy, *Peace in the Post-Reformation* (Cambridge, 1995).

⁷⁹ D. McCulloch, *Suffolk and the Tudors: Politics and Religion in an English County, 1500-1600* (Oxford, 1986), p. 2.

⁸⁰ Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, pp. 179-81; see also R. Rex, 'The Crisis of Obedience: God's Word and Henry's Reformation', *HJ*, 39/4 (1996), p. 863-94.

⁸¹ Pritchard, *Catholic Loyalism*, p. 50.

Catholics — those who participated in plots — in order to preserve the memory of unjust persecution and to protect the faith from the taint of treason.⁸² Scholars discussing ‘loyalism’ have tended to privilege the apolitical nature of most of the missionary clergy and to draw down from their professed fidelity to Elizabeth the essential loyalty of their gentry congregations.⁸³

‘Loyalism’, however, was not political inactivity or passivity, as Michael Questier has shown.⁸⁴ Such prevailing opinions are too ubiquitous to constitute an analytical category in and of themselves. ‘Loyalism’ manifested itself in the belief that a practising Catholic could remain loyal to the Church *and* to Queen and country, though the regime tended to deny that this was the case: the Queen ruled her subjects as Supreme Governor of the Church, as expressed in the Oath of Supremacy. The regime claimed that any allegiance to papal authority, including the Pope’s spiritual power, was treasonous. The proposal that obedience could be separated took on political significance, and its exponents aroused suspicion. The often fraught relationship between recusant elites and the government rested on this issue. ‘Loyalism’ was a language through which Catholics engaged with the regime, but it hides complexities that, when exposed, undermine the term itself.

III: Sources

Our understanding of a prominent lay figure such as Tresham demands an interdisciplinary exploration of his world that reflects a life lived day by day, with diverse interests and motivations. In order to capture the protean nature of early modern Catholic culture and identity, a holistic approach has been taken to the selection of source material. The availability of a diverse range of manuscript, printed, and material sources, including two libraries, art and architecture, family papers, and an encyclopaedic manuscript compilation, offers an

⁸² Walsham, ‘In the Lord’s Vineyard’, p. 12.

⁸³ The seminal study, Pritchard, *Catholic Loyalism*, dedicated nine out of eleven chapters to discussion of the missionary clergy.

⁸⁴ M.C. Questier, ‘Catholic Loyalism in Early Stuart England’, *EHR*, 123/504 (2008), pp. 1132–65, at p. 1134.

opportunity to investigate a significant figure and his world. This thesis combines the history of the book and of libraries, and insights from architectural historians with cultural history.

This thesis is led by its sources, of which the Tresham Papers are the fulcrum. Remarkably, they were discovered ‘wrapped up in a large sheet’ in a recess within a partition wall at Rushton Hall by builders in 1828. They were subsequently given to the British Museum (thence to the British Library), organised into chronological order, bound in eleven volumes, and catalogued in detail by the Historical Manuscripts Commission in 1904.⁸⁵

Besides some much earlier estate documents retained or copied by the Treshams, the papers cover the period 1576-1605, inviting the supposition that they were indeed hidden away, probably by Lady Tresham, and likely following Francis’ arrest in the wake of the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, into which he had been drawn by his cousins. The latest document is dated 28 November 1605.⁸⁶ They contain chiefly correspondence drafted, sent, and received by Tresham and members of his household; memoranda; notes on theological and historical material by Tresham and his steward, George Levens; estate documents; doodles; accounts; and lists. John Taylor, the earliest commentator on the papers, consulted them while they were still at Rushton Hall in the care of its then owner, W. Clarke Thornhill. Taylor supposed that ‘about twenty Catholic books in excellent preservation’ had been discovered with the papers.⁸⁷ Regrettably, the printed books had been separated from the manuscripts by the time they reached the British Library, and they have not been kept as a discrete collection, so their consultation requires some detective work.⁸⁸ Scholars have made use of documents in

⁸⁵ BL Add MS 39828, fol. 8r; *HMCR* iii. An earlier calendar was also produced, seemingly listing the papers in their original order: J. Taylor (ed.), *A Calendar of Papers of the Tresham Family, of the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I, 1580-1605. Preserved at Rushton Hall* (Northampton and London, 1871).

⁸⁶ *HMCR* iii, v.

⁸⁷ Taylor, *Calendar*, p. 4.

⁸⁸ These books are listed in appendix III.

individual volumes of the Tresham Papers, but this study mines them further.⁸⁹ The thesis makes extensive use of the epistolary networks revealed in the papers, while documents in the State Papers complement these personal collections to provide an official perspective.

The thesis is based on a further body of manuscript source material. Thomas Jollet's manuscript (Bodl. MSS Eng. th. b. 1-2) is a two folio volume work compiled by a layman connected to Tresham and his kin between 1605 and 1610. The analysis asks how Tresham was received by his lay coreligionists in the years immediately after his death, as the Catholic community faced the challenges of responding to the frustration of their hopes of Jacobean toleration and the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot. Chapter six makes new arguments for its authorship, dating, composition, and the significance of its content using techniques developed by historians of the book to draw out meaning from material features rather than concentrating solely on text.

Access to Tresham's personal library, now in private hands at Deene Park, Northamptonshire, and his donation of books at St. John's College, Oxford have facilitated a discussion of the material features of individual volumes as well as the contents of the libraries. A crucial component of elite culture, a gentleman's library advertised gentility and urbanity to his visitors. To build a library was to participate in gentry culture; to develop legacy, and to extend patronage to authors and booksellers. Then as now, owning books was not the same as reading them, much less agreeing with them, but if we know what kinds of books Tresham bought; how he treated them; how he engaged with them, we gain unparalleled insight into his understanding of his world. In giving books to St. John's, Tresham was providing for the continuation of a

⁸⁹ The exceptions are Anstruther, *Vaux*; Cogan, 'Catholic Gentry'; G. Kilroy, 'Within these Walls: the Secret World of Sir Thomas Tresham' in M.T. Jones-Davies (ed.), *L'Intériorité au Temps de la Renaissance* (Paris, 2006), pp. 103-35; idem, *Edmund Campion: Memory and Transcription* (Aldershot, 2005) and idem., *Scholarly Life*. All refer to the Tresham Papers collectively. F. Heal, 'Readership and Reception', in idem., I.W. Archer, and P. Kewes (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's Chronicles* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 355-72 is a rare use of BL Add. MS 39838. Childs, *God's Traitors*, uses the first three volumes, BL Add. MS 39828-30.

tradition of Catholic scholarship on English soil and in one of only two English universities, and in contrast to the continental alternatives.

Tresham's private library was large by contemporary standards, and survives, remarkably, in a near-complete, undamaged state, yet Tresham has only been recognised as a bibliophile in the last decade or so.⁹⁰ Scholars are now enabled by the catalogue and explanatory commentary compiled by Nicolas Barker and David Quentin, working alongside the late Edmund Brudenell, heir to his family's library, who examined every volume and continue to repatriate books previously dispersed. This thesis proceeds from the belief that detailed study of an individual's books should not be left only to historians of the book and of libraries. Much has been learned from these disciplines, and this study incorporates an analysis of Tresham as a purchaser, reader, lender, and donor of books along with an exploration of his libraries into this study of culture and identity.⁹¹

Tresham's buildings and works of artistic patronage are well-known to architectural and art historians, and their studies have been crucial to the analysis contained in chapter four. In synthesising these with new insights, and in the context of a much wider exploration, it has been possible to challenge our conceptions of 'resistance' and piety, phenomena which are evidently underserved by a restriction of sources to documentary material alone. Architecture displays hallmarks of elite identity of great use to the historian. Thus the heraldic shields mounted prominently on the market cross at Rothwell (1578) are interpreted to situate Tresham

⁹⁰ BQ Library; D. Pearson, *English Book Owners in the Seventeenth Century: a Work in Progress Listing*, The Bibliographical Society Electronic Publications (first edn., 2007, latest version 2016), p. 23, online; J.L. Black (ed.) *PLRE 167-260*, vol. 8, *Private Libraries in Renaissance England: a Collection and Catalogue of Tudor and Early Stuart Book-Lists*, gen. eds. R.J. Fehrenbach and E.S. Leedham-Green (Binghamton, 2014).

⁹¹ K. Sharpe and S. N. Zwicker (eds.), *Reading, Society and Politics in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2003); G. Baker, *Reading and Politics in Early Modern England: the Mental World of a Seventeenth-Century Catholic Gentleman* (Manchester, 2010); A. Boyle, 'Henry Fitzalan, twelfth earl of Arundel: politics and culture in the Tudor nobility' (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Univ. of Oxford, 2002). A. Walsham, 'Dumb Preachers: Catholicism and the Culture of Print', in idem, *Catholic Reformation*, pp. 235-84.

within the county elite as he saw it, and to interpret his social ambition in the years immediately preceding the period considered in this thesis, before the escalation of anti-Catholic legislation. Sketches made by the Northamptonshire architect John Alfred Gotch in the nineteenth century are combined with observations and relevant material in the Tresham Papers to form the source base for this analysis.

IV: Chapter synopses

The thesis provides a comprehensive analysis of the individuals and evidence under consideration from the confessional, social, political, and scholarly perspectives of the time. The first chapter analyses Tresham's circle and how relationships between individuals within it were enacted. It moves beyond office-holding and imprisonment as simple markers of coexistence and resistance to concentrate on the fundamentally human and at times inconsistent ways in which these individuals interacted. It explores Tresham's correspondents in thematic groups, though the boundaries between them were often blurred. It also examines the role of the Catholic clergy in this non-conformist circle. Problems between Tresham and his Catholic kin are explored, challenging a narrative of a harmonious, unified community based on shared religion.

The second chapter considers the relationship between Tresham and the Elizabethan regime in the 1580s. Tresham's pioneering defence in the court of Star Chamber in 1581 is reappraised as a test-case for the intellectual influence of Jesuit priests on the English Catholic gentry, building on existing work on the arguments propagated by Catholic theologians and polemicists. The progression of Tresham's engagement with the regime from his imprisonment in 1581 onwards, is explored including the petition of loyalty probably written by him in 1585 and his sequestration in the Bishop's Palace at Ely during the Armada crisis of 1588. The petition and documents pertaining to it are cast in the context of the flurry of tracts written in the summer of

1584, embodying concerns about the succession and Mary Queen of Scots; the Bond of Association scheme of late 1584 and the Act for the Queen's safety of 1585; the publication of Lord Burghley's *The Execution of Justice* and the response penned by William Allen, *A True, Sincere and Modest Defence*.

The third chapter looks at Tresham's activities from 1590 to his death in September 1605. It casts Tresham as looking beyond Elizabeth's reign, and to his own legacy. There was a physical retreat when he returned to his Northamptonshire home at Rushton for the first time in a decade, his hopes for official recognition of Catholic loyalty dashed, but he did not retreat from the Catholic cause, the rights to practise his faith in his homeland. The chapter argues that Tresham, in line with the interpretation of the 1590s by scholars considering the succession, turned his attention to the prospect of the next reign.⁹² In addition, he was preoccupied by a suit in Chancery brought against him by his Catholic kinswomen, Vaux's daughters from his first marriage, who sued Tresham for their marriage portions. He was imprisoned in the Fleet in 1599 for the last time as a result. In this period Tresham found expression and explored a new kind of resistance in his building projects and in establishing two libraries as a legacy for Catholic education in England. These works of cultural patronage constituted a different kind of resistance to the statements, letters, and petitions of the 1580s. They were explicit statements of Tresham's faith, and they represented his turn to future generations of English Catholics. The following two chapters explore these in more detail.

Chapter four examines the religious symbolism embodied in Tresham's works of cultural patronage: the buildings for which he is famous and a lesser-known crucifixion scene. The chapter takes each work in chronological order: the Rushton crucifixion scene (1577) and the Market House at Rothwell (begun 1578), the Triangular Lodge (1593-7), and Lyveden New Bield

⁹² For a recent example, see S. Doran and P. Kewes (eds.), *Doubtful and Dangerous: the Question of Succession in Late Elizabethan Example* (Manchester, 2014). A full bibliography is offered in ch. 3.

(begun c. 1595). The analysis makes use of the work of architectural historians as well as literary scholarship on recusant spaces.⁹³ Tresham's first and final architectural projects encapsulate the emergent gentleman who envisaged public service and influence and, twenty-six years later, an older man constructing a more private edifice which nonetheless affirmed his unapologetic adherence to an outlawed faith.

Chapter five examines Tresham as a book collector, reader and patron of learning. Tresham's donation of books to the library at St. John's College, Oxford is cast as evidence of his commitment to Catholic education and the future of the faith in England. The implications of this in contrast with those Catholic elites, including Vaux, who sent their children abroad to the continental alternatives to Oxford and Cambridge are drawn out. The donation was made at the behest of Tresham's friend John Case, sometime fellow of St. John's, and a remarkable extant letter from Tresham to Case discussing the donation is analysed. The content and character of Tresham's private library, transferred to the Brudenell family at Deene Park, Northamptonshire over the course of the 1590s, is explored in detail. The insights of private interactions between reader and book in a study of Tresham's marginalia enhance arguments about his politics throughout the thesis.

The sixth and final chapter of this thesis is the first in-depth study of Thomas Jollet's manuscript, Bodl. MSS Eng. Th. b. 1-2, a work of immensely rich potential for the study of English Catholicism in this period. Among its voluminous content is material compiled to commemorate the sufferings and witness of Tresham and other members of his circle. It contains material related to Tresham and several quotations attributed to him. He is described variously as a scholar and a prisoner, and he is listed with other lay Catholics who suffered for the faith during Elizabeth's reign. An account of the work's content is given and new arguments

⁹³ P. Davidson, 'Recusant Catholic Spaces in Early Modern England', in R. Corthell et al. (eds.), *Catholic Culture in Early Modern England* (Notre Dame, IN, 2008), pp. 19-51; A. Spicer and W. Coster (eds.), *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2005); Kilroy, *Memory and Transcription*.

are made for the circumstances of its compilation, its authorship, and its significance to the study of English Catholicism. As a work compiled in the five years following Tresham's death, and partially an act of remembrance for Catholics like him, it provides an epilogue to the thesis.

In order to take into account the Jacobean succession, around which Catholic hopes coalesced, and the Gunpowder Plot and its aftermath, this thesis extends to 1610, the *terminus ante quem* for the compilation of Thomas Jollet's encyclopaedic manuscript. The Reformation had no decisive end date, and none was introduced at the time.⁹⁴ Because of this, the term 'post-Reformation' is not used here as an adjective for the Catholics under discussion; it does not sit easily with Tresham's understanding of the time he was living in.

The thesis concludes by drawing together its central arguments and turning to avenues for further research. Tresham is shown to have harboured criticisms of the monarchs to whom he professed allegiance which complicate our understanding of Catholic elites in Protestant society. He recognised the fundamental conflicts between a regime which saw temporal and religious obedience as inextricably linked and elites who believed that the government should not impinge on their consciences. Through his participation in elite culture, his constructed recusant defiance in books and buildings, Tresham resisted the exclusion of Catholics and Catholicism from English society.

⁹⁴ P. Marshall, *Heretics and Believers: a History of the English Reformation* (New Haven and London, 2017), p. xvii.

I

SIR THOMAS TRESHAM AND HIS CIRCLE

The purpose of this chapter is to narrate and analyse the experiences of Tresham and those closest to him in order to situate the rest of the thesis in its social as well as its political context. Tresham did not exist in a vacuum. Other lives will be relevant to this thesis, and their connection to Tresham is understood here as part of a circle of individuals whose experience was shared but not necessarily identical.¹ This chapter analyses these characters, how they were connected, and what their roles were in each other's lives. It does so guided by the correspondence and other documents which comprise the Tresham Papers.

I: Kith and kin

The characters who appear in the Tresham Papers fall into six categories, though the boundaries were often blurred: first, members of the governing elite, for example privy councillors, noblemen, and other governmental officials; second, neighbours, tenants, and servants; third, kith and kin; fourth, business associates; fifth, clerical acquaintances; sixth, scholarly friends.² The events of Tresham's life in the years of this thesis were dominated by the ways in which he suffered for his faith, and so many of his correspondents were those from whom circumstance

¹ See *OED*, s.v. 'circle', III.21.a: 'A number of persons united by acquaintance, common sentiments, interests, etc.; a 'set' or coterie; a class or division of society, consisting of persons who associate together.' See also *ibid*, s.v. 'coterie', 1: 'An organized association of persons for political, social, or other purposes; a club'; 2 'A circle of persons associated together and distinguished from 'outsiders', a 'set'. The term has been employed in other work on Catholic community and culture. See, for example, H. Hackett, 'The Aston-Thimelby Circle at Home and Abroad: localism, national identity, and internationalism in the English Catholic community' in D. Coleman (ed.), *Region, Religion and Renaissance Literature* (Farnham, 2013), pp. 123-38.

² *OED*, s.v. 'kin', 5, 'kith and kin': 'Acquaintance and kinsfolk, one's friends and relatives; in mod. use often taken merely as a pleonastic phrase for kinsfolk, relatives, family connections'. Use of the term here is inherited from a long literature, including but not limited to: A. Macfarlane, *The Family Life of Ralph Josselin, a Seventeenth-Century Clergyman. An Essay in Historical Anthropology* (Cambridge, 1970); K. Wrightson, 'Household and Kinship in Sixteenth-Century England', *History Workshop Journal*, 12 (1981), pp. 151-8; J. Wormald, *Lords and Men in Scotland: Bonds of Manrent, 1442-1603* (Edinburgh, 1985); D. Cressy, 'Kinship and Kin Interaction in Early Modern England', *P&P*, 113 (1986), pp. 38-69; V. Larminie, *Wealth, Kinship and Culture: the Seventeenth-Century Newdigates of Arbury and their World* (Woodbridge, 1995); Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, pp. 91-6.

demanded clemency: those privy councillors and others of the first group whose favour Tresham humbly sought; and the Church of England clergy of the fifth group whose hospitality Tresham was at times obliged to receive while they supervised him upon royal instructions. These were correspondents whose association Tresham did not necessarily choose, but as evidence of his interaction with the regime they are revealing.³ The second and fourth groups represent Tresham as a gentleman in local society, managing his estates (not always kindly) to establish a legacy of prosperity and to bolster himself against financial demands. The third and sixth groups are the most interesting and the most revealing. Ties of blood and marriage in past and present generations bound Tresham to the Vauxes, Catesbies, and Throckmortons, but he was particularly close to his brother-in-law — though they understood each other as simply ‘brother’ — Vaux.

Rushton Hall, home to the Treshams since 1438, lies in north-east Northamptonshire with Corby to the north and Kettering to the south. Further south by thirty miles or so is Harrowden, home of the Vauxes. Tresham and Vaux lines met in the early fifteenth century when Isobel Vaux married William Tresham. Their great-grandson was Sir Thomas Tresham (d. 1559), whose children Isabel and John both married children of Anthony Catesby of Whiston in the mid-1530s. It was to John and his wife Eleanor née Catesby that Tresham was born in c. 1543. Tresham’s sister Mary became Vaux’s second wife, in 1567. The year before, Tresham had married Muriel, the daughter of Sir Robert Throckmorton of Coughton, Warwickshire, about sixty miles from Rushton. Tresham had been raised in Throckmorton’s household as his ward. Muriel’s sister Anne married William Catesby of Ashby St. Ledgers in the same year. Sir Robert was himself the eldest son of Catherine Vaux. Thus the Treshams, Throckmortons, Vauxes and

³ See chs. 2 and 3.

Catesbies redoubled existing bonds between them within one generation.⁴ The relationship between the Vaux and Tresham families dominates the Tresham Papers, and perhaps because the various entanglements of the Vauxes took up so much of Tresham's time, Catesby and Throckmorton scarcely appear.⁵

Elite families had a responsibility to continue the family line, but the health of their lineage could be endangered both by childhood mortality and adult irresponsibility, as well as the financial tides which threatened the profitability of their lands. Work on gender and the family has shown that bonds between natal and marital kin provided essential support in moments of difficulty in a society which prized lineage and affinity.⁶ For coreligionists whose experience of persecution was shared, the need for support was even greater; so too was the importance of strong marital bonds within the Catholic community.⁷ As parents of nine children, Tresham and Muriel joined their family with those of other Catholics, though not necessarily recusants, as Susan Cogan has demonstrated.⁸ The Treshams acted as sources of advice for several Vauxes,

⁴ J. Lock, 'Tresham, Sir Thomas (1543-1605)', *ODNB*; P. Marshall and G. Scott (eds.), *Catholic Gentry in English Society: the Throckmortons of Coughton from Reformation to Emancipation* (Farnham, 2009); P. Marshall, *Faith and Identity in a Warwickshire Family: the Throckmortons and the Reformation* (Stratford upon Avon, 2010); Anstruther, *Vaux*; see also J. Childs, *God's Traitors: Terror and Faith in Elizabethan England* (2014), which focuses on the Vauxes. Tresham's marriage to a daughter of Throckmorton was the fulfilment of a long-standing agreement between Throckmorton and Tresham's grandfather: see TNA PCC PROB 11/42B, fol. 150v, Will of Sir Thomas Tresham, 4 May 1559. For an in-depth analysis of the connections between these families and others from a different perspective, see Cogan, 'Catholic Gentry', especially ch. 2, and L.A. Verner, 'Post-Reformation Catholicism in the Midlands of England' (unpublished PhD thesis, Univ. of London, King's College, and Univ. of Hong Kong, 2015); idem, 'Catholic Communities and Kinship Networks of the Elizabethan Midlands', *Perichoresis*, 13/1 (2015), pp. 73-95.

⁵ See W. Medcalfe (ed.), *The Visitations of Northamptonshire made in 1564 and 1618-19 with Northamptonshire Pedigrees from Various Harleian MSS* (1887): Tresham of Newton, pp. 50, 146, Geddington and Wold, p. 146, and Rushton, p. 201; Vaux of Harrowden, p. 148; Catesby of Ledgers Ashby, p. 172, and Whiston, p. 174.

⁶ Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, pp. 24-7, 50, 91-6.

⁷ Bossy, *ECC* is foundational; J. Kelly, 'Kinship and Religious Politics among Catholic Families in England, 1570-1640', *History*, 94 (2009), pp. 328-343; G. Baker, *Reading and Politics in Early Modern England: the Mental World of a Seventeenth-Century Catholic Gentleman* (Manchester, 2010); M. Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: politics, aristocratic patronage and religion, c. 1550-1640* (Cambridge, 2006); Marshall and Scott (eds.), *Catholic Gentry in English Society*, esp. p. 13 are representative examples.

⁸ Cogan, 'Catholic Gentry', p. 80.

though relations could also be acrimonious. Marital kin and friends were chosen to some degree, but the intimacy and involvement was of personal design. Tresham's wife was settled for him, but this did not diminish their affection for each other: they addressed each other as 'Good Tres' and relied on letters to share the burden of family and household governance when they were separated by his imprisonment and house arrest. Muriel's suffering during her husband's absence was, to her, as onerous as his, and she hoped that their joint suffering for the faith would earn them eternal reunion. Attesting to the vital importance of Catholic rites, she wrote her will in July 1615:

haveinge received first all the rites of the holie Catholyke Church my bodie to be laide and intered by my husband hopeinge steadfastlie that as we lived together in the feare and love of god and suffered and indured many tentations and troubles for his name sake and the vndoubted Catholyke and apostolyke faith by his grace soe by his mercie we shall arrise together to our endles comforte at the last daie.⁹

Social advantage and religious affiliation afforded marital strategy. Just as his own parents had chosen partners for their children with attention to lineage, local ties, and religious allegiance, Tresham took care to arrange marriages for his children which would be socially advantageous, bolstering the family lineage. In the altered social and political landscape of the new generation, religious allegiance was essential. Whereas his parents had strengthened bonds with local families, Tresham looked to forge new ties with elite Catholic families beyond his own region.¹⁰ Lineage was a constant, and Tresham had six daughters and gave unusually generous portions for a man of his status — between around £2,000 and £3,000 each — to make socially advantageous matches. One daughter, Mary, remained in Northamptonshire marrying Thomas Brudenell of Deene Park in summer 1605. Brudenell would later act as executor for his mother-in-law Muriel's will; he was created baronet in 1611 and became the first Earl of Cardigan in 1661.¹¹ Perhaps the most socially advantageous marriage was that of Elizabeth to the Catholic

⁹ TNA PCC PROB 11/127.

¹⁰ Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 142; Finch, *Wealth*, pp. 78-80.

¹¹ The Brudenells feature in chs. 5-6; see also J. Wake, *The Brudenells of Deene* (2nd edn., 1954) p. 58 n. 26 and Medcalfe, *Vistations*, p. 168.

William Parker, thirteenth Baron Morley, in 1589.¹² Three daughters married Wiltshire Catholic families: Catherine married John Webb of Odstock; Frances married Edward, tenth Baron Stourton, a grandson of Edward, third Earl of Derby; Bridget married Edward Parham of Somerset. Frances' marriage into the Stourton family joined the Treshams with a kinship network which included Sir John Arundell — as stepfather to Edward Stourton — and his wife Lady Anne Stanley, daughter of Edward, 3rd Earl of Derby and Dorothy née Howard, half-sister of Thomas Howard, 3rd Duke of Norfolk.¹³ Stourton's sister Mary was the wife of Francis Tregian, arrested in 1577 for harbouring Cuthbert Mayne. Tregian was an early victim of Elizabethan imprisonment for priest-harbouring, and he was imprisoned in the Marshalsea and the Fleet continuously from 1579 to 1601 following his conviction for *praemunire*. Mary was allowed to visit her husband and to stay with him from 1580 onwards: their ten children were born during this period.¹⁴ Other children were married into south-eastern Catholic circles. After Tresham's death, his daughter Anne married William Thatcher of Priesthawes in Sussex, in 1612. Tresham's son Francis married Ann, the daughter of Sir John Tufton of Hothfield, Kent, in 1593.¹⁵ Lewis Tresham married the Spanish step-daughter of a London alderman, Maria Perez Racalde,

¹² M. Nicholls, 'Parker, William, thirteenth Baron Morley and fifth or first Baron Mounteagle (1574/5-1622)', *ODNB*.

¹³ Webb: Burke, *Peerage*, p. 1028; J. Hammond, 'Webb of Great Canford, Dorset, and Odstock, Wilts.', *Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset*, ed. F.W. Weaver and C.H. Mayo (Sherborne, 1907), p. 212. Stourton: Burke, *Peerage*, p. 941; C. Mowbray, *The History the Noble House of Stourton: of Stourton, in the County of Wilts*, 2 vols. (1899), i, pp. 449-91; TNA PCC PROB 11/163, Will of Edward, Lord Stourton, 30 April 1633. Parham: Burke, *Baronetcies*, p. 532; Parham took part in the Bye Plot in 1603 but was not indicted: see M. Nicholls, 'Treason's Reward: the Punishment of Conspirators in the Bye Plot of 1603', *HJ*, 38/4 (1995), pp. 821-42. There was a tendency towards radical violent resistance among members of the second generation, including Parham and Parker, as well as the Vaux, Tresham, and Catesby kin who were involved in the Essex Rebellion and Gunpowder Plot. It deserves deeper investigation than is possible in this study.

¹⁴ E. Havens and E. Patton, 'Underground Networks, Prisons and the Circulation of Counter-Reformation Books in Elizabethan England', in J.E. Kelly and S. Royal (eds.), *Early Modern English Catholicism: Identity, Memory and Counter-Reformation* (Leiden, 2017), pp. 182-3.

¹⁵ Thatcher (or Thetcher): East Sussex Record Office AMS 6270/66, Transcript of the escheator's inquisition on the death of James Thetcher of Priesthawes, 27 July 1613, contains a recitation of the settlement on the marriage of William Thatcher to Ann Tresham dated 24 January 1612, including a settlement of £2600 paid by Muriel Tresham as her husband's administratrix. The Thatchers had oscillated between recusancy and conformity and had connections to William Allen: *Newsletters from the Archpresbyterate of George Birkhead*, ed. M.C. Questier, Camden Soc., 5th ser., 12 (1998), p. 222 n. 1092; idem, *Catholicism and Community*, pp. 57, 103. Tufton: W. Berry, *County Genealogies: Pedigrees of the Families of the County of Sussex* (1830), p. 237.

in 1603, and Tresham made extensive notes on her parentage, recording with some pride that ‘the family of Recalde is of great credit in Spain, and great means hath been made by that house’.¹⁶ The third son, William, married Theodosia Reade of Cotesbrooke, Northamptonshire.¹⁷

The early years

Prior to 1580, Tresham does not appear to have aroused suspicion and likely conformed. He inherited a family tradition of royal service, and of loyalty to the Tudor monarchs, but also of support of Catholic rule. On 19 July 1553, Tresham’s grandfather and namesake had proclaimed Queen Mary at Northampton, ‘with the ayd and helpe of the towne’ and contrary to the protestations of the sheriff, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, who apparently supported Lady Jane Grey and tried to oppose Tresham.¹⁸ Under Elizabeth, there were signs that Tresham and Vaux would find themselves in favour. Tresham was knighted at Kenilworth in 1575, and Vaux had been among the noblemen chosen to accompany Queen Elizabeth from Hatfield to London in 1558.¹⁹ In 1569 Justices of the Peace were required to subscribe to the Act of Uniformity.²⁰ Vaux did so on 18 November. Despite not attending Parliament and entering proxies — the earl of Bedford in 1559 and Burghley in 1572 — Vaux served the Crown.²¹ He was Commissioner for Musters in 1569 and 1570, sat on a committee for ‘dealing with vagabonds and the eating of meat at forbidden times’ in 1572, and served on the commission for gaol delivery in 1578 and 1579.²² Yet he was also listed as a Catholic peer in 1567, and as a supporter of Mary, Queen of Scots, in 1568. During the eponymous plot of 1571 Ridolfi even invoked Vaux’s name — but not that of

¹⁶ Cokayne, *Baronetage*, p. 56; *HMCR* iii, p. 133; see also I.Z. Tsakirópoulou ‘The Piety and Charity of London’s Female Elite, c. 1580-1630’ (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Univ. of Oxford, 2016), p. 251.

¹⁷ Medcalfe, *Visitations*, p. 202.

¹⁸ Nicholas’ brother John ‘drafted the proclamation declaring Jane Grey as Queen, though his conscience was reportedly “troubled therewith”, Marshall and Scott (eds.), *Catholic Gentry in English Society*, p. 10; S. Lehmborg, ‘Throckmorton, Sir Nicholas (1515/16–1571)’, *ODNB*.

¹⁹ Anstruther, *Vaux*, pp. 63; 96; John Nichols’s *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I: a New Edition of the Early Modern Sources*, vol. 2, 1572 to 1578, ed. E. Goldring, *et al* (Oxford, 2014), p. 263; LaRocca, ‘William Vaux’.

²⁰ E. Rose, *Cases of Conscience: Alternatives Open to Recusants and Puritans under Elizabeth I and James I* (Cambridge, 1975), pp. 37-9.

²¹ *LJ*, i, pp. 541, 728.

²² LaRocca, ‘William Vaux’.

Tresham — as one of forty noblemen apparently waiting for an opportunity to take up arms against Elizabeth.²³ Vaux probably had no such designs, and Ridolfi's position lent itself to wild claims, but the association was nonetheless dangerous. Tresham was among prominent Catholics on a list made by Burghley in response to Nicholas Sander's invasion of Ireland in July 1579, though there is no evidence that he was questioned.²⁴ Vaux did not appear on that list, but in May 1585 Vaux and his household were cited as recusants in the Visitation Book of the Archdeacon of Northampton.²⁵

In 1576 and 1577 Tresham was establishing himself as a gentleman, with all the duties and responsibilities to kin and local government entailed within that society.²⁶ He finished a muniment room at Rushton some time before 1576, and stored in there details of bonds between him and Lord Vaux totalling £10,000. When damp compromised their legibility, Vaux was present with other witnesses as new copies were made on 17 July 1576.²⁷ Work began on Tresham's market cross at Rothwell in 1578. It was supposed to be 'a statement of his concern for the good governance of his "country" and his friendship with the local gentry' and was likely intended as a sessions house, but it did not come to fruition and was left unfinished until the nineteenth century.²⁸

Vaux

Though Vaux was Tresham's superior in age and rank, he leant heavily on Tresham. Like Tresham, Vaux was subject to financial penalties and endeavoured to make advantageous matches for his children. Unlike Tresham, shrewd and innovative management of his estate to

²³ Anstruther, *Vaux*, pp. 103-4.

²⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 112-3, citing BL Harl. MS 360, no. 1. Burghley's list is undated, but was likely made between the invasion of Ireland by Nicholas Sander in July 1579 and the arrest of Campion two years later

²⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 112-3.

²⁶ Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, pp. 6-19.

²⁷ *ibid.*, p. 106.

²⁸ Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 137; C. Holmes, 'Heralds and Heraldry in Shakespeare's England', ed. Nigel Ramsay, *EHR*, 131/550 (2016), pp. 660-661, at p. 661. I am grateful to Clive Holmes for discussions about this, and for sharing his review.

maximise revenue did not come easily, and so he relied on the talents and generosity of his brother-in-law. As well as acting as his kinsman's executor, Tresham stood surety for Vaux's debts as was customary for gentlemen; on one occasion Tresham found himself sued for £2,400 when Vaux failed to repay a loan of £300.²⁹ The relationship cost Tresham's purse dearly, but did not diminish the loyalty to and affection for his 'dear beloved' and 'golden, gilded Lord'.³⁰

Early modern letters were often collective products: it is rarely helpful to consider them as having one sender and one recipient in the literal sense.³¹ One of many services which Tresham performed for his brother Vaux was drafting letters, though we do not know why. In October 1581, Tresham drafted Vaux's letter of complaint to Lady Montagu at Boughton, Northamptonshire, to whose house Vaux had been committed 'for religion'.³² Vaux accused her of slander during his already embarrassing absence as a close prisoner, and, with her husband, of having exacerbated by ill treatment the humiliation of a nobleman being held prisoner in the house of a gentleman neighbour. Alison Shell detected the use of the Biblical exemplar of Miriam to chide Lady Montagu for unfeminine forthrightness in discussing religion with Vaux.³³ Montagu was accused of defaming Vaux behind his back, doing further damage to his honour. At a time when both Vaux and Tresham felt an acute need for the support of their neighbours it seemed to compound their new — and to them, unjust — vulnerability. The letter illustrates just how damaging the situation was for Vaux, and how highly he and Tresham prized kinsmanly loyalty and duty:

As indewly, yea, too, too lewdely, contriue to add affliction to affliction. And when euen now, to bee entreprised against mee, in my present inexpected and deep disgrace ... with brasen face as it were sholde with notorius lies, and lothed

²⁹ TNA PCC PROB 11/88, Will of William Vaux Lord Harrowden, 22 November 1596; Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 161; Finch, *Wealth*, pp. 83-4. See also Cressy, 'Kinship and Kin Interaction', especially p. 49.

³⁰ *HMCR* iii, p. 81.

³¹ G. Schneider, *The Culture of Epistolarity: vernacular letters and letter-writing in Early Modern England, 1500-1700* (Newark, 2005), p. 23.

³² See ch. 2.

³³ A. Shell, 'Elizabeth Cary's Historical Conscience: *The Tragedy of Mariam* and Thomas Lodge's *Josephus*', in H. Wolfe (ed.), *The Literary Career and Legacy of Elizabeth Cary, 1613-1680* (Basingstoke and New York, 2007), pp. 53-68, at p. 60.

ingratitude recompence good with euill, and bee become a bakkbyter and defamer ... by al onely of yo^w, my good lady, and better frende who for yo^r husbands sake I haue esteemed ... Mark withall, the cunnige cowching of this shameless sclander, to bee now raised in the tyme of my absence forth of the countrie, and in my restraynte of libertie, and closs inprisonement hear, when by all likely hode I sholde neuer haue herde thereof. o wikked deuise. o diuilshe drifte. Better bee the wondes of a trew frende, then a judas kiss of a couerttemie. yett that of my kinsman so neare in bludd to mee, and frende so assuured in sondrie offices of cortesies: To haue the selfe same may (withowte any offence moued agaynst might descant of mee) to bee become so exstreeme ane ennemie, to my honor and reputation, as vanelly, and loosely, to suggest things, nether spoken nor once thought of by mee: In good sooth my witt will not shute leuell or his forene intention, in so meare a treachery: wherfor the preseruatioun, of my good name, and especially amonge my kinsmen, neyghbors, and frendes biinge of more price with mee: then els any worldely treasure: And the same no less dearer to mee, then yo^{rs} is to yo^r selfe.³⁴

Muriel Tresham

Almost one-third of early modern women's letters were letters of petition in some form.

During Tresham's first imprisonment in the Fleet his wife Muriel relied on her female kin to open up routes for petition. The surviving correspondence from this period between 1581 and 1583 contains four letters of petition drafted by Tresham in his own hand. It is assumed that they were then copied, signed by Muriel, and sent in her name to privy councillors and her noble kin.³⁵ This was a common phenomenon, but because the drafts only have survived we do not know what was actually sent.³⁶ The drafting process allowed Tresham to shape the content while benefiting from the emotional force of a female author writing as wife and mother. He drew on conventional female roles and concerns: the children, a wife's position, and the household.³⁷ This need not be interpreted negatively: while Tresham was partially controlling the content, we cannot know what degree of influence his wife had over the final draft. She may, for example, have been present while a clerk — likely George Levens,

³⁴ BL Add. MS 39828, fol. 59r, Lord Vaux to Lady Montagu, 23 October 1581, draft and summary in Tresham's hand.

³⁵ BL Add MS 39828 fols., 75r, 84r-v, 87r-v, 90r. These letters are discussed below, where fuller references are provided; see pp. 55-9.

³⁶ Cogan, 'Catholic Gentry', pp. 144-51; J. Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers in Tudor England* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 75, 147, 229.

³⁷ See E. Sadlack, 'Petitioning power: the Rhetorical Fashioning of Elizabethan Women's Letters', in M.R. Denbo (ed.), *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts, IV: Papers of the Renaissance English Text Society, 2002-2006* (Tempe, AZ, 2008), pp. 229-37.

Tresham's steward — copied out the letters. She may have edited or rephrased as part of this process. Moreover, the exercise fell within typical roles for elite women in this period, and it was expected that women would use their position to improve their family's prospects, and that men would use their female relatives as 'intermediaries in their legal and political affairs'.³⁸

The correspondents are Lady Herbert, Countess of Worcester — a childhood friend — and her husband William Somerset, 3rd Earl of Worcester, and Bridget Hussey, the Countess of Bedford. Muriel wrote to Lady Herbert as the 'wofull wife of a distressed prisoner' and thanked her for her constancy during the family's ostracisation, 'even in this owre great want of frendes'. In this draft, dated 18 December 1582 from Hoxton, the Treshams were evidently concerned that their circumstances pushed them to rely on the kindness of friends, and that they may never be able to repay the debt: 'Which when in equall ballance I do beholde, I am constrayned, to stand al amayzed, when I forcast how to performe the infinite debt of those'.³⁹ The types of aid the Treshams received were varied: these letters of petition were not simply requests for intercession to secure Tresham's release. Lord and Lady Herbert had looked after one of the Treshams' sons, their 'poore kinseman'. From Muriel's lavish praise of Lady Herbert's mother, it appears that the friendship had been forged in childhood:

I cane not but admire yor virtues: worthie yo^r honorable parentadge whence yo^v ar discended (namely that worthy lady, yo^r ~~mother~~ dear mother and my first and laste, and best beloved mistress, whose soole god pardon, and who in her lifetime was the trew paterne of womanly modestie, gravities, wisdom and godlines) worthie, ^{^yea} so wise worthie a lorde, as yo^v ^{^ar} (in this owre corrupt age of manores and religion) right blessedly mached withall: And wel worthie the exspectation, that from yo^r cradle, yo^v ever aboded, to all that wer aquaynted with yo^v, in yo^r most childishe yeares. god graunte yor ever perseverance, in this yo^r verteusly commenced race, and enable vs deservedly on owre partes to be worthie the frendship of so rare a frend.⁴⁰

³⁸ A. Thorne, 'Women's Petitionary Letters and Early Seventeenth-Century Treason Trials', *Women's Writing*, 13/1 (2006), pp. 23-43, at p. 23. See also J. Daybell, 'Scripting a Female Voice: Women's Epistolary Rhetoric in Sixteenth-Century Letters of Petition', *ibid.*, pp. 3-22; *idem*, "'Ples acsep thes my skrybled lynes": the Construction and Conventions of Women's Letters in England, 1540-1603', *Quidditas: the Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association*, 20 (1999), pp. 207-23.

³⁹ BL Add. MS 39828, fol. 75r, Lady Tresham to Lady Herbert, 18 December 1582, draft in Tresham's hand.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*

Shared faith is implicit. The complaint that ‘at this instant of deepe adversitie, when al possibl[ity] and hoope of desparinge on owre partes (other than by owre beades) is vtterly taken away’ might be read as a careful reference to praying the rosary and the loss of public Catholic worship, or simply as a synonym for prayers of any kind, and the condemnation of ‘this owre corrupt age of manores and religion’ is perhaps a less veiled criticism of Protestant society.⁴¹ Another draft letter to Lady Herbert, dated 13 June 1583 at Hoxton, is extremely similar.⁴² It may be a revision, or it may be that Muriel had found yet greater cause to thank her childhood friend in the five months that elapsed between the two drafts; Muriel sent similar thanks to Lord Herbert in the same month.⁴³ We learn that the two women had grown up together, ‘when both you and i wer yonge and brought vpp together vnder yor right virtuous mother (ane excellent paterne in this corrup[t] age of manners of al womenly modestie gravtie and christion governmentt...)’. If this was a second draft, it had been revised to heap even greater praise on the Countess, framed in religious terms which cast her as heaven-sent:

if one angell of light hade beene *himselfe* the messenger of infayllable gladd tidings to mee, and hade signified that I was not deceved in my iudgementt, for that this yonge and virtuous inclined lady who I favored above the rest, was she, that I shold reepe *from* her a most notable and worthie favor.⁴⁴

Lady Herbert replied warmly a week later — another suggestion that only the second draft was copied and sent — fondly recalling their shared upbringing, and promising continued affection: ‘at such tym as you & I being young impes together were trained & brought up / & for my part I do determine so to contineu to my end / hauing the like good opinion of youe / I maine my good wyl & affection which to youe & yours shal neuer fayle’. Herbert had evidently settled the education of ‘my cosin your sonn’, and reassured Muriel that

⁴¹ *ibid.*; *OED*, s.v. ‘beads’ I. 1a-2b.

⁴² BL Add. MS 39828, fol. 90r, Lady Tresham to Lord Herbert, June 1583, draft in Tresham’s hand.

⁴³ BL Add. MS 39828, fol. 90r.

⁴⁴ BL Add. MS 39828, fol. 87r-v, Lady Tresham to Lady Herbert, 13 June 1583, draft in Tresham’s hand, at fol. 87r.

my care ouer him I confess was the best circumstances of a hundred to manetaine hym in vertu. for considering his owne good inclination of nature together with the great care of hym to whose tuition he was committed he culd not lyghtly chuse but dooe well.⁴⁵

Letters ‘spoke volumes about connection, about the initiation, consolidation, and maintenance of social ties’.⁴⁶ It may be noted that the language in these letters reflects the gendered relationships between correspondents, and Tresham’s awareness of them, but it is startling to read female intimacy mediated through a male author. Writing to Muriel’s kinswoman, Tresham was to give precedent to Muriel’s experience as a ‘wofull’ wife and mother, and connected Lady Herbert’s kindness to the pious example set by her mother during their childhood. In the letter to Lord Herbert, Muriel’s thanks were framed by the separation of father and son, ‘in this my husbands greatt aduersetie’. During Tresham’s imprisonment, ‘owre son hath long been absentt ... [and] requireth now the speciall oversight of his father’, but Tresham had now made arrangements to look after his son himself: ‘my husband hath appoynted this owre boy, to be at ... spede as he conveniently may ... immediately to come vpp to his father’.⁴⁷ In a draft letter of petition from Muriel to the Countess of Bedford on 27 May 1583, Tresham expressed the family’s plight from the perspective of familial roles shared by both women — wives and mothers — to establish common ground between his wife and her superior patron.⁴⁸

Bridget Hussey, Countess of Bedford was Muriel’s maternal aunt. Elizabeth and Bridget Hussey were two of the eight children of the second marriage of John Hussey, 1st Baron Hussey of Sleaford, Lincolnshire to Anne Grey. Twice widowed, Bridget married Francis Russell, 2nd Earl of Bedford, in 1566.⁴⁹ Muriel may well have enjoyed a close relationship with her maternal aunt, but there is no suggestion of it here, and she was asking her to

⁴⁵ BL Add. MS 39828, fol. 88r-v, Lady Herbert to Lady Tresham, 21 June 1583, at fol. 88r.

⁴⁶ Schneider, *Culture of Epistolarity*, p. 67.

⁴⁷ BL Add. MS 39828, fol. 90r.

⁴⁸ *ibid.*, fol. 84r-v, Lady Tresham to the Countess of Bedford, 27 May 1583, draft in Tresham’s hand.

⁴⁹ W.T. MacCaffrey, ‘Russell, Francis, second earl of Bedford (1526/7-1585)’, *ODNB*.

involve herself with her husband's business. The Earl of Bedford had been one of the Queen's counsel at Tresham's trial, so to relieve Tresham now would be to ask a great deal of him. Though we know nothing of Bridget's faith, Russell was reputed to be a 'stalwart and outspoken supporter of a vigorous evangelical protestantism', and this was a further impediment to his favour.⁵⁰ The letter protested the terms of Tresham's imprisonment in a house, not his own, at Hoxton, where 'he remove but from one prison to another'. Without their patriarch, 'owre litle children rest continually deprived of their fathers comferte and direction', and their mother, a 'Looly wife on my knees', was 'always ... forced to sende my daughter into the towne to lodge, wher I may provide her a bed'.⁵¹ In her language, Muriel was 'presenting an act of obeisance usually performed in person'.⁵²

The nature of Muriel's complaints were aligned with the concerns traditionally attributed to areas of female influence: her husband's health, and the condition of the domestic space.⁵³ Tresham's health was 'wonderfully impared with thes tow yeares imprisonment', and the domestic arrangements of his new prison were morally and atmospherically inappropriate:

wher he is now vnder a waywarde warden, very badly entertened, in worss wise devided from wife and children, and too too badly lodged as with extremitie of dayly smoke bitterly annoyed, and with continuall treatt redy in this hot whott season to be sweltred, his chamber beinge allotted over a noysom smookye kechin, rudely and disioygnedly borded, and not a whitt sealed, that my husbände wer as good to ly in the kechin, as over the kechin in respite of noyes, smoke, heatt, lothsom savors, and that which is worste, in ofte hearing vngodly, lascivius, and blasphemus speches, And withall so skanted of romth and beddinge, is this vile chamber thus pestered with enormities...⁵⁴

⁵⁰ *ibid.*

⁵¹ BL Add. MS 39828, fol. 84r.

⁵² Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*, p. 251.

⁵³ S. Mendelson and P. Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England, 1550-1720* (Oxford, 1998), p. 303 and *passim*; B. Harris, 'Sisterhood, Friendship and the Power of English Aristocratic Women, 1450-1550', in J. Daybell (ed.), *Women and Politics in Early Modern England, 1450-1700* (Aldershot, 2004), p. 21. It has been argued persuasively that the current understanding of the spheres of female influence requires expansion: see, for example, G. Allen, *The Cooke Sisters: Education, Piety and Politics in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 2013).

⁵⁴ BL Add. MS 39828, fol. 84r.

If Tresham could be confined to his own house at Hoxton, the order of the household would be restored:

That by removinge him to his howse as aforsayd, he then shal be his owne keperr, shal be conueniently placed, shal contentedly dispose of himself in securitie, quiett and helth, and wee, his wife and many children, shal thereby enioy him owre speciall guide, and principall worldly direction which ceemeth mee and mine so muche.

Muriel's letter would address her aunt as a wife who had also suffered during the absence of her husband. She 'derected a vofull vifes supplication ... to a wise wife, to a lovinge wife, yea and to a wife who hath in like stormes tasted of crosses layd vppon my vncle' and therefore asked her aunt to recall 'what passed greefes yow earst endured' when

[my] sayd vncle, yor husbande, for his securities was driven to abandon his natife contrie to leave yow desolate in widowes wise, and his then [little] one fatherless, in respecte of his fathers forced absence, and also, as it wer motherless, in regarde that yow then wer dangerusly wonded with hepe of overwhelminge sorrowes.⁵⁵

By appealing to her kin, Muriel opened up petitionary routes for her husband, and the rhetorical force of a 'wooful wife' writing on behalf of her children was likely more persuasive than Tresham would have been. Though a formal response does not survive, and perhaps never existed, there were no further petitions, and Tresham was in his own Hoxton residence by late 1583 — we may reasonably conclude that the letters were successful.

Difficulties between Vaux and Tresham I: the marriage of George Vaux

On 19 April 1583, Tresham drafted a letter from Vaux to a 'Mr. Farmer', likely the conformist Catholic George Fermor of Easton Neston, Northamptonshire, to ask for advice.⁵⁶ With his estate under duress from fines and imprisonment, Vaux had been offered a 'very worshipful

⁵⁵ *ibid.*, fol. 84v. It is not clear to which of Bridget's three husbands Muriel was referring, but it is likely to have been her present husband Francis Russell, who was called away to Scotland as part of his royal service, during which he made repeated requests to return. It is interesting, though not germane to this study, that royal service should be described in the language of exile. See MacCaffrey, 'Russell, Francis'.

⁵⁶ George Fermor, son and heir of Sir John Fermor, was not knighted until 1586, which would explain the use of 'Mr'. See Burke, *Peerage*, iii, p. 799. Aspects of his service in local government have been reconstructed in Cogan, 'Catholic Gentry', pp. 28-9, 47-8, 74, 136, 152, 160-63, 175-6. For the Fermors, principally an Oxfordshire family, see A. Davidson, 'Roman Catholicism in Oxfordshire from the late Elizabethan period to the Civil War, 1580-1640' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of Bristol, 1970), pp. 70-74.

match' with 'no small portion' for one of his sons. He had duly approached his eldest son, but was met with flat refusal. He now turned his attention to his second son, and hoped that Fermor would assist without arousing suspicion from the family of Vaux's late first wife — the Beaumonts of Grace Dieu, Leicestershire — who might have tried to impede the matter.⁵⁷ His fears were not misplaced. Tresham's efforts on Vaux's behalf were particularly onerous where Vaux's children were concerned because they brought family matters to the attention of the courts. Tresham's influence was questioned and his involvement in suits was time-consuming and expensive. Most injuriously, the claimants defamed him in the eyes of the courts and the Privy Council. Their claims that Tresham exercised too much influence over his kin were suggestive. Coupled with those moments in his life when his Catholicism was the subject of his interaction with the government, the image of Tresham in the legal processes brought against him by his Catholic kin was that of a ringleader who tried to direct his coreligionists.

Between 1585 and 1600 Tresham was engaging with three processes resulting from the actions of Vaux's children. The subject of each suit was marriage. The disquiet with Vaux's children began when George, Vaux's eldest son by his second wife Mary née Tresham, married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir John Roper of Linestead in Kent, on 25 July 1585 at Harrowden. It is usually supposed that the pair married for love, but no evidence survives of the prior relationship between the two families.⁵⁸ George married two months before reaching his majority, while Vaux was confined to his London house at Hackney, contrary to the terms of a settlement made on 20 April of that year designed to protect the Vaux estate from the legal penalties associated with their Catholicism, and very much against his father's wishes. Henry, Vaux's eldest son by his first wife, was intended for the priesthood, so the Vaux property would go to the children of Vaux's second marriage — George, then his younger brothers Edward and Ambrose — unless marriage without permission rendered it void. The Ropers were a Kentish Catholic family, being

⁵⁷ BL Add. MS 39828, fols. 82r-3v, Lord Vaux to Mr. Farmer, 19 April 1583, draft in Tresham's hand.

⁵⁸ Anstruther, *Vaux*, p. 206.

descended from Sir Thomas More through his daughter Margaret, but Vaux was primarily concerned with the protection of his estate and its legacy.⁵⁹ Marriage was an essential component in this scheme of survival.⁶⁰ The Ropers were not poor, but it is likely that Elizabeth's dowry was less generous than the princely £3,500 which Vaux had apparently been offered by another family, a boost to the family coffers which was lost when George married Elizabeth. Though the identity of this other family is not known, we may speculate that they could have been a Midlands Catholic family whose alliance would have strengthened regional kinship bonds. Moreover, it was typical for fathers to play a part in the negotiations of the children's spouses, and Vaux had been circumvented in this case.⁶¹ George was disinherited and the property passed to Ambrose, who occupied a precarious legal position as a student in a continental English College, likely at St. Omer, and was heavily in debt.⁶²

The situation was further complicated when Henry, the eldest son, died in November 1587. George became the heir to the Vaux barony, while Ambrose would receive the property. Sir John Roper went to law to guarantee his son-in-law's inheritance and to safeguard his daughter's familial and financial security in 1589. The consequent family rifts aside, it prevented Vaux from using his lands to pay his debts. Roper and Ambrose acted without the knowledge of Vaux and Tresham and while neither was at liberty because of threat of Spanish invasion: Vaux had been committed to the care of the Archbishop of Canterbury on 7 December 1587 and Tresham was in the custody of the Bishop of Lincoln at Buckden from July 1588, and thence to the vacant Bishops' Palace at Ely. The ensuing acrimony between the three parties, with Roper and

⁵⁹ Sir John Roper was later created first Baron Teynham (1616): Burke, *Peerage*, p. 974. A Kentish family, the Ropers were Catholic and several members pursued legal careers. Roper married Elizabeth, the daughter and coheir of Richard Parke, esq., of Malmaine, Kent. An uncle, William Roper, was Thomas More's biographer: H. Trevor-Roper, 'Roper, William (1495x8-1578)', *ODNB*.

⁶⁰ Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 60.

⁶¹ B. Harris, *English Aristocratic Women, 1450-1550: Marriage and Family, Property and Careers* (Oxford, 2002), p. 53.

⁶² Anstruther, *Vaux*, pp. 205-16 narrates the whole affair; Ambrose was granted a passport home in August 1586: BL MS Harleian 1582, Walsingham Papers, fol. 59r, cited in Anstruther, *Vaux*, p. 206. He had also been in Rome in spring 1582: C. Ennis, 'Edward Arden and the Dudley earls of Warwick and Leicester, c. 1572-1583', *BCH*, 33/2 (2016), pp. 170-210, at p. 199 n. 169.

Tresham each resentful of the other's involvement, was so severe that the Privy Council had to arbitrate.

Though Roper sought to defame Tresham as a meddler taking advantage of his 'simple' brother-in-law, Vaux saw things differently. He petitioned the Privy Council to release Tresham from prison in order that he might help Vaux to settle the matter, 'as such conueyances and assurances as abouesaid cannot be made (as we are credibly informed) without the personall presence of his Brother', and on 20 March 1590 the Council duly wrote to Tresham's gaoler, Richard Arkinsall, to release Tresham to London on a bond of £500 until 8 July. On 4 July Roper wrote to Lord Burghley to accuse Tresham of interference, manipulation, and slander in order to control Vaux and to secure his own liberty, 'in polycye to continyue his lybetie, doth he set on the Lo: Vaux to sue vnto yo^r Lo.ship & to the rest of the LL for more tyme of lybertie, for the endinge of his causes: and to slaunder me'. Tresham had 'intruded him selfe, as the disposer of all in my Lo. Vaux his estate, & the commaunder of him & all his' so that Vaux 'dare not more offend him, then a childe his Master havinge a rodde in his hande'. Damningly, Tresham had 'vpon malyce to his nephew M^r George Vaux for maryinge my daughter, & refusing to be disposed by him, did poyson the booke of conveyance of all my Lo. Vaux his landes'. Roper argued that Tresham desired that 'I [Roper] must have noe end with my Lo: Vaux, except suche as he will make wherby he maye still rule & reygne over my Lo & all his'.⁶³

Roper wrote again, four days later, to defame Tresham through further allegations of scheming. He accused Tresham of having stolen a manor from Vaux, and warned that Tresham knew of the Council's proceedings because they had been 'speedyly delyuered vnto him by the simple Lo. Vaux'. Further, Roper played up his fears of repercussion from Tresham to beg discretion:

Nowe my good Lo: for that I knowe howe muche he would malyce me, & what a revenginge course he will take agaynste hys nephew my sonne in lawe & my poor daughter; yf he should knowe that I delyuered these notes vnto yo^u: I humbly beseeche yo^r Lo:ship they maye not be seene of others.

⁶³ TNA SP 12/233, fol. 13r, Sir John Roper to Lord Burghley, 4 July 1590.

What Roper really wanted was to prevent any future Tresham involvement in Vaux affairs: 'that Sir Tho. Tresam may be seuered from vs, & discharged from dealinge further therin ... I knowe he is determined to rule & over rule all'.⁶⁴ Though the cause may have prompted some effusiveness, Tresham's defence illustrates the depth of his friendship — despite its trials — with Vaux:

whose good will even from my cradle I haue in highest degree enioyed; and firmest friendship by the space of manie a Prentishipp; in strongest allye betwene vs vnited: who hath also loved me longest, esteemed mee dearest, and by the space of full Twentie seven yeares (in matters of greatest weight) most truste in me hathe ever reposed.⁶⁵

Tresham continued to remonstrate with his nephew George for the trouble his 'braynles baynfefull matche' had caused. He wrote, at Vaux's insistence, late at night on 9 November 1592

So hathe the lamentable sequelles therof since prooued the heuiest crosses that happed me in this my twelue yeares imprisonment, and aduersitie. ... Deeper wedginge in my Lord your father into impleacable miserie. Kindlinge of vnkindnes twixt yo^r naturall parentes, who all their lifes had lyued in godliest concorde: Bereaiving and defacing them at their owne doores of their woonted vnpriceable credit in the countrey. Yowe and yours att warres with them & theirs dissolving the Autentique amitie conteyned diuers discentes betwene Harrowdon and Rushton families.⁶⁶

Tresham wrote again a few months later to chide George's unchristian conduct:

Yo^r falting in highest degree towards mee I in private repraue as became a kinsman & Christian. But yo^u haue done neith^r the one nor the oth^r towards me. God forgeue you & graunte yo^u ever more of his grace. Smallie to my profitt prooue I the words of the profitt most trewe: *Inimici hominis domestici ejus* [a man's enemies shall be of his own household].⁶⁷

Shortly afterwards, he appealed again to his nephew's sense of familial duty:

The same not onely euer to dyscharge a lovyng vncles dew in behovefully advyeing yo^u, but pryncpally to performe the offyce of faythfullest frende in petitioneswyse besechyng and instantly beggyng of yo^u what in fyllyall duty you most owght, to the speddy relevyng [^]and ryddyng^e yor honorable parentes [^]forth of thes ther many yeares inspeacable myseryes.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ *ibid.*, fol. 22r, Roper to Burghley, 8 July 1590.

⁶⁵ *ibid.*, fol. 21r, Tresham to Burghley, 7 July 1590.

⁶⁶ BL Add. MS 39828, fols. 169r-170v, Tresham to George Vaux, 9 November 1592.

⁶⁷ *ibid.*, fols. 178r-180r, Tresham to George Vaux, 15 January 1593, draft in Tresham's hand; *ibid.*, fol. 180v, Tresham to George Vaux, 15 February 1593, draft in Tresham's hand; Matthew 10:36.

⁶⁸ *ibid.*, fols. 193r-195v, at fol. 193r, Tresham to George Vaux, 28 February 1593, draft in Tresham's hand.

Tresham also wrote to his sister — George's mother — advising how best to curtail George's recklessness and minimise the damage incurred:

Who behouldeth this needes censure must my nephew for arrantest Asse to be thus measureleslie loaded by plotted confederacie, yf it be a packe on all partes. Yf not, he is to be reputed a monster then a manne, yea a viper then a Vaux, that will remorceleslie rent out the bowelles of his honorable parentes ... and not meanlie pitttieth their lamentable plight.⁶⁹

Tresham alluded to his involvement in the admission of a bill concerning the sale of extensive Vaux lands: 'as concernning our successe in Parliament'.⁷⁰ Roper's claims about the extent of Tresham's role in Vaux's affairs were accurate, but he was joining with his sister and her husband, not trying to overrule them. Tresham chided Ambrose for his part in his own undoing, and for adding to his parents' woes: 'Amonge Christianes yt hathe accustomed beene saied, Denie not right vnto a Deuille. Suche hathe beene yor reprobate demeanure towardes yor honorable lovinge parentes: And suche ys yor loose, riottous & synnefull misgouernement devulged & published to the world'.⁷¹ Tresham's attempts to rescue the Vaux estate were laborious. Between April and May 1593 alone they involved a letter to his cousin Cheyney about the manor at Woodford; more advice to his sister Lady Vaux; drafting a letter and brief on Vaux's behalf for the Lord Treasurer, including a fair copy by his steward George Levens to be sent to the scribe Mr. Martin. For Lady Tresham's part, she wrote to her niece Merrill explaining the case in May 1593.⁷²

The ill-advised marriage of George Vaux to Elizabeth Roper had repercussions for the whole Vaux family, and for the Treshams. They exemplify the sorts of problems experienced by gentry and noble families in the period, irrespective of confessional identity. In Vaux and Tresham's case, their Catholicism exacerbated the situation. Roper was able to take advantage of their imprisonments, and their already precarious financial positions meant that they had to seek the

⁶⁹ *ibid.*, fols. 191r-192v, at fol. 191r, Tresham to Lady Vaux, 22 February 1593.

⁷⁰ *ibid.*, fol. 191v.

⁷¹ *ibid.*, fols. 197r-v, at fol. 197r, Tresham to Ambrose Vaux, 8 March 1593.

⁷² *HMCR* iii, pp. 71-6.

support of others to be able to settle. For Tresham, the actions of his nephews added to his existing burdens, not least in the time they took up, but as his frequent exhortations to them show, it was their abnegation of kinsmanly duty that troubled him most. The rifts caused by George's behaviour were still visible in 1594, when Tresham wrote to Vaux to encourage him to support George's widow and children, lest they suffer as a result of their father's thoughtlessness. As he wrote to his wife, the Ropers' manipulation had succeeded in 'setting him at implacable variaunce with his dearest friendes'.⁷³

Difficulties between Vaux and Tresham II: the marriage portion of Anne Vaux

Tresham had been committed close prisoner in the Fleet in mid-February 1594 for reasons which are unclear.⁷⁴ Vaux's health was in decline and he died in August 1595. In the Easter Term of 1594, Tresham was preparing notes for his learned counsel to answer the Bill of Complaint submitted against him by Anne, Vaux's youngest daughter from his first marriage, who had begun proceedings in Michaelmas to sue Tresham for her yearly maintenance.⁷⁵ It was a highly unusual case, chiefly in circumstance — an unmarried woman suing for her marriage portion — but the sum in question, £1500, was also over seven times the average.⁷⁶ Suits in Chancery were initiated by women in only 17% of cases in the latter half of the sixteenth century, but female litigants were increasing in number.⁷⁷ The complexity of the case was a feature of settlement litigation.⁷⁸ Anne argued that Tresham had withheld her marriage portion, and that she would have married if she had had custody of it. Marriage portions and jointures were the subject of 52% of cases in Chancery by the mid-sixteenth century, but women were not supposed to have

⁷³ BL Add. MS 39828, fols. 273r-274r, at fol. 273r, Tresham to Lady Tresham, 23 November 1594.

⁷⁴ TNA SP 12/248, fol. 88r-v, Interrogatories to be mynistered vnto Sir Thomas Tresham Knight, 25 March 1594; *ibid.*, fol. 89r-v, Answer of Sr Thomas Tresham knight, 25 March 1594. See pp. 145-54, below.

⁷⁵ Easter Term in 1594 began on 17 April and ended on Ascension Day, 9 May.

⁷⁶ A. Erickson, *Women and Property in Early Modern England* (1993), p. 120.

⁷⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 114-15. The figure of 23% is for women whose status was not specified; it is distinct from the proportion of widowed plaintiffs who sued on their own or with other women (11%) but may include widows, unmarried women, married women, or combinations thereof.

⁷⁸ *ibid.*, p. 117.

custody of their own dowries, which were to be paid directly to their husbands.⁷⁹ Tresham therefore countered that it '[wa]s assigned her for her p^{re}ferment in marriage, and not for her maynteynaunce'. None of Anne's sisters had made such a demand, each being content with their father's allowance. Furthermore, Anne's spinsterhood was of her own making, 'Yt is well knowne that she hath p^{re}ferred to lyue ane vnmarried life'. The money had been managed in Anne's best interests, 'no otharwaies then iustieifiable by the defeazaunces made with her vncler Mr Justice Beaymont, and other her dearest friendes'. Giving a convoluted account of the history of the various arrangements with Anne's father, Tresham demonstrated that he had never received the money.⁸⁰

Anne's 'vnmarried life' was a remarkable one. In the years before the suit she had been harbouring, with her widowed sister Eleanor Brooksby and other female kin, the Jesuit Superior, Henry Garnet, at Eleanor's house at Shoby, Leicestershire. The house was under suspicion, and had been subject to an unsuccessful government raid in October 1591. In 1593 Garnet called 'the two sisters the widow and the virgin, illustrious by birth, fidelity, and holiness of life, whom I sometimes in my thoughts liken to the two women who used to lodge Our Lord'.⁸¹ A decade later, Anne would travel with Garnet, even calling herself 'Mrs Perkins' to Garnet's alias 'Mr. Perkins'.⁸²

Anne pursued Tresham until the end of November 1594. Eventually, he paid her £300 and offered her a choice of bonds due to him that year.⁸³ His letters to his wife from the month of November give a full account of the meetings which took place between Tresham and his niece

⁷⁹ Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, p. 23.

⁸⁰ BL Add. MS 39828, fols. 258r-260v, Tresham's instructions to his learned counsel, Easter Term 1594; *ibid.*, fols. 275r-278v, at fol. 275r, Objections of Anne Vaux, November 1594; Anstruther, *Vaux*, p. 191.

⁸¹ Anstruther, *Vaux*, p. 186.

⁸² Anstruther, *Vaux*, pp. 183-95. The Vaux sisters' close involvement with the Jesuits is not our focus here, and has been discussed elsewhere: R. Connelly, *The Women of the Catholic Resistance in England 1540-1680* (Edinburgh, 1997); Childs, *God's Traitors*.

⁸³ *HMC*R iii, pp. 82-4, Tresham to Lady Tresham, 1 November 1594; pp. 84-6, Tresham to Lady Tresham, 2 November 1594.

in order to try to resolve things, and his sense of betrayal at Anne's eschewal of charity, the all-pervasive social and religious impulse 'as the love that bound man to God and to his neighbours within the mystical body of Christ that was the church' is clear.⁸⁴ For a community which defined itself as persecuted, charity was all the more precious. Yet the widowed Eleanor Brooksby and her sister Anne did not only cast charity and kinship aside when they defamed Tresham in the courts. They played on anti-Catholic tropes to ensure that Tresham did not win the court's sympathy. They accused him of having forced their sister Elizabeth into the religious life 'and therby decyued her of three hundred poundes: vnd^r colour of religion abused her to gagne her portion to his owne vse' and claimed that he 'was a Scandale to the Cath[olic] religion, and to all Catholikes; and should also speedelie bee, skowred vpp for yt by them, that had auctoritie to doe yt; and should doe ytt'.⁸⁵ The surviving documents confuse the issue, as Tresham's last recorded imprisonment — in the Fleet during the summer of 1599 — was for refusing to pay the marriage portion of another Vaux daughter, Muriel — presumably named for her aunt Tresham — from Vaux's second marriage. She made a scandalous marriage to Tresham's servant George Fulshurst which became subsumed into the existing squabble over Anne's portion. Tresham was ordered to pay the Fulshursts by Lord Keeper Egerton, and two receipts belonging to George Fulshurst exist, dated 1 July and 18 November 1600 for £100 and £41 respectively.⁸⁶

II: Tresham and the clergy

⁸⁴ S. Brigden, 'Religion and Social Obligation in Early Sixteenth-Century London', *P&P*, 103 (1984), pp. 67-112; A. Walsham, *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500-1700* (Manchester, 2006); J. Bossy, *Peace in the Post-Reformation* (Cambridge, 1995), esp. pp. 87-88; L. Wooding, 'Charity, Community and Reformation Propaganda', *Reformation*, 2 (2006), pp. 131-69, quotation at p. 133.

⁸⁵ BL Add. MS 39828, fols. 275r-278v, at fol. 277r, Tresham to Lady Tresham with notes annexed, 16 October 1594.

⁸⁶ *HMCR* iii, p. 107.

When Lord Vaux opined that the ‘house was to be a parish by itself’, he gestured towards the displacement of Catholic worship into the domestic sphere.⁸⁷ For elites like Tresham and Vaux, whose tenants and dependents relied on their households for patronage and clerical provision, missionary priests enabled the practice of the faith.⁸⁸ It was possible — though dangerous — for sacraments such as Mass, confession, and baptism, and the partial reconstruction of the feasts and festivals of the Church calendar to go on within household observance. Indeed, there is evidence that some of the vibrancy of the late-medieval Catholic Church could be found in domestic worship through music, art, and examples of material culture such as vestments and plate.⁸⁹ When justices searched Tresham’s house at Hoxton in 1584 they found painted crucifixes, and devotional books, and Tresham had commissioned a large crucifixion scene for his house at Rushton in 1577.⁹⁰ The practice made Catholic households targets of local and government suspicion, and drew pursuivants to their doorsteps, but some Catholics persisted. Harboursing a priest was a capital offence, and the damage to social position and reputation brought by such suspicion was keenly-felt, but this only made contact with priests — as confessors among other functions — more important. At no other time was this brought more sharply into focus than at the execution of Margaret Clitherow at York in 1586.⁹¹

However essential sacramental access was, the relationship between clergy and laity was, in some quarters and at various times, fraught. This was due in part to conflicting ideas of the

⁸⁷ Anstruther, *Vaux*, p. 113, quoted in John Bossy, ‘The Character of Elizabethan Catholicism’, *P&P*, 21 (1962), pp. 39-59, at p. 41.

⁸⁸ Bossy, *ECC*, p. 175 and *passim*; Questier, *Catholicism and Community*, pp. 293-8.

⁸⁹ E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: traditional religion in England, c. 1400-c.1580* (2nd edn., New Haven and London, 2005) describes the injunctions designed to strip away traditional practice and the reluctance of English society to accept them, pp. 571-93; L. McClain, *Lest we be Damned: Practical Innovation and Lived Experience among Catholics in Protestant England, 1559-1641* (2004), pp. 2-17 examines the nature of Catholic devotion more deeply. Recent work by Dr. Emilie Murphy has opened up music as a particularly fruitful area of enquiry for Catholic identity and culture: E.K.M. Murphy, ‘*Adoramus Te Christe*: Music and Post-Reformation English Catholic Domestic Piety’, in J. Doran et al. (eds.), *Religion and the Household*, 50, *SCH* (Woodbridge, 2014), pp. 240-53.

⁹⁰ For the raid see pp. 217-8, below; the Rushton crucifixion scene is discussed in ch. 4, pp. 171-6.

⁹¹ P. Lake and M.C. Questier, *The Trials of Margaret Clitherow: Persecution, Martyrdom, and the Politics of Sanctity in Elizabethan England* (2011).

social hierarchy, but it also coalesced around particular internal Catholic crises. One such crisis concerned the organisation of the Catholic clergy in England; the controversy between the so-called ‘appellants’, who called for a method of clerical organisation free from Jesuit preeminence which could win toleration, and their Jesuit opponents.⁹² Michael Questier has demonstrated that this was certainly true of the Brownes and their ‘entourage’.⁹³ During these moments of conflict particular lay families, their clients, and their kin, had a role to play in directing a particular debate. Their support could be the key to the success of particular clerical cause.⁹⁴ It seems, therefore, that while the laity were dependent on the clergy for access to the sacraments, the clergy could not function without their support on two fronts; practical — financial and logistical reinforcement — and political. But this was not the case for all Catholic elites. If Tresham came into contact with the appellant controversy, he has left no trace of it. The ensuing discussion examines the nature of the relationship between Tresham, members of his circle, and the clergy.

The relationship between Tresham, Vaux, and the Jesuit proto-martyr Edmund Campion was foundational in their experience of Catholicism in Elizabethan England. Their shared story began before Campion’s ordination, when he had just left Oxford. Edmund Campion spent several months at Harrowden in 1567 or 1568 as tutor to Vaux’s nine-year-old son Henry. Evidently he formed a close relationship with the Vaux children, and was sorry to leave them. In 1570 he wrote to Henry from Ireland with the highest praise for the family’s piety and many talents, and also made elliptical references to the uncertain future of English Catholicism.⁹⁵

⁹² For the Appellants’ Controversy, also known as the Archpriest Controversy, see: A. Pritchard, *Catholic Loyalism in Elizabethan England* (1979), ch. 7; W.R. Trimble, *The Catholic Laity in Elizabethan England, 1558-1603* (Cambridge, MA, 1964), pp. 257-9; Questier, *Catholicism and Community*, pp. 250-62 and *passim*; Bossy, *ECC*, pp. 36-48 and *passim*; J. Bossy, ‘Henri IV, the Appellants and the Jesuits’, *BCH*, 8 (1966), pp. 80-112.

⁹³ Questier, *Catholicism and Community*, pp. 291-8; 315-30.

⁹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 314.

⁹⁵ The text of the letter is translated in Anstruther, *Vaux*, pp. 100-102, n. 28, Edmund Campion to Henry Vaux, 28 July 1570. On Campion see G. Kilroy, *Edmund Campion: a Scholarly Life* (Farnham, 2015).

Appearances of Vaux and his family in accounts of priest-harbouring produced by both government and Catholic sources are plentiful, and his support of the mission was manifest in arrangements he made for his children: in March and April 1582, during their father's first imprisonment in the Fleet, Vaux's daughter Elizabeth became a Poor Clare at Rouen and his sons Edward and Ambrose visited the English College at Rome. George also travelled to the continent for similar purposes, though we do not know which college he visited.⁹⁶ Tresham behaved differently. He did not send his children to the continental colleges and they did not enter into the religious life, but one son, William, embarked on a military career, fighting for England, rather than for her enemies.⁹⁷

Vaux seems to have been more active as a harbourer of priests than Tresham. In 1572 Lord Burghley received notification from a spy named Herle that Vaux was paying a pension of £10 per annum to Patrick Douglas, a Catholic priest.⁹⁸ The Jesuit William Weston claimed to have been harboured with Henry Garnet and Robert Southwell by the Vauxes in Elizabeth's reign.⁹⁹ There were apparently two Jesuit priests at Harrowden, one who served as the family's chaplain, and the other organising the mission in the region.¹⁰⁰ Much remains unknown about the movements of missionary priests between the households who sheltered them, entertained them knowingly or otherwise, disputed with them, and who received pastoral counsel or the opportunity to participate in the sacraments. Those attempting reconstruction and interpretation of the facts of the English mission walk a difficult path. Many official records — such as accounts given by pursuivants and letters from informants — bear the hallmarks of rumour and reputation, misidentification, misapprehension, or wilful lying, but many are doubtless more accurate. The records of the priests themselves offer insight — the oft-quoted

⁹⁶ J.J. LaRocca, 'Vaux, William, third Baron Vaux (1535-1595)', *ODNB*.

⁹⁷ See p. 152, below.

⁹⁸ Anstruther, *Vaux*, pp. 99-100. Anstruther cites a deed of 10 February 1571 mentioning Douglas' annuity.

⁹⁹ W. Weston, *William Weston: the Autobiography of an Elizabethan*, ed. P. Caraman, foreword by E. Waugh (1955), p. 78 n. 16.

¹⁰⁰ C. Haigh, 'From Monopoly to Minority: Catholicism in Early Modern England', *TRHS*, 31 (1981), pp. 129-47, p. 145.

autobiographies of John Gerard and William Weston are a representative example — but are prone to exaggeration, veiled references that modern readers or editors might misunderstand, and confused details of person, time, and place which were a consequence of their particular circumstances.¹⁰¹ Purpose can also mislead: official records might overstate the involvement of certain individuals or downplay or inflate the extent of underground Catholic activity depending on political urgency. Catholic accounts had to memorialise and encourage, as well as inform, but the use of both types of records alongside each other is nonetheless invaluable.

Tresham's involvement with priests, such as it was, is harder to discern than that of Vaux. Issues of source material aside, the disparity is suggestive. Tresham was present at a meeting at the house of his cousin and neighbour Wilford at Hoxton in April 1585, during which a fund was set up under Henry Vaux's direction to support the English Mission. As a man of substance Tresham committed — or was committed — to annual contributions, though we know little of the fund's operation thereafter.¹⁰² One informant thought that he was harbouring the seminary priest Simon Fennell at his house in Hoxton in 1592.¹⁰³ In 1603, another seminary priest (later a Benedictine), Thomas Hill, wrote an extraordinary letter to Tresham which reveals a personal connection otherwise absent from the records.¹⁰⁴ Muriel Tresham may have had links with priests. Earle Havens and Elizabeth Patton have demonstrated that she was the intended recipient of a copy of *A Memoriall of a Christian Life*, Richard Hopkins' English translation of a devotional work by the Spanish Dominican friar Luis de Granada, bound in gilt calf and sent to her by 'Mr. Chambers one of the house' in London.¹⁰⁵ She seems not to have received it, but

¹⁰¹ J. Gerard, *The Autobiography of an Elizabethan*, ed. P. Caraman, foreword by G. Greene (1951); Weston, *Autobiography*.

¹⁰² TNA SP 12/178, fol. 88r-88v, A.B. to Francis Walsingham, 2 May 1585. See also T. McCoog, "The Slightest Suspicion of Avarice": The Finances of the English Jesuit Mission', *BCH*, 19/2 (1988), pp. 103-23.

¹⁰³ TNA SP 12/241/68, [Information of a Mass], undated, c. January-April 1592; G. Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests: a Dictionary of the Secular Clergy of England and Wales, 1558-1850*, vol. 1, *Elizabethan, 1558-1603* (Gateshead, 1969), p. 115.

¹⁰⁴ See p. 154-5, below.

¹⁰⁵ E. Havens and E. Patton, 'Underground Networks, Prisons and the Circulation of Counter-Reformation Books in Elizabethan England' in J. Kelly and S. Royal (eds.), *Early Modern English Catholicism: Identity, Memory and Counter-Reformation* (Leiden and Boston, 2017), pp. 164-88, at p. 164. See ch. 5.

Tresham acquired the work in its original Spanish in a later edition.¹⁰⁶ The Treshams received other books from ‘Mr. Chambers’ — Sabine Chambers — when Chambers left Broadgates Hall, Oxford, for Paris following his conversion to Catholicism, and he later became a Jesuit, but there are no further details of their association. In fact, for every eight of Chambers’ books, seven went to Tresham. These books were about ‘astronomy, mathematics, history, geography (perhaps), rhetoric and philosophy, abstract and political; none of them are theological, still less apologetic, books’ — perhaps Chambers took his theological material with him.¹⁰⁷

Though Tresham’s first contact with the state, as a Catholic, was due to his connections with priests, it may be that his contact thereafter was more indirect — attending Masses at others’ houses, but not harbouring priests himself — or that he was so careful that traces do not remain. The letter from Hill and the books given by Chambers suggest that Tresham had deeper links with priests than extant evidence suggests, and that these connections were scholarly as well as pastoral. It is implausible that a man of Tresham’s devotion, who practised his faith despite persecution, survived without priests to sustain him. We know that private worship at Rushton took place from at least 1577, because of Tresham’s commissioning of a crucifixion scene. This could have cohered to conformist as well as recusant practice, but hotter Protestant neighbours would have considered it idolatrous.¹⁰⁸ It is likely that Tresham relied on the priests harboured by Lord Vaux, and that he did not shelter them himself, perhaps because it made little sense to concentrate clerical resources in a small geographical area, or perhaps as a result of his repeated absences from home, his periods of house arrest, or his own cautious design.

III: Neighbours, tenants, and servants

¹⁰⁶ BQ, *Library*, no. 850, p. 302.

¹⁰⁷ T.M. McCoog, ‘Chambers [alias Mann], Sabine (c. 1559-1633)’, *ODNB*; BQ, *Library*, pp. 53-4. We do not know the nature of Tresham’s relationship with Chambers, nor of the transaction of books between them.

¹⁰⁸ See ch. 4. For idolatry, see M. Aston, *England’s Iconoclasts*, vol. 1, *Laws against Images* (Oxford, 1988).

Tresham's household staff and tenantry reflected social alliance and kinship. The Vavasors were related to the Treshams of Newton by the marriage of Eleanor Tresham to Edward Vavasor of Overstone. It was their son, Thomas, who, along with several of his own children, served Tresham at Rushton as a 'confidential attendan[t]'.¹⁰⁹ Vavasor's daughter Muriel — named, surely, for Tresham's wife — was gentlewoman to the Treshams' daughter Lady Mounteagle, and his son George was educated alongside Tresham's son Lewis at Rushton and then at the Inner Temple.¹¹⁰ Thomas wrote to Tresham in June 1596 asking for advice about George's education, 'knowing that Sir Thomas can best judge what course he should take'. The letter illustrates the dual role of a gentleman like Tresham as employer and patron; in a post-script Vavasor turned his attentions to his role as servant, and informed his employer of the purchase of cattle, the sudden rise in corn prices, and the popular exclamation against enclosures on Tresham lands.¹¹¹

Tresham's relationship with the state cast him in a submissive role, but irrespective of this, Tresham was a gentleman with responsibilities to his servants, tenants, and neighbours. His circle included various Catholic dependents, and there is evidence that he tried to mitigate their suffering. He wrote to plead on Vavasor's behalf, that he might be spared recusancy fines because 'he has many children to bring up, sundry debts to discharge, his goods have been seized, and nothing is left him to live upon but my service'. He pledged financial support for Vavasor's cause, stating that he would 'be willing of mine own purse to contribute what in reason shall be requested' if Vavasor could be guaranteed 'freedom from further molestation and trouble for his conscience'.¹¹² John Flamsted, a Tresham servant and tenant, wrote to his master about the purchase of land at Benfield in May 1588, commenting that he 'has been

¹⁰⁹ Finch, *Wealth*, p. 81 n. 3.

¹¹⁰ Lewis Tresham was admitted to the Inner Temple on 1 July 1596; George Vavasor joined him on 7 Feb 1597; Lewis' younger brother William was admitted on 12 May 1599: *The Inner Temple Admissions Database*.

¹¹¹ Finch, *Wealth*, p. 81 n. 3; *HMCR* iii, p. 89. Cogan, 'Catholic Gentry' is an in-depth analysis of Midlands Catholic elites, including Tresham, as patrons and clients.

¹¹² *HMCR* iii, pp. 59-60.

troubled by pursuivants' and that his 'brother Lane is still in the Counter, but hopes for his delivery'.¹¹³

Tresham sought assistance, too, hoping that his neighbours would provide financial aid by purchasing lands from him, but if he relinquished ownership he tried to orchestrate sympathetic purchasers, possibly with a view to buying lands back when circumstances were more favourable. Tresham wrote to Sir Christopher Hatton, a near neighbour at Kirby Hall, to ask if Hatton might purchase Weldon 'lying amidst his Lordship's goodly manor' for twelve years to bolster the ailing Tresham finances, though we do not know whether Hatton availed himself of Tresham's offer. Other land transactions were unpopular, as seen in a memorandum of an information by John Matthew against Tresham 'for converting a thousand acres of arable land in Rushton into pasture', dated 2 May 1600.¹¹⁴

One Tresham servant looms larger than others. George Levens, Tresham's steward, was instrumental in handling his master's affairs during his absence. He wrote and drafted letters and other documents, managed the estate, oversaw Tresham's building projects, tutored the children, and probably performed a range of other duties which are not recorded. Levens is present throughout the Tresham Papers, but he is otherwise mysterious: the only reason we know about him is because he worked for Tresham. We have some of his accounts, detailing household expenses as well as disbursements for work and materials connected to Tresham's building projects. We even have his reading notes on Livy, and his extracts and exercises on Holinshed and Stow.¹¹⁵ Much of the outgoing correspondence in the Tresham papers are in his neat secretary hand — a more appropriate alternative to Tresham's erratic scrawl. Levens was sufficiently trusted to deputise for Tresham. In 1604, Tresham was to act as a land agent for Lord

¹¹³ *ibid.*, pp. 43-4.

¹¹⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 78, 107.

¹¹⁵ BL Add. MSS 39832-5 (accounts 1593-1602) and BL Add. MSS 39837-8 (Levens' reading). See F. Heal, 'Readership and Reception', in *idem*, I. Archer, and P. Kewes (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's Chronicles* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 355-72.

‘Davers’ — his first engagement of this kind — and sent Levens to Cirencester to view and improve lands on behalf of Davers. He asked that Levens’ duties ‘be so performed as to show his [Tresham’s] care, and somewhat his skill also’. In the same letter Tresham gave instructions to Levens for ordering the stonemasons to prepare to proceed with building at Lyveden. The Tresham Papers contain myriad examples of Levens handling lands and finances, reporting to his imprisoned master to reassure him that matters were in hand in his absence.¹¹⁶

Tresham’s servants and tenants also wrote about estate matters and to ask for their patron’s assistance. In September 1595, Rowland Ridge wrote to ask Tresham to help in his suit with ‘Mr. Compton’. The same Compton, Thomas, wrote to Tresham in 1604, complaining that Ridge, now a ‘former servant’, had broken the terms of his lease and ‘let his house to a fellow of whose honesty and sufficiency he knows nothing’. John Andrew wrote that a poulterer had bought some of Tresham’s conies and with updates about the estates at Rushton and Pipewell in October.¹¹⁷ In April 1603 Maurice Hilton updated Tresham about the sale of some sheep and the return of ‘my old master’, either Tresham’s son or brother William for they both returned around a similar time, ‘so much changed in his speech, for his tongue is as lisping in the French tongue’.¹¹⁸ In Tresham’s absence, his servants had to be even close and trusted members of the household; news about family members had to be conveyed in such a way that he could imagine he was there to see and hear them himself.¹¹⁹

Imprisonment and house-arrest complicated logistical arrangements, and many extant letters arose from Tresham having to coordinate his papers and even his clothes at a distance. Tresham wrote to his keeper John Slynne in June 1590 asking him to be ready at Lyveden to carry a letter to the Bishop of Peterborough. Possibly at the end of March 1603, Tresham wrote asking that

¹¹⁶ *HMCR* iii, pp. 134, 116, 150-1, 111, 148-9.

¹¹⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 89, 138-9, 93.

¹¹⁸ *ibid.*, p. 123.

¹¹⁹ For Tresham’s brother see ch. 2, p. 116; for his son, ch. 3, p. 152.

Maurice Hilton, 'Mr. Siser', and William Vavasor be at Lord Mounteagle's — his son-in-law — early the next day and to bring boots, clothes, and a letter from Sir Robert Cecil, in time for a nine o'clock meeting. Creditors took advantage of his absence, and he wrote to 'Mr. Maryott' about the usury of Maryott's father-in-law George Baull in May 1591.¹²⁰ Tresham's building projects, too, were organised through letters. Tresham wrote to George Shurrock and Levens in October 1597 with lengthy instructions for his buildings, gardens, and orchards. Roland Stickles wrote to Tresham in January — the year is not given — about his moulds for one of Tresham's buildings.¹²¹

As befits a gentleman, there are letters about hunting, not all of them genial. Tresham wrote to Robert Brudenell at his London residence in Holborn praying him to remit his trespass on Brudenell lands — he had been hunting where he should not — in 1588.¹²² Tresham and his son and heir Francis were made lessees and granted the keepership of the Little Park at Brigstock, part of Rockingham Forest, in May 1603. This favour, extended to them by Sir Robert Cecil, 'was a means of rewarding expressions of loyalty and of keeping one's potential enemies close by, in a relationship of reciprocal duty and obligation'.¹²³ The lease was granted to him on his son's behalf on the condition that Tresham keep 300 deer there.¹²⁴ He wished to be excused from the responsibility of 'his Majesty's commission for special forest service', however, and received a letter dated 2 July 1605 from Levinus Munck, Cecil's secretary, excusing him.¹²⁵

In October 1604 Tresham wrote to Robert, first Baron Spencer of Althorp, Northamptonshire, regarding bonds Francis Tresham had entered into with his father, Sir John Spencer.¹²⁶ Robert

¹²⁰ Maryott was likely Humphrey 'Marryett' or 'Marriett' of Rushton, cited for recusancy in 1594 and 1595: *Recusant Roll no. 3 (1594-1594) and Recusant Roll no. 4 (1595-1596): an Abstract in English*, ed. H. Bowler, CRS, 61 (1970).

¹²¹ *HMCR* iii, pp. 77, 123, 60-61, 93, 150.

¹²² *ibid.*, p. 43.

¹²³ Cogan, 'Catholic Gentry', p. 31.

¹²⁴ *ibid.*, p. 1 n. 1.

¹²⁵ *HMCR* iii, p. 149.

¹²⁶ S.M. Thorpe, 'Spencer, John (c. 1549-1600)', *HoP* 1558-1603.

Spencer was a fellow sheep-farmer, but was also a Calvinist who allied himself with Sir Edward Montagu and the Puritan Richard Knightley.¹²⁷ There are signs of amity between the families, notably the extension of an invitation to hunt at Brigstock by Robert Spencer's sister Alice, Countess of Derby, to Lady Tresham and her daughter Elizabeth, Lady Mounteagle in 1596.¹²⁸ Though Tresham was in a dispute with Spencer, writing to refute his arguments and in two further letters — each with accusations and refusals about payment and non-payment — which passed between them in the same month, both men made reference to the long tradition of friendship between the families. Tresham wrote of 'The great good neighbourhood continued many ages between the Tresames and the Spencers' and, in his second letter, 'My good affection to the Spencers was the original of my enlarging those my lines, and were it not to one with who desire a continuance of good neighbourhood ... But my intendment is alonely to maintain my honour, to give satisfaction to the points of your letter, and to avoid unkindness'. Spencer responded in like terms, calling on Tresham's memory of his previous kindnesses to the family, and prayed 'For the continuance of the ancient love that hath been betwixt our ancestors'.¹²⁹

IV: Scholarly friends

Tresham read and collected with great seriousness and was deeply committed to Catholic education.¹³⁰ His piety took learned form, and his correspondence suggests that he sought theological discussion from diverse sources. He debated the Real Presence with Edmund Lilly, godly Master of Balliol College, Oxford, while imprisoned in the Fleet in 1581, and two lengthy drafts imply that he intended to continue the conversation by letter thereafter.¹³¹ According to a comment in one of his letters, Tresham had studied at Christ Church, Oxford — though it is

¹²⁷ R. Cust, 'Spencer, Robert, first Baron Spencer (1570-1627)', *ODNB*.

¹²⁸ Cogan, 'Catholic Gentry', p. 137.

¹²⁹ *HMCR* iii, pp. 136, 146-7, 137-8.

¹³⁰ See ch. 5.

¹³¹ Lilly was Master of Balliol from 1580-1610: J. Jones, *Balliol College: a History* (2nd edn., rev., Oxford, 2005), pp. 60-1, 80, 90. BL Add. MS 39828, fols. 52r-58v. See also ch. 6 for an account of this disputation in Bodl. MSS Eng. Th. b. 1-2.

otherwise unrecorded — and Tresham knew university men.¹³² He seems to have employed a tutor from Oxford, Nicolas Morrice. Tresham received an undated Latin letter from Morrice, who had been a scholar then a fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford during the 1570s. The sense is obscure, but Morrice was evidently prevented from visiting Tresham by some unpleasantness in Oxford.¹³³ If the evidence of George Vavasor given during the investigations following the Gunpowder Plot is to be believed, Morrice had been schoolmaster to Tresham's children, and it was from Morrice's copy of *De Officio Principis Christiani* by Robert Bellarmine that Vavasor had a copy made in 1594 or 1595.¹³⁴ Tresham was evidently friendly with the luminary John Case, who had been a fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, and continued to live and teach near the college thereafter. He wrote to his 'verie good friend' Case from Rushton on 2 October 1599 about his intention to send him some venison, but by the time he wrote again on 14 October he was imprisoned in the Fleet. He expressed disappointment that they could not meet to discuss some of the points made in Case's last letter, referring to the tribulation brought by the Vaux sisters, and made elliptical references — imperative for a Catholic as for a prisoner — to his manifold sufferings for the faith.¹³⁵

While imprisoned at Ely, Tresham may have lent books to his fellow prisoner, George Cotton, who was translating the *Japonian Epistells*.¹³⁶ Tresham brought scholars from Cambridge into his circle, too, possibly while nearby at Ely, but he did not restrict himself to fellow Catholics. The Greek scholar and later translator of the King James Version, Andrew Downes of Trinity College, wrote to Tresham in friendly terms about a request for scholars. Tresham appears to have asked Downes to send him a mathematician, and another scholar capable of reading Justinian to teach

¹³² BL Add. MS 39839, fols. 81r-4r, Tresham to Toby Matthew, January 1603.

¹³³ *ibid.*, fol. 200r-200v, Morrice to Tresham, undated.

¹³⁴ TNA SP 14/216, fol. 79r, Examination of George Vavasor, 13 December 1605; *Alumni Oxonienses, 1500-1714* (originally published Oxford, 1891) 1026-49, online version, *BHO*.

¹³⁵ BL Add. MS 39829, fol. 29r, Tresham to Case, 2 October 1599; *ibid.*, fol. 30r-30v, Tresham to Case, 14 October 1599; E.A. Malone, 'Case, John (1540/41?-1600)', *ODNB*.

¹³⁶ F. Young, 'The Bishop's Palace at Ely as a Prison for Recusants, 1577-1597', *BCH*, 32/2 (2014), pp. 195-218, at pp. 205-6. The *Japonian Epistells* were letters from the early Jesuit missionaries in Japan.

one of his sons. Downes wrote of the difficulty in finding tutors prepared to 'leauue the vniversitie to discontinue', but was making inquiries to those whom he knew to 'beare you good will'.

Downes made fascinating reference to the concerns of John Fletcher — a possible mathematics candidate from Caius College — that if Tresham's proposed work was concerned with architecture, he would not feel qualified. Whether Tresham was consulting Cambridge mathematicians in designing his architectural projects is unfortunately left to speculation, but the letter from Downes to Tresham was evidently not their only interaction. Downes wrote how glad he was that Tresham was at liberty, that he would have gone to Ely to visit him at Easter if he had remained there, and that he hoped to see Morrice — presumably Nicolas — but did not know how to reach him.¹³⁷

Conclusion

This chapter has delved into Tresham's circle in three groups of individuals featured in the Tresham Papers: kith and kin; neighbours, tenants, and servants; and scholarly friends. It has also touched on Tresham's relationship with the Catholic clergy, and suggested that he was less explicitly involved in harbouring them than his kinsman Vaux, inviting us to question the relationship between the Catholic laity and the missionary clergy. Chapter two will explore this more fully, asking questions about how Tresham viewed himself in relation to the state and the religious politics of his age, and chapter three brings to bear a further relationship with a priest, Thomas Hill. The evidence of this chapter offers a view of Tresham as a typical gentleman whose activities were dominated by his negotiation of recusancy and the demands of his kin, particularly the Vauxes, but that these elite activities were coloured by his Catholicism. It has been suggested, tentatively, that Tresham's reputation between 1585 and 1600 was partly informed by his dealings with his hostile coreligionists in the courts as well as by his status as a recusant gentleman. The Catholic circle visible in the Tresham Papers was not always a

¹³⁷ BL Add. MS 39828, fol. 143r-v, Downes to Tresham, 30 April, year not given; E. Leedham-Green, and N.G. Wilson, 'Downes, Andrew (c. 1549-1628)', *ODNB*.

supportive idyll where coreligionists never offended each other, rather it was one in which families and neighbours did not always see eye to eye.

II

TRESHAM AND THE ELIZABETHAN REGIME IN THE 1580S

I: The political landscape in 1580-1

The zeal with which the Elizabethan regime began to act against English Catholics from 1571 onwards, and with especial intensity in legislation from 1581 onwards, was motivated by hostile movements at home and abroad: the rebellion of the Northern earls in 1569, and *Regnans in Excelsis*, Pope Pius V's Bull declaring Elizabeth excommunicate and absolving her Catholic subjects from their obedience to her, in 1570.¹ In response to *Regnans*, the Parliament of 1571 amended the law of treason.² The act now redefined *praemunire* and made reconciliation to Rome treasonable, though this was designed for individuals soliciting absolution from the excommunication inflicted by *Regnans*. The Catholic priests who pronounced this absolution were themselves traitors.

Elizabeth and her privy councillors were horrified by the events of St. Bartholomew's Day in Paris in 1572, where Protestants were brutally massacred by Catholics, prompting copycat riots across France. It was feared, perhaps reasonably, that similar violence might be exacted by Catholics on innocent Protestants in England.³ In 1577 the government renewed its pursuit of two prominent clerical opponents to the Oath of Supremacy, Abbot John Feckenham and Bishop Thomas Watson, and bishops were asked to compile lists of recusants. In the same year, the seminary priest Cuthbert Mayne — sometime roommate of Campion — had become the continental colleges' first martyr.⁴

¹ This is consistent with the observations made in: C. Haigh, 'The Continuity of Catholicism in the English Reformation', *P&P*, 93 (1981), pp. 37-69, at pp. 51-52.

² 13 Eliz. Cap. I.

³ See P. McGrath, *Papists and Puritans Under Elizabeth I* (1967) p. 105. For the English response, see A.G. Dickens, 'The Elizabethans and St. Bartholomew', in A. Soman (ed.), *The Massacre of St. Bartholomew* (The Hague, 1974), pp. 52-70.

⁴ E. Rose, *Cases of Conscience: Alternatives Open to Recusants and Puritans under Elizabeth I and James I* (1975), pp. 42-3, 45-7; G. Kilroy, *Edmund Campion: a Scholarly Life* (Farnham, 2015), p. 47.

Concurrently, Elizabeth's Councillors were vexed by the question of the succession. An unsettled succession occasioned an almost permanent political crisis, and the issue deepened the rift between confessions and sharpened perceptions of the foreign Catholic threat.⁵ Domestic Catholic threats also loomed, since the most proximate successor in line of blood was Elizabeth's Catholic cousin Mary, Queen of Scots. Mary was implicated in Catholic conspiracies to murder Elizabeth, that of Ridolfi in 1571 and, fatally, Babington, in 1586.⁶ For Elizabeth's Councillors, Mary was 'the black widow spider, at the centre of a web of dangers, ensnaring enemies abroad and traitors at home'.⁷ Before her execution in 1587, Mary represented a Catholic figurehead, around whom hopes for Catholic restoration flickered.

Councillors attempted to find solutions to the hypothetical problem of England without Elizabeth, and without an heir, an 'uncertain succession which would threaten the protestant religious and political settlement'.⁸ The proposed marriage between Elizabeth and the French Catholic Francis, Duke of Anjou from 1578 to 1581 alarmed some Protestant advisors, but also had major ramifications for English diplomacy. It came as part of a 'major episode in English foreign policy' between 1578 and 1583, in which Elizabeth agreed to give assistance to Protestant rebels in the Low Countries.⁹ At the height of the negotiations with Anjou, when a marriage looked possible, John Stubbs went as far as to suggest that the match could result in the succession of Mary, Queen of Scots should Elizabeth pre-decease Anjou. In 1576 the prospect of

⁵ S. Alford, *The Early Elizabethan Polity: William Cecil and the British Succession Crisis, 1558-1569* (Cambridge, 1998); M. Levine, *The Early Elizabethan Succession Question, 1558-1568* (Stanford, CA, 1966); S. Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony: the Courtships of Elizabeth I* (1996).

⁶ J. Wormald, *Mary, Queen of Scots: Pride, Passion and a Kingdom Lost* (1988, rev. 2001), pp. 187-90.

⁷ P. Marshall, *Heretics and Believers: A History of the English Reformation* (New Haven and London, 2017), p. 495.

⁸ P. Collinson, 'The Elizabethan Exclusion Crisis and the Elizabethan Polity', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 84 (1993), pp. 51-92, at p. 51.

⁹ W.T. MacCaffrey, 'The Anjou Match and the Making of Elizabethan Foreign Policy', in P. Clarke et al. (eds.), *The English Commonwealth, 1547-1640: Essays in Politics and Society presented to Joel Hurstfield* (Chatham, 1979), pp. 59-76, at p. 59 and *passim*; P. Collinson, 'The Monarchical Republic of Elizabeth I', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 69/2 (1987), pp. 392-424. There is not space here to delve fully into the politics of the Anjou match, nor into succession politics in general, but see J. Bossy, 'English Catholics and the French Marriage, 1577-81', *BCH*, 5/1 (1959), pp. 2-16; B. Worden, *The Sound of Virtue: Philip Sidney's Arcadia and Elizabethan Politics* (New Haven and London, 1996), pp. 89-114.

peace in France and Philip II's progress against rebels in the Low Countries stoked fears that these Catholic forces would turn their attention to supporting Mary's cause. Rebellion against Spanish rule in the Low Countries from 1572 onwards peaked in 1576 when the Spanish lost military control, but a succession crisis in Portugal bolstered Spanish power; Spain annexed Portugal in 1580. Through the machinations of John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, now living on the continent, plans concerning Mary and her adolescent son James were forming which further escalated the Protestant regime's fears. The so-called 'Association scheme' — planned in 1578 following the resignation of the Regent, Morton — would have had Mary rule Scotland along with her son, and in autumn 1581 Mary 'raised the plan for joint sovereignty with the English'. Thanks to Leslie it had already been given papal support.¹⁰ It was into this climate of intense political uncertainty that the first Jesuits entered.

Campion and Persons, 1580-1

In late June 1580, Edmund Campion and Robert Persons returned to their native England in disguise. Both were priests of the Society of Jesus, and claimed to work only for the pastoral needs of English Catholics; discussing affairs of state was formally prohibited.¹¹ In the eyes of the government they were foot-soldiers of the Papacy, garnering support from old Catholic gentry and noble families and equipping them with the intellectual tools to evade government questioning. They landed as England faced the prospect of further rebellion, and Papal invasion, in Ireland; Catholic forces, funded by the Pope and led by Nicholas Sander, had been in Ireland for a year. In the month of the Jesuits' arrival in England, musters had been held across the south, with over 12,000 men in Kent prepared to defend the Cinque Ports.¹² In July

¹⁰ S. Doran and P. Kewes, 'The Earlier Elizabethan Succession Question Revisited', in *idem.* (eds.), *Doubtful and Dangerous: the Question of Succession in Late Elizabethan England* (Manchester, 2014), pp. 20-46, at pp. 32-3; R.K. Marshall, 'Lesley [Leslie], John (1527-1596)', *ODNB*.

¹¹ McGrath, *Papists and Puritans* pp. 162-3; P. Holmes, *Resistance and Compromise: the political thought of the Elizabethan Catholics* (Cambridge, 1982), p. 36. For the Jesuit mission see M. Carrafiello, 'English Catholicism and the Jesuit mission of 1580-1581', *HJ* 37/4 (1994), pp. 761-74; T.M. McCoog, *The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland, and England, 1541-1588* (Leiden, 1996).

¹² *ibid.*, p. 165.

1580 Lord Burghley wrote a proclamation forbidding discussion of any invasion of England by the Pope, the King of Spain, or others, fearing that English Catholics would rise in support of their coreligionists at the slightest provocation.¹³ It was also the advent of a time of copious printing of Catholic polemical texts in English: the number of Catholic books printed between 1580 and 1583 surpassed the total for the whole of the previous ten years, and were comprised mainly of controversial and apologetic works.¹⁴

In April 1580, Campion secured a response to his hesitations about the increase of persecution which *Regnans in Excelsis* had brought for English Catholics from Pope Gregory XIII. English Catholics were to consider the bull suspended to ease the burden of persecution. But the suspension held the bull over Elizabeth's head like the sword of Damocles. When circumstances allowed the execution of *Regnans*, English Catholics would be bound by it: '[t]heir allegiance to the Queen was then conditional and temporary'.¹⁵ The bull remained suspended — much for the benefit of Elizabeth's subjects rather than for her — until Gregory's death in 1584.¹⁶ His successor Sixtus V renewed it in 1588 in between the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, and the Spanish Armada.¹⁷

In July 1580, Campion and Persons attended a meeting with missionary priests and lay Catholics — including Tresham, Vaux, and Catesby — in Southwark, in the area close to the residence of Anthony Browne, first viscount Montagu, where recusancy was established as the only conscionable course.¹⁸ The central concern of the Southwark synod was the fact that the regime

¹³ *ibid.*, p. 146; 'Proclamation against spreading seditious rumours of the approach of a Spanish fleet', TNA SP 12/140 fols. 38r-41v.

¹⁴ A&R, p. 176, quoted in Holmes, *Resistance and Compromise*, p. 36 n.3.

¹⁵ McCoog, *The Society of Jesus*, p. 141; see also Kilroy, *Scholarly Life*, p. 143.

¹⁶ Rose, *Cases of Conscience*, pp. 48; 98.

¹⁷ P. Hughes, *Rome and the Counter Reformation in England* (1942), pp. 256-60.

¹⁸ M.C. Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: politics, aristocratic patronage and religion, c. 1550-1640* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 161-2. On the 'Southwark synod', see McCoog, *The Society of Jesus* pp. 145-6; S. Tutino, *Law and Conscience: Catholicism in Early Modern England, 1570-1625* (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 20-1; J.H. Pollen, *The English Catholics in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (1920), pp. 334-8.

held the priests as traitors because they were loyal to the Papacy, a foreign power, and this undermined their pastoral work. Campion's 'Letter to the Council' — which came to be known as his 'brag' — claimed to assure the Queen and her Council of his benignity and separation from political matters.¹⁹

Tresham and recusancy

The government's equation of Catholicism with disloyalty placed these individuals in an impossible position: to conform by attending Church against their consciences, placing their soul in mortal peril, or to pursue recusancy and risk ostracism and the full force of anti-recusancy legislation.²⁰ Those who, like Tresham, professed loyalty, rejected Elizabeth's spiritual power while recognising her temporal power, but the regime refused to accept the notion that these allegiances could be separated; the Queen governed both temporal and spiritual realms. Tresham thought that Catholicism was perfectly compatible with natural fidelity to his monarch, whose sovereignty could not be called into question by any foreign power: the Pope was the spiritual figurehead, but did not have jurisdiction over English temporal matters. This 'loyalism' — by which we mean the profession of unswerving loyalty to Elizabeth's temporal power — belied internal and external contradictions whereby the disobedient performance of recusancy and secret Catholic worship constituted a rejection of the very foundation of Elizabeth's claims to spiritual authority. This was still worlds away from calling for her deposition or plotting rebellion, but loyalism was a strategy.²¹

It was on the occasion of the meeting at Southwark that Persons claimed to have reconciled Tresham — for him this doubtless meant conversion to recusancy from some kind of

¹⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 348-54; Kilroy, *Scholarly Life*, p. 169.

²⁰ See pp. 28-9, above.

²¹ Recognition of the oscillation between loyalism and resistance is not novel: Holmes, *Resistance and Compromise*, ch. 4; A. Pritchard, *Catholic Loyalism in Elizabethan England* (1979), ch. 3. Recent work demonstrates the resistance present within loyalist statements: Kaushik, 'Resistance'; Questier, *Catholicism and Community*.

conformity.²² The exact nature of Tresham's relationship with the established Church prior to 1581 is unknown but he seems to have practised some degree of conformity. St. Peter's, Rushton, was next to Rushton Hall, and Tresham held the advowson but granted it to Gilbert Hussey, William Vavasor, and John Flamsted — the latter two being Tresham servants and tenants — in 1575 when there was a change in incumbents.²³ Tresham was not cited for recusancy, but this may be a result of the incomplete investigation of recusancy before 1581. Most significantly, the Rushton parish registers record the baptisms of three of his children between 1573 and 1578: Elizabeth on 15 November 1573, Katherine on 28 Dec 1576, and Lewis on 17 November 1578.²⁴ The baptisms of Tresham's six other children, and in particular Francis, who was definitely older than Lewis, are not recorded, and the birth dates are uncertain for the other five, Bridget, Mary, Anne, William, and Frances. Baptism in the parish church may not imply conversance with Protestant theology: baptism was one of the rites, along with marriage, churching, and burial, for which some Catholics were prepared to attend their parish church.²⁵ Nevertheless, these children had been baptised into different conceptions of the family of the Church.

²² *The Memoirs of Father Robert Persons*, ed. J.H. Pollen, CRS, vol. 2, *Miscellanea II* (1906), p. 27; Anstruther, *Vaux*, p. 112.

²³ *Parish Register of Rushton (Northamptonshire), 1538-1837*, trans. W.L. White, ed. P.A.F. Stephenson (Leeds, 1929), p. xii. Hussey may have been related to Muriel Tresham through her mother, see Genealogy, above. The change in incumbents was not due to deprivation: Alexander Clerke (instituted 1542) died and was replaced by Thomas Hutton. Hussey, Vavasor, and Flamsted were Hutton's patrons, and those of his successor Clement Gregory, instituted on 4 August 1599.

²⁴ *ibid.* pp. 10-12.

²⁵ On Catholic use of the parish church for certain rites, see Bossy, *ECC*, p. 133; J.C.H. Aveling, *The Handle and the Axe: the Catholic recusants in England from reformation to emancipation* (1976), p. 70; P. Marshall, *Faith and Identity in a Warwickshire Family: the Throckmortons and the Reformation* (Stratford upon Avon, 2010), pp. 23-6. Burial practices and beliefs about death and the dead have their own literature; see, for example, *idem*, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford, 2002); R. Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family in England, 1480-1750* (Oxford, 1998); studies of Catholic examples include P. Marshall, 'Confessionalisation and Community in the Burial of English Catholics, c. 1570-1700', in A. Morton and N. Lewycky (eds.), *Getting Along? Religious Identities and Confessional Relations in Early Modern England — Essays in Honour of Professor W.J. Sheils* (Farnham and Burlington, VT, 2012), pp. 57-76; L. O'Halloran and A. Spicer, 'Catholic Burial and Commemoration in Early Seventeenth-Century Lancashire', in E.C. Tingle and J.P. Willis (eds.), *Dying, Death, Burial, and Commemoration in Reformation Europe* (Farnham and Burlington, VT, 2015), pp. 89-114.

Tresham evidently changed tack in 1578, after which no further children were baptised in the parish church. We might also consider that in 1577 — the year of the execution of Cuthbert Mayne, perhaps coincidental, perhaps not — Tresham commissioned a crucifixion scene for Rushton, alive with symbolic criticisms of the Protestant government.²⁶ Among Tresham's papers was a document, 'Against going to church', which Peter Holmes identified as Robert Persons' tract, *A Brief Discourse Containing Certain Reasons why Catholics Refuse to go to Church*, written in 1580 to refute another Catholic priest.²⁷ We may speculate that Tresham's copy came into his possession soon after its composition, given that he encountered Persons around this time. Recusancy was a course settled upon amid conflicting pastoral advice.²⁸ Persons was refuting an anonymous manuscript generally attributed to Alban Langdale, resident chaplain to the first viscount Montagu, which suggested that, amid fear of persecution and out of loyalty for their sovereign, English Catholics might attend church from time to time if their lives were in danger.²⁹ Langdale was arguing that 'recusancy was a counsel of perfection: it was neither mandatory for secular persons to follow it, nor was it perhaps very wise'.³⁰

Persons and Campion organised for a clandestine printing press to be set up in private houses. It was first at the house of Eleanor, Vaux's daughter, and her husband Edward Brooksby at East Ham, where Persons printed his *Brief Discourse*, and the press was then moved to the Stonors in Oxfordshire, where Campion's *Rationes Decem* was produced.³¹ In late July 1580, Campion and

²⁶ See ch. 4.

²⁷ *ibid.*, p. 93; BL Add MS 39830, fols. 14r-20v, 'Against going to church', thought to be a response to Langdale's tract.

²⁸ A. Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge, 1993, repr. 1999), pp. 50-60 discusses the ramifications of this duality; Holmes, *Resistance and Compromise* pp. 90-4.

²⁹ Walsham, *Church Papists*, p. 51-2; Holmes, *Resistance and Compromise*, pp. 90-94. See introduction, p. 13. TNA SP 12/144/69 'A discourse delivered to Mr. Sheldon to persuade him to conform. Arguments to prove it lawful for a Roman Catholic to attend the Protestant service' commonly known as 'Reasons why a Catholic may go to church'. An edition is available in R.S. Miola (ed.), *Early Modern Catholicism: an anthology of primary sources* (electronic edition, Oxford, 2007), pp. 71-5.. Some scholars have raised doubts about Langdale's authorship: see Walsham, *Church Papists*, p. 51 n. 5 and Holmes, *Resistance and Compromise*. On Langdale see J. Wright, 'Langdale, Alban (fl. 1532-1580)', *ODNB*.

³⁰ Walsham, *Church Papists*, p. 52.

³¹ Kilroy, *Scholarly Life*, pp. 187-201,

Persons moved out of London to avoid discovery and settled on the village of Hoxton, north-east of the city, where Tresham and Catesby had houses. It is almost certain that Campion stayed with one of them, either at Hoxton or in Northamptonshire and Warwickshire.³² Following a peregrination lasting several months around the estates of the Catholic gentry of Oxfordshire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Northamptonshire, Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Nottinghamshire, Campion was captured at Lyford, Berkshire on 17 July 1581. Persons evaded the authorities and fled to Rome.³³

On 6 August 1581 the Privy Council sent instructions to Sir Walter Mildmay, Justice of the Peace for Northamptonshire and Chancellor of the Exchequer, to send for Vaux, Tresham, Catesby, and Edward Griffin, and to examine them as to whether they had encountered and harboured Campion, Persons, and other Jesuits.³⁴ The men were then to be ‘sent to the house of some honest gentleman well affected in religion in that shire, to remain for a time under his charge, without having conference with any others’. Following their examination, they were to be brought to London by these respective ‘well-affected’ gentlemen without conference with each other or anyone else.³⁵ Tresham and Griffin were examined by Mildmay at Apethorpe, Northamptonshire, but we do not know which ‘honest gentleman’ took custody of them thereafter. Catesby was likely examined by Sir Thomas Lucy in Warwickshire. Vaux was sent from Apethorpe to Sir Edward Montagu at Boughton, Northamptonshire, with whom he had conspired to secure bail for two men jailed for illegal hunting in the Queen’s forest at Brigstock Park only a year earlier. This assault on Vaux’s rank and honour caused great embarrassment,

³² *ibid.*, p. 192.

³³ *ibid.*, pp. 169–73 192–6, quotation at p. 173.

³⁴ L.L. Ford, ‘Mildmay, Sir Walter (1520/21–1589)’, *ODNB*; S.M. Thorpe and R.J.W. Swales, ‘Mildmay, Walter (by 1523–89)’, *HoP 1509–1558*. Griffin is mysterious, and at the trial it is two other members of his family who are questioned; the Christian name may have been confused at this early stage.

³⁵ *APC*, iii, pp. 155–6, quoted in Anstruther, *Vaux*, p. 117. The same instructions were sent to Sir Thomas Lucy in Warwickshire, in case Catesby was at his house there.

and he evidently believed that the Montagus had failed to navigate this awkward situation with appropriate grace.³⁶

No record of the local examinations survive, but on 18 August Vaux and Tresham were questioned at Leicester House, London, by Lord Treasurer Burghley; the Lord Chamberlain the Earl of Sussex, Thomas Ratcliffe; and the Earl of Leicester, Robert Dudley. Catesby was likely examined in the same way thereafter. A brief record of their refusal to swear that they had not harboured Campion during their examinations at Leicester House survives. It comes at the head of a document reporting similar examinations of those whom Campion had confessed to having visited. The others examined had complied, and the document is endorsed 'L. Vaux. Sir Th: Tresham } & others. Towching Campions being in their Howses'.³⁷ Their refusal and subsequent trial for contempt made them the focus of the record. The document is organised with the names of the accused, followed by Campion's evidence, followed by their answer. It reports that Vaux, Tresham, and Catesby had been asked if Campion had been at any of their houses since June 1580. Tresham, Vaux, and Catesby had refused to swear an 'inquisitive' oath, functionally an *ex officio* oath.³⁸ Marginal notes in Burghley's hand record that they were informed that Campion had 'confessed the same' and 'the direct confessions redd to them' and still refused to 'profre them selves by their othes', so were 'charged in her Majesty's name'.³⁹ They were committed close prisoners to the Fleet.

II: The Star Chamber trial of Vaux, Tresham, and Catesby, November 1581

Our main source for the trial is a document among the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Library. The text, a fair copy in a secretary hand, sets down what was said, and by whom, with no

³⁶ See pp. 53-4, above.

³⁷ BL Lansdowne 30/78, fol. 201r-202v, at fol. 202v. Document cited in Kilroy, *Scholarly Life*, p. 194 n. 197 as Campion's confession.

³⁸ J.M. Gray, 'Conscience and the Word of God: Religious Arguments against the *Ex Officio* Oath', *JEH*, 64/3 (2013), pp. 494-512, at p. 496.

³⁹ BL Lansdowne 30/78, fol. 201r.

commentary. A faithful transcription of this text was printed as a historical case of legal interest by John Bruce in the mid-nineteenth century. We also have Tresham's notes for his defence on four leaves of closely-written text in his own hand.⁴⁰ In what follows, the responses Tresham gave are described as a speech in his defence. While circumstances did not allow him to hold forth and deliver a set piece without interruption, his responses were part of an overarching argument about the freedom of an individual to act according to his conscience in matters of religion. They are far more substantial than the answers given by Vaux during the same trial, and they prompted greater involvement and frustration from his interlocutors. Tresham had planned his defence — he was after all, his own advocate — as one penning an oration, and we may describe his utterances in court as part of a set piece that was necessarily delivered in sections. The Queen's lawyers, and Lord Hunsdon in particular, took Tresham's defence as a prepared piece, 'studied and premeditated his argument forth of the scripture and doctours more to incense the eares of so great an assemblie', and designed to 'premonish all catholiques by his example howe to answere, and howe to behave themselves in lyke cases'.⁴¹

Between nine and ten o'clock in the morning on 15 November 1581, the day after Campion was arraigned for high treason at the King's Bench, Vaux and Tresham were brought to the Star Chamber with Walter Powdrell of Hadenham, Derby, Jane Griffin of Buckinghamshire, and her brother-in-law Ambrose Griffin.⁴² Catesby joined them later from the King's Bench, by which

⁴⁰ BL Harleian MS 859, fols. 44r-50v 'At the court of starrechamber wednesday the xvth of November 1581'; *ibid.* fol. 51r-v 'Notes observed by vs that were present forth of Judges speeches & the residewe whereto yt was mervailed that Sir Tho T did not replie...'; Bruce, 'Observations', pp. 64-110. BL Lansdowne MS 103, fols. 25r-27v contains Burghley's notes on the examination of Vaux. For Campion's arraignment, trial, and associated confessions and declarations, see Cobbett, *State Trials*, i, 1049-1064. A brief summary of the proceedings in Star Chamber is included in the edition of Sir James Dyer's notebooks: *Reports from the Lost Notebooks of Sir James Dyer*, ed. J.H. Baker, Selden Soc., 110 (1994), pp. 397-8. Further editions of notes of the trial are: A.G. Petti (ed.), *Recusant Documents from the Ellesmere Manuscripts* (1968), pp. 5-9; HMC, *Eleventh Report: appendix. Part VII, The Manuscripts of the Duke of Leeds, the Bridgewater Trust, Reading Corporation, the Inner Temple &c* (1888), pp. 163-5. Scholars treating the trial include Anstruther, *Vaux*, pp. 115-20; S.E. Lehmborg, *Sir Walter Mildmay and Tudor Government* (Austin, 1964), pp. 194-6; Kaushik, 'Resistance', pp. 42, 52-7; Kilroy, *Edmund Campion*, pp. 259, 263.

⁴¹ Bruce, 'Observations', p. 106.

⁴² Kilroy, *Edmund Campion*, p. 300 confirms the date of Campion's arraignment and provides a full account of what followed.

time Vaux and Tresham had already been heard. Assuming that the prisoners knew of Campion's arraignment, their trial was a terrifying prospect.⁴³ Present for the Queen were the Lord Chancellor Sir Thomas Bromley; Sussex; Leicester; Lords Cromwell, Buckhurst, Hunsdon, and Norrrys; Burghley; Sir Francis Knollys; Mildmay; the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Sir James Dyer; and the Lord Chief Baron Sir Roger Manwood. The Queen's Counsel were Attorney General Sir John Popham and Solicitor General Sir Thomas Egerton. Mr. Sergeant Anderson was also present but 'spake nothinge'.⁴⁴

The trial has not always been discussed with sufficient precision. Some have misconstrued the charge at this trial as harbouring Campion, but the accused were being charged with contempt for refusing to swear an oath to their initial denial of having harboured Campion.⁴⁵ The government clearly thought the gentlemen had harboured Campion; they had Campion's confession, and the most the accused could do was deny it, thus creating a convenient division between Catholic clergy and Catholic gentlemen which could then be exploited. As the text of the trial shows, this emerged in the proceedings, but within a much more complex framework.

The decision to charge Tresham and others with contempt rather than harbouring a priest is meaningful. There was precedent for punishing a gentleman for harbouring a priest now defined in law as a traitor. Francis Tregian had been convicted of *praemunire*, 'maintaining papal jurisdiction in England ... so denying the ecclesiastical supremacy of the monarch', in 1579 because he had harboured Cuthbert Mayne, the first priest executed (in 1577) under the Treason Act redefined in 1571. Tregian forfeited his lands and goods, and was sentenced to life in

⁴³ Anstruther, *Vaux*, pp. 117-20.

⁴⁴ Bruce, 'Observations', p. 80.

⁴⁵ Pritchard, *Catholic Loyalty*, p. 49; W.R. Trimble, *The Catholic Laity in Elizabethan England, 1558-1603* (Cambridge MA., 1964), *passim*; E. St. John Brooks, *Sir Christopher Hatton: Queen Elizabeth's Favourite* (1946), p. 204.

prison.⁴⁶ Under the ‘Act to Retain Her Majesty’s Subjects in their Lawful Obedience’ of March 1581, Tresham, Vaux, and Catesby could have been tried as having ‘wittingly been aiders of maintainers’ of Campion, which would have made them ‘offenders in misprision of treason’, guilty of having known of a treasonous action and concealing it.⁴⁷

Campion had been tried by the King’s Bench at Westminster, the supreme common law court, but the case of Tresham, Vaux, and Catesby was heard in Star Chamber. The designation of Star Chamber as a prerogative court — and therefore not subject to common law jurisdiction — gave it powers to act in the Queen’s interest, though not to inflict the death penalty.⁴⁸ Treason was too serious a crime to hang on the gentry and nobility for a government at pains to avoid seeming persecutory. The execution of Campion and his fellow priests was supposed to vilify missionary priests and appal the nation, but the trial of his lay associates had a different target. It needed to compel the gentry and nobility to toe the line, and to make it clear that their status would not excuse disobedience where missionary priests were concerned and to disempower them as non-conformists. Bringing the case against the prisoners in the temporal Court of Star Chamber rather than the ecclesiastical Court of High Commission underscored the prosecution’s claims that the charges pertained only to temporal crimes. This fact was well-known to Tresham and men of his education.⁴⁹

Tresham understood that the question of his having harboured Campion, or not, lay at the root of the case. Tresham asked the court to clarify which charges he was to answer; of harbouring Campion, or of ‘contemptuously refusing to swear’. Once the Lord Chancellor and the Earl of Leicester had conferred and confirmed that he was to answer to the contempt only, Tresham

⁴⁶ R.F. Trudgian, ‘Tregian, Francis (1548-1608)’, *ODNB*; see J. Morris, *The Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers Related by Themselves*, 3 vols. (1872-77), i, pp. 61-142; A. Morey, *The Catholic Subjects of Elizabeth I* (1978), pp. 168-71.

⁴⁷ 23 Eliz. Cap. I; see *OED* s.v. ‘misprision’, 1b.

⁴⁸ See J.A. Guy, *The Court of Star Chamber and its Records of the Reign of Elizabeth I* (1985).

⁴⁹ See introduction, p. 16 n. 16.

announced that he would consider himself acquitted of the first charge. He irked the court even more by suggesting that the charge of contempt might be diminished, or even collapse altogether, when the original charge was discounted.⁵⁰ For the Queen's lawyers, the trial was a test case, designed to make examples of these members of the gentry and nobility whose Catholicism made them disloyal. Tresham's responses to the questions put to him convinced the Queen's lawyers that, through the gentry's association with missionary priests, men like Tresham had been given the casuistical tools to deceive and to evade the just demands of their sovereign through her judges.⁵¹ The import of the trial for how we understand the place of Catholics in England, from the competing perspectives of the regime and its Catholic subjects, will be evident from the discussion that follows.

The trial and resistance

Resistance, whether by taking action in opposition or by disobedience, concerns contested sovereign authority as embodied in the person of the monarch and carried out in her name by her Parliament, government, and legal system. Were there circumstances in which a ruler might be disobeyed? If so, who could discern the right to disobey a ruler, who could act, and what form might this disobedience reasonably take? The moment of Tresham's trial saw the collision of contemporary fears about the threat of Catholicism at home and abroad, and the triumph of the investigative and coercive powers of the state, even if its handling of Campion created more problems than it solved.⁵² Sandeep Kaushik called the trial 'Tresham's first expression of active resistance to the religious policies of the state' in which the defence he mounted was

an argument about the positive freedom of the individual to obey the laws of God as he subjectively understood them, and was providing a theoretical understanding of

⁵⁰ Bruce, 'Observations', pp. 84, 85.

⁵¹ See Holmes, *Resistance and Compromise*, esp. chs. 8, 9, and 10; Rose, *Cases of Conscience*; J.P. Sommerville, 'The "new art of lying": equivocation, mental reservation, and casuistry', in E. Leites (ed.), *Conscience and Casuistry in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 159-84.

⁵² See Kilroy, *Scholarly Life*, ch. 12; T. Clancy, *Papist Pamphleteers: the Allen-Persons party and the political thought of the Counter-Reformation in England, 1572-1615* (Chicago, 1964), pp. 126-7; P. Lake and M.C. Questier, 'Puritans, Papists, and the "Public Sphere" in Early Modern England: the Edmund Campion Affair in Context', *Journal of Modern History*, 72/3 (2000), pp. 587-627.

the three-way relationship between God, the state, and the individual that amounted to a slippery and compelling theory of resistance.⁵³

By exploring ‘resistance’, Kaushik opened a discussion of Tresham’s interactions with the state on a spectrum reflecting the subtlety of the issues at stake, but the use of ‘active’ is misleading: any utterance or act is, by its nature, ‘active’ because it involves *doing* something. ‘Active resistance’ is just ‘resistance’, but not all forms of resistance are equal. Resistance in this context is not limited to violence through riot, rebellion, or attempts on the life of the monarch. Very few English Catholics took up arms against the monarch, or would ever have imagined doing so, but Tresham and others *did* attempt to resist what they saw to be the persecution of their coreligionists and the vilification of their faith. The ways in which they did this took on the qualities of resistance by virtue of the particular religious and political circumstances in which they found themselves. The state viewed actions which opposed the spirit or the letter of the law as political — decidedly *not* religious — resistance, and punished them as such.⁵⁴ Resistance was central to the lived experience of English Catholics:

The most important aspect of Elizabethan Catholicism was the active organisation of a system of religious resistance. It consisted of laity and clergy working together harmoniously to maintain the existence of a core of Englishmen who continued, despite all difficulties, to follow the ritual and life of Catholics.⁵⁵

But while Holmes’ statement concentrates on collective resistance reliant on cooperation between the laity and the clergy, analysis of Tresham’s experience carves out a role for individual resistance which itself demands recognition of lay agency beyond the influence of missionary priests.

⁵³ Kaushik, ‘Resistance’, p. 52.

⁵⁴ See D. Cressy, *Dangerous Talk: Scandalous, Seditious, and Treasonable Speech in Pre-Modern England* (Oxford, 2010), esp. pp. 41-3, 61-7, 75, 80-5.

⁵⁵ Holmes, *Resistance and Compromise*, p. 125.

The term 'resistance' is a contested one, and it would divert from the purpose of this thesis to theorise it extensively, but the argument offered here is that resistance was a spectrum.⁵⁶ This understanding builds on a rejection of binary terms for the interactions between the individual and the state such as obedience and disobedience, resistance and conformity.⁵⁷ Resistance might include the support of invasion, rebellion, and refusing to comply with the government's laws, but this support and refusal took various forms. Many contemporaries believed that simply *being* a Catholic, particularly a recusant, was a form of resistance: 'the very definition of a group with a separate religious identity depends upon a degree or religious resistance to the established church'.⁵⁸ For some, Catholicism itself made a person a supporter of Spanish invasion, and Catholics like Tresham were imprisoned to pre-empt this when the political situation demanded it. Here, Tresham's 'resistance' includes his relationships with Catholic clergymen, his stand in Star Chamber, as well as constructive recusant defiance, by which he used traditional elite activities such as petitioning, book-collecting and donating, and building to oppose the proscription of Catholicism and to cultivate a legacy that anticipated Catholic restoration.

⁵⁶ See Shagan, *Popular Politics*, pp. 12-13; G. Bowler, 'An axe or an acte': the Parliament of 1572 and Resistance Theory in Early Elizabethan England', *Canadian Journal of History*, 19/3 (1984), pp. 349-359; R.L. Greaves, 'Concepts of Political Obedience in Late Tudor England: Conflicting Perspectives', *JBS*, 22/1 (1982), pp. 23-34. Scholars theorising resistance have followed the works of James Scott, in particular J. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven, 1985) and idem, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, 1990). I am grateful to Dr. Jonathan Healey for discussions elucidating this body of theory. Works of political thought exploring resistance include H. Nenner, 'Loyalty and the Law: the Meaning of Trust and the Right of Resistance in Seventeenth-Century England', *JBS*, 48 (2009), pp. 859-70; G. Burgess, *British Political Thought, 1500-1660: the Politics of the Post-Reformation* (Basingstoke, 2009); Q. Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, vol. 2, *The Age of Reformation* (Cambridge, 1978), chs. 7, 9; idem, *Visions of Politics*, vol. 2, *Renaissance Virtues* (Cambridge, 2002), ch. 9. The related developments in French Catholic political thought and their relation to England are addressed in J.H.M. Salmon, 'Catholic Resistance Theory, Ultramontanism, and the Royalist Response, 1580-1620', in J.H. Burns (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Political Thought, 1450-1700* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 219-53. For Catholic resistance, Holmes, *Resistance and Compromise* is seminal. See also Clancy, *Papist Pamphleteers*.

⁵⁷ M.J. Braddick and J. Walter, 'Introduction. Grids of Power: Order, Hierarchy, and Subordination in Early Modern Society', in idem (eds.), *Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society: Order, Hierarchy, and Subordination in Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 1-42, at pp. 37-8.

⁵⁸ Holmes, *Resistance and Compromise*, p. 2.

In considering resistance in this period, and Catholic resistance in particular, it can be tempting to hold fast to a model of political resistance as solely violent, embodied in the Catholic case in the Gunpowder Plot. Catholic resistance theory has been viewed through the lens of particularly extreme characters who wrote prolifically about the position of Catholics in England and active measures to ensure regime change. Among these characters were Robert Persons, who has been used to typify the shifting strategies planned for the resolution of the problem of Protestant England and the claims of the Jesuits to be disinterested in affairs of state and loyal to Elizabeth while simultaneously planning to support a Spanish invasion. Sander exemplifies the militant pro-invasion stance: he was in Ireland under a crusader's banner when Campion and Persons arrived in England in 1580.⁵⁹ Peter Holmes rightly argued that a Catholic might fall into any of his binary categories of resistance and conformity at different stages of their lives, but in fact the behaviour of individual Catholics often fell between these permeable categories, or sat in more than one category at the same time.

In describing the political strategies of Persons and William Allen between 1580 and 1583, Holmes drew attention to their assertions which 'confidently, almost defiantly, stressed their loyalty to the Queen, and their belief in non-resistance and passive acceptance of persecution'.⁶⁰ But non-resistance and passivity were not the same thing. Recusancy was at once passive, *not* attending church, and active, a deliberate flouting of the law. Arguing that the Queen's legal counsel had no right to compel a subject to swear an oath which offended his conscience, as Tresham did in 1581, struck at the heart of the government's legitimacy. It defied its authority in the very courts where that authority was to be exercised. This, too, was resistance.

⁵⁹ For Persons see M. Carrafiello, 'Robert Parsons' Climate of Resistance and the Gunpowder Plot', *The Seventeenth Century*, 3/2 (1988), pp. 115-134; idem, *Robert Persons and English Catholicism, 1580-1610*; V. Houlston, *Catholic Resistance in Elizabethan England: Robert Persons's Jesuit Polemic, 1580-1610* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT, 2007), esp. pp. 9-18 for the view that Persons was more measured than commentators have allowed, and that his reputation for hypocrisy is unfair. See Holmes, *Resistance and Compromise*, p. 129 for Persons' duplicity. For Sander, see pp. 52, 83, above.

⁶⁰ Holmes, *Resistance and Compromise*, p. 37.

To challenge the government on its laws pertaining to the behaviour of English Catholics was resistance. In Tresham's case, traditional elite social activities became defiant in the Catholic context, a phenomenon Kaushik termed 'defensive' resistance. These were 'prosaic, everyday activities which, in the politicized context in which they were conducted, served as a form of *defensive* resistance'. Chapters three to five will discuss this further demonstrating how Tresham defied the Protestant hegemony through traditional elite activities. Tresham's resistance as characterised by Kaushik included alliances through marriage and by mobilising kin, his buildings, and his support of seminary priests, though doubt has been cast on the extent to which Tresham was engaged in this latter sphere. For Kaushik, there was also scope for 'offensive' resistance, the path taken by such Catholic elites whose social position and learning afforded them some agency in shaping the creation of religious policy and its enforcement. Kaushik argued that these activities — both 'offensive' and 'defensive' — constituted a campaign for the right to practise their religion freely, encompassing the private continuance of Catholic worship, with priests, and permissible recusancy.⁶¹

That Tresham constructed a defence challenging the spirit of government legislation at all, as he did at his trial for contempt in 1581, signals a turning point, and the circumstances of that trial were far from prosaic. Tresham was trying to defend himself against charges of egregious disloyalty, while arguing that he, and Catholics like him, should not be compelled to swear oaths on matters of conscience. His arguments held, quite self-consciously, wider political significance. Tresham's most pressing concern was the need to disassociate himself from Campion's treason — as those who had arraigned him saw it. He was not on trial for having harboured Campion — he had insisted that the court exonerate him from that charge at the outset — but he was in court as a result of their association. More broadly, these problems gave him the opportunity to expand his own defence to win for himself and his fellow Catholics some form of freedom to act according to their conscience in religious matters. In order to do this, he

⁶¹ Kaushik, 'Resistance', pp. 41-42.

had to argue that the case was not, as the government claimed, a civil one, but a religious one, and he could therefore make a claim for a brand of loyalist Catholicism which assured temporal loyalty to the sovereign while keeping matters of conscience — the spiritual affairs of a believer and their God — private, and beyond the reach of the courts. Within Kaushik's model, this constituted 'offensive' resistance because it abrogated the civil laws. In summarising Tresham's defence and its basis in 'his understanding of the nature of the individual's conscience', Kaushik argued that Tresham tried to 'create broad areas of human action where the subject could rightfully refuse to obey' and into which, crucially, the state ought not intervene. Tresham and the Queen's counsel were arguing on the basis of different conceptions of the state's powers: Tresham conceived of the separation of Church and state; the Crown their conflation.⁶²

Sir Walter Mildmay's closing summary of the case during court proceedings contextualised it within the Papacy's nefarious foreign policy schemes. It placed the trial within a larger picture of national vulnerability to warn of the implications of a gentry and nobility whose hearts and minds had been won over by agents of a foreign temporal power, and whose penchant for dissimulation meant that they could not be trusted. Tresham, Vaux, and Catesby were to be an example to the Catholic gentry and nobility in order to push their conduct in the accepted direction and to remind them of the duties their status prescribed, 'that others thereby may be warned not to fall into the like hereafter'.⁶³ In a forceful summary of the invasion threat, with Campion as emissary for the Queen's enemies, the Pope and the King of Spain, Mildmay was impressing upon the prisoners the risks to the kingdom's security that their association with missionary priests carried. If the Pope's forces triumphed, they would be responsible. The methods by which the gentry's hearts and minds had been won by the missionary priests garnered significant interest and concern for the prosecution over the course of the trial.

⁶² *ibid.*, pp. 42, 52.

⁶³ Bruce, 'Observations', p. 102.

Beneath a layer of questioning that tried to compel Tresham to swear an oath to his denial of having harboured Campion and thus create major division between the laity and the missionary clergy, a further problem emerged. Tresham's utterances caused the Queen's lawyers to suspect that he and his kin had, in the course of harbouring Campion, been taught to evade official questioning by casuistry, that is to say by 'applying the general rules of religion and morality to particular instances in which "circumstances alter cases" ... Often (and perhaps originally) applied to a quibbling or evasive way of dealing with difficult cases of duty', and for Elizabeth's government it had the more pernicious connotation of sophistry. It taught 'how to avoid telling the truth without actually lying'.⁶⁴

The fear was that this practice laid the foundations for a disloyal and dishonest gentry and nobility — educated and natural leaders of society — who would be prepared to rise for papal forces in the event of an invasion that seemed inevitable, which would call for increased punitive measures against Catholics. The Jesuits' seminary training included manuals of casuistry, and many Catholic moral theologians also sanctioned equivocation, allowing Catholics to give answers under questioning that were deliberately duplicitous, or mental reservation, where the incriminating portion of a sentence went unuttered.⁶⁵ Alexandra Walsham and Lowell Gallagher have observed the practice of dissimulation in the responses of missionary priests to government questioning, and its applicability to the thorny question of lay church attendance.⁶⁶ By choosing recusancy, Tresham eschewed this practical form of casuistry, but his use of casuistry in court demonstrates its use by the laity beyond the question of church attendance.

⁶⁴ OED s.v. 'casuistry' n. 1; 'sophistry' n. 1a; Rose, *Cases of Conscience*, p. 89; Sommerville, 'The "New Art of Lying"', p. 159; P. Zagorin, *Ways of Lying: Dissimulation, Persecution, and Conformity in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1990).

⁶⁵ Holmes, *Resistance and Compromise*, pp. 110 and 121-22.

⁶⁶ A. Walsham, 'Ordeals of Conscience: Casuistry and Confessional Identity' in idem., *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain* (Farnham, 2014), p. 111, citing L. Gallagher, *Medusa's Gaze: Casuistry and Conscience in the Renaissance* (Stanford, 1991), p. 89.

Lord Vaux was questioned first and his status as a peer earned him the right to swear on his honour. He gave a short set of brief responses in which he demonstrated the kind of rhetorical evasiveness that his interrogators were seeking, and which made him a fitting cautionary tale for other noble Catholics. Vaux admitted that he did know Campion because he had employed him for several months as a tutor in his house in 1567 or 1568 — before Campion became a Jesuit — but he claimed that if Campion had been at his house in 1580, on the occasion in question, Vaux did not recognise him: ‘And as to the receiving of Mr. Campion (albeyt I confesse he was scholemaster to some of my boyes) yet I denie that he was at my howse. I saye that he was not there to my knowledge’. Not only did he deny having knowingly harboured Campion, but he continued to refuse to swear to this denial. Vaux claimed that he answered as he did because he ‘would not have the same [his honour] to be impeached by untrewie accusation’ and not by ‘contemptuous obstinacie, but rather to feare of offending my conscience’. His response was a precise evasion of the question he had been asked.⁶⁷

Vaux and Tresham’s examiners in court were intent on framing the case in terms of loyalty and disobedience, but Vaux and Tresham saw a debate about religious freedom, specifically the right of an individual to behave according to his conscience. Their responses got to the heart of the issue of Catholic loyalty to the crown, and acknowledged the fact that their interrogators were skirting around the question and trying to disguise their punishment of Catholics with discussions of temporal loyalty:

Lord Vaux: ...offering nowe, as alwaies heretofore I have done, to depose any interrogatories that concerneth my loialtie to her majestie, or dutie to the estate, requiring onlie to be exempted to depose in matters of conscience, which, without offending my conscience greuouslie, I may not consent to doe.⁶⁸

Vaux’s sense of social injury should not go unremarked. He had already been taken for questioning in Northamptonshire by social equals, and now faced even greater humiliation as a

⁶⁷ Bruce, ‘Observations’, p. 83.

⁶⁸ *ibid.*

close prisoner before the Star Chamber. Some of the men he now faced in court were his fellow Justices of the Peace for Northamptonshire for 1573, 1577, and 1580: Leicester, Mildmay, and Dyer. Montagu, whose treatment of Vaux during his imprisonment had caused him such offence, was another fellow JP.⁶⁹ Vaux offended the lawyers by failing to show due reverence and awareness of the seriousness of his misdeeds. Prompted by Leicester, the Lord Chancellor asked Vaux why he responded ‘with onlie bowinge of your legge, in so highe an offence as this ys that you have committed against her majestie? No, yt lyttle besemeth you, and greatlie ys to be dislyked’.⁷⁰

Oaths

England in 1581 was at all levels an oath-swearing society.⁷¹ Divine law, the law of God, was transmitted to man by means of revelation. Human law encompassed the laws enacted by man, and was related to positive law – that ‘artificially instituted or imposed by an authority’ – which was itself viewed as distinct from, though ideally related to, natural law, rooted in reason.⁷² Divine law was uppermost, and for Catholics in England the disjuncture between the requirements of a state at pains to divorce itself from the Holy Mother Church placed them at odds with human and positive law — the rules by which they were bound as Elizabeth’s subjects.⁷³ Scriptural authorities were not in agreement about the swearing of oaths. In the Old Testament, Jeremiah compelled people to swear — ‘And thou shalt swear: As the Lord liveth, in truth, and in judgement, and in justice: and the Gentiles shall bless him, and shall praise him’ — but in the New Testament St. Matthew overturned it: ‘Again you have heard that it was said

⁶⁹ *Lists of JPs*: TNA SP 12/93 fols. 20v-21r (1573); TNA SP 12/121 fol. 21r (1577); TNA SP 12/145 fol. 28v (1580). Cited in Cogan, ‘Catholic Gentry’, appendix 2, but the originals have been consulted.

⁷⁰ Anstruther, *Vaux* p. 100; Bruce, ‘Observations’, p. 83.

⁷¹ J.M. Gray, ‘Vows, Oaths, and the Propagation of a Subversive Discourse’, *SCJ*, 41/3 (2010), pp. 731-56, at p. 731. For oaths, see J. Gray, *Oaths and the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 2012); H.G. Russell, ‘Religious Opposition to Oaths in England, 1380-1689’, *Harvard University Summaries of Theses, 1943-5* (Harvard MA, 1947), pp. 417-9; G. de C. Parmiter, ‘St. Thomas More and the Oath’, *Downside Review*, 78 (1960), pp. 1-13.

⁷² *OED* s.v. ‘positive’, A.I.1.

⁷³ This had ramifications for Puritans, too: see Gray, ‘Conscience and the Word of God’.

to them of old, thou shalt not forswear thyself: but thou shalt perform thy oaths to the Lord. But I say to you not to swear at all, neither by heaven, for it is the throne of God'.⁷⁴

Canon law echoed Jeremiah in its tripartite requirement: 'An oath, that is, the invocation of the divine name in witness to the truth, cannot be taken unless in truth, in judgment, and in justice'.⁷⁵ An oath lacking truth was deceptive, and canon law proscribed mental reservation: 'an oath must be interpreted strictly according to the law and according to the intention of the person taking the oath or, if that person acts out of malice, according to the intention of the person to whom the oath is made'.⁷⁶ An oath lacking in judgement was a 'vain' oath, most commonly arising in a situation which was not serious enough to require one, and could be blasphemous, or even lead to perjury.⁷⁷ Oaths wanting judgement might also include those sworn in ignorance and those sworn under duress.⁷⁸ Canon law stipulated that an oath could not be forced, and one attached to an act 'which directly tends toward the harm of others or toward the disadvantage of the public good or of eternal salvation' could not reinforce that act.⁷⁹ Discussion of unlawful oaths 'usually referred to an oath to commit an evil or unjust act'. These oaths might be broken without negative ramifications for the swearer, but the issue was too complicated to be certain that one could swear an illicit oath and break it without fear of reproach.⁸⁰

Contemporary Catholic writers debated oaths in the English context. In the seminary at Rheims, casuists addressed the problem of how to respond to questioning by Protestants: 'Howe maye the Catholicke convented before heretickes answere without synne, either sworne or not sworne

⁷⁴ Jeremiah 4:2; Matthew 5:33-34.

⁷⁵ Canon 1199 §1. This and all subsequent references to canon law are taken from *Code of Canon Law*, Book 4, part 2, title 5, chapter 2, 'An oath', online.

⁷⁶ Canon 1204; Gray, *Oaths*, pp. 37-8.

⁷⁷ *ibid.*, p. 38.

⁷⁸ *ibid.*, p. 39.

⁷⁹ Canons 1200 §2, 1201 §2.

⁸⁰ Gray, *Oaths*, pp. 40-41.

to the Interrogators?’ Drawing on Aquinas’ *Summa Theologica* and the more recent *Enchiridion* by Martin di Azpilcueta, they gave the following advice:

If a judge who lacks judicial competence asks a man to take an oath, it does not oblige him... This applies to all who are now in England under ecclesiastical jurisdiction because they run and are not sent, children without father or mother. Consequently when a Catholic is dragged before the heretics he can either refuse to take the oath (which is more prudent) or he can swear sophistically, or can reply sophistically to their individual questions, except in so far as he is asked about matters of faith, for if a man is asked tyrannously about faith he ought to make a reply.

A man who swears that he will do something wrong with the intention of doing it, sins twice. If, therefore, a Catholic is asked to inform against Catholics and is sworn, and, using the oath as a pretext, gives some information about Catholics, he sins twice; and even if he gives the names of Catholics without having taken an oath, he sins mortally, because he is giving assistance to mortal sin.⁸¹

In what follows, it will become apparent that Tresham followed this advice, perhaps because he had read it for himself in Aquinas and Azpilcueta, or because Campion and Persons had given it to him, as the case for the prosecution came to recognise.

Oaths and the trial

The examination of Tresham and his fellow prisoner-Catholics in Star Chamber was at once judicial, political, and religious. It hinged upon an oath not sworn, and the disloyalty that this implied. Tresham’s defence against the charges against him concerned the definition of an oath, and the legal grounds — themselves grounded in theological principles — for swearing them, or not. Tresham was rarely concise, and the length of the speech is not a wholly reliable indicator of quality — he ‘praieth pardon of the court’ for seventeen lines in the printed text — but it was nevertheless a sophisticated defence.⁸² What followed was not merely a rebuttal of the charges against him, but a refutation of the entire project of persecuting loyal Catholics for their religion.

⁸¹ P. Holmes, *Elizabethan Casuistry* (1981), pp. 52-3.

⁸² Bruce, ‘Observations’, pp. 84, 85.

Tresham was not prepared to countenance the prosecution's claims that his was a civil case, and proceeded on the understanding that

My contempt consysteth in refusing to sweare whether Mr. Campion, a jesuytt, was in my howse, dyd saye masse, or preache there ... All which tendeth to the discoverie of the practise of a contrary religion, other then ys warrantable in this state, and which, by the lawes now in force, ys penall.⁸³

The substance of Tresham's defence was that he could not swear an oath to his denial of harbouring Campion without offending God, and the Council could not lawfully ask him to do so ('yt is unlawfull in this case to accuse, and most unlawfull to sweare'); he was therefore not in contempt.⁸⁴ To take the oath would perjure him and to accuse himself in so doing would be contrary to divine law. He would 'greatlie synne uncharitably to belye' Campion and yet it would also be 'a grevous synne' to swear against his conscience.⁸⁵ Tresham marshalled theological authorities to contribute to this disquisition on the nature of swearing oaths. Scripture cautioned that the sin of perjury, like theft, brought a curse upon the sinner, and perjury 'before ecclesiastical authority' was supposed to be punished with a 'just penalty' under canon law; the Court of Star Chamber was not an ecclesiastical authority and no bishops were sitting for this trial, so Tresham could have avoided the canonical penalty, but he would still have offended God.⁸⁶ Two further titans of theological authority gave weight to Tresham's claims that oath-swearing was a dangerous business. St. Augustine warned against swearing oaths altogether, since it brought the swearer perilously close to perjury.⁸⁷ Thus Tresham drew on Augustine's commentary on James 5:12 – '*Vide ante omnia nolite iurare* [See, above all things, do not swear]' – to argue that he 'must heedfully forsee, that with circumspection I do not the thinge not lawfull, or inconvenient to be done, for such thinges be not dewe to God'.⁸⁸ St. Thomas Aquinas was slightly more permissive than Augustine, allowing oaths under certain

⁸³ *ibid.*, p. 86.

⁸⁴ *ibid.*, p. 86.

⁸⁵ *ibid.*, p. 87.

⁸⁶ Zachariah 5:1-4; Canons 1368 and 1369.

⁸⁷ Gray, *Oaths and the Reformation*, p. 38.

⁸⁸ St. Augustine, 'Sermon 180', English translation from J.E. Rotelle (ed.), *The Works of St. Augustine*, vol. 23: *Sermons 148-183 on the New Testament* 3 (electronic edn., 4th release, printed edn. New York, 1992, this edn. Charlottesville VA, 2014); Bruce, 'Observations', p. 86.

conditions. Tresham quoted Aquinas' counsel – '*iudicio, iuramentum incautum; veritate, mendax; iusticia, iniquum et illicitum* [A rash oath lacks judgment, a false oath lacks truth, and a wicked or unlawful oath lacks justice]' – alongside the complementary stipulations from Scripture – 'And thou shalt swear: as the Lord liveth, in truth, and in judgement, and in justice'.⁸⁹

Tresham argued that 'not one but sundrie of thes thre principalles and maximes incident to an othe [*veritas, iusticia, and iudicium*] be wantinge, that ys, bothe *iudicium* and *iusticia*'.⁹⁰ He marshalled authorities from Scripture and its commentators that he thought would lend weight to his claims, but which instead fuelled suspicions that he had been coached by Campion and Persons to evade questioning. First, he quoted the Spanish canon lawyer and moral theologian Martín de Azpilcueta whose commentary on the second Commandment ('Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain') advised against swearing '*nam qui iurat illicitum facere cum animo faciendo bis peccat* [This is because a man who swears to do something forbidden with the intention of doing it sins twice]'. The act of swearing is the first sin, for misusing the name of God, and the intention to commit the sinful act is the second. Tresham used the quotation unattributed, but he walked a thin line; either he was quoting Azpilcueta, or the Rheims casuists' use of it in their cases of conscience. Azpilcueta had mounted 'the first full-scale defence of the doctrine' of moral reservation in 1575 and his *Enchiridion* — possibly quoted by Tresham — was 'the textbook on casuistry' at the seminaries at Douai and Rheims. The number of editions the text went through attests its popularity.⁹¹ Tresham gave the work to

⁸⁹ Lamentations of Jeremiah 4:2; Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, second part, question 89, article 3. Translation from *Christian Classics Ethereal Library*, consulted online.

⁹⁰ Bruce, 'Observations', pp. 86-7.

⁹¹ Sommerville, 'The "new art of lying"', p. 173; Rose, *Cases of Conscience*, p. 88. Bruce, 'Observations', p. 86; M. de Azpilcueta, *Enchiridion sive Manuale Confessariorum et Poenitentium* (Antwerp, 1575), fol. 159. The *Enchiridion* went through several editions before and after 1581. Tresham may have been quoting from either of Christopher Plantin's Antwerp editions — quarto in 1575, and octavo in 1579 — or one of two Lyon octavo editions of Guillaume Rouillé from 1575. The *Universal Short-Title Catalogue* lists 44 known editions. On Azpilcueta, usually called Navarrus, see T. Shahan, 'Martin Aspilcueta', *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1 (New York, 1907), online edn.

St. John's College, Oxford, within an *Opera Omnia* edition of Azpilcueta's works and bound with another of Azpilcueta's works of moral theology, the *Consiliorum Sive Responsorum*.⁹² The *Enchiridion* provided a textual and intellectual link between Tresham and continental seminaries that, had it been recognised in court, would have been incendiary. That Tresham had had sight of this work, and that he chose to quote from it here, is remarkable. Canon law was premised on Papal supremacy, and invoking it, even tangentially, to deny the power of an English court bolstered the assumption that Tresham considered himself subject to the Pope's authority above all else.⁹³

Following Scripture, Augustine, Aquinas, and canon law, Tresham argued that oaths required *veritas, iusticia* and *iudicium* (truth, judgement, and justice). Popham took this to mean that Tresham was limiting the court's jurisdiction: 'My lords, yt appeareth that sir Thomas Tresham, upon the excommunication of the pope, doth not holde you lawfull judges, and therefore you want iudicium in mynistring of an othe'.⁹⁴ It was a reminder that Gregory XIII's suspension of *Regnans* was recognised by the English Protestant establishment to be half-hearted at best. Tresham was arguing for toleration of Catholic worship, a theoretical and practical limit on the government's power to govern religious matters.⁹⁵ Popham was familiar with Catholic casuistical literature, and had seen for himself the techniques of evasion offered to English Catholics who might have need of them. He made reference to a Catholic book he had seen, 'common amongst the papistes', in which the Pope had forbidden Catholics to swear. Tresham protested that he had been misquoted and that he had never heard of the book to which Popham referred:

I deryve no argument from any excommunication, neither do I saie, or geue you occasion to saie, that I holde not your honors lawfull magistrates to admynister an othe, but yt pleaseth you to suppose so, and then do make answer to your owne

⁹² BQ, *Library*, appendix 6, n. 10; Tresham gave a copy of the work to St. John's College, Oxford, but the extant edition in his personal library post-dates the trial, perhaps replacing an earlier edition. See ch. 5.

⁹³ T. Kirby, *Persuasion and Conversion: Essays on Religion, Politics, and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Leiden and Boston, 2013), p. 55.

⁹⁴ Bruce, 'Observations', p. 88.

⁹⁵ Kaushik, 'Resistance', pp. 54-5.

supposition, but to my argument you have answered nothinge ... And as for your boke, and *quousque*, I protest I never heard of any such[.]⁹⁶

This was probably also equivocal – he did not know to which casuistical manual Popham was referring so could claim ignorance of the unknown book, but really he was well-versed in casuistry. In effect, Tresham had by now virtually admitted that he had harboured Campion.

Debating with Sir Walter Mildmay, Tresham attempted to direct the discussion to the dichotomy between temporal and religious with which he had begun:

for in refusing to sweare in such a case as ys a mere temporall demand, ys but a temporall contempt, but to sweare to such a lawfull acte against the iudgment of his conscience, ys unlawfull, and a great synne, and hereof devynes make no doubt.⁹⁷

If the case were purely a temporal one, about human law, the contempt of which Tresham was accused would be ‘but a temporall contempt’, not contempt for the divine, which was far more serious. But to swear against one’s conscience would be contrary to divine law, and Tresham would thereby commit ‘a great synne’. Instead, he gave his accusers the perfect opportunity to pin him down as employing casuistry while he tried to demonstrate that the temporal and spiritual realms could be separated.⁹⁸

Sir Thomas Egerton wanted to compel Tresham to swear to how he had come by ‘thes instructions forth of the doctors’, presumably in order to prove that the Jesuits had schooled him to evade government questioning. Tresham’s answer did him no favours. He offered up the Bible, St. Augustine, Aquinas’ *Summa Theologica* and two instruments of casuistry: Soto, *De iure et iusticia* and ‘Na[u]er in his cases of conscience’, likely Azpilcueta’s *Enchiridion*.⁹⁹ Tresham asserted ‘that he will accuse no catholique in cases of conscience’. Egerton goaded Tresham: ‘You

⁹⁶ Bruce, ‘Observations’, p. 88.

⁹⁷ For Mildmay’s role in the trial, and his career in general, see Lehmborg, *Sir Walter Mildmay*, pp. 195-7.

⁹⁸ See Trimble, *Catholic Laity*, p. 121 and Pritchard, *Catholic Loyatism*, pp. 55-6.

⁹⁹ D. Soto, *De iustitia et iure, libri decem* (Salamanca, 1553), see n. 93, above. Bruce, ‘Observations’, p. 89, has ‘Naner’ but consultation of Bruce’s manuscript source, BL Harl. MS 859, fol. 46r, reveals a mistranscription of ‘Nauer’, or Navarre/Navarrus, the name by which Azpilcueta was commonly known. I owe this suggestion to Dr. Jon Parkin.

that ar so full of scripture, do not you knowe that the scripture commaundeth you to be obedient to your superiors...?' Tresham quoted Mark 17:12 — 'some thinges be proper to God, others to Cesar'. The case was a matter of conscience 'and thereby concerneth my soule ... as I maye be abled to make my accompt before the majestie of almightie God at the dredfull daie of iudgment'.¹⁰⁰ To swear an oath offending and pertaining to his conscience in a secular court contravened divine law.

The final throes of Tresham's part in the trial involved a show-down between Tresham, Leicester, and Mildmay about whether the case was about civil obedience or religious conscience.

Tresham's response – his last substantive utterance in court – summarises everything that he had said heretofore. The Catholic position was that the state was, wrongly and against their avowed policy of punishing political disobedience rather than religious conscience, punishing Catholics for their religion, and that this case had been a case of conscience. To Leicester's rather frustrated question 'Is yt not onlie a cyvill cause to aske for Campion? What yf yt be added also, whether he sayd masse, what relygion ys in this case?' Tresham replied:

because the principall thinge you enquire ys, whether, accordinge to his vocation, he hath practised a relygion not warrantable by our present lawes? And, my lord, what you make of a masse I knowe not, but I never heard yt accompted of any but a misterie in religion, which being annexed to the inquire of Mr. Campion, most plainlie maketh the difference betwene a temporall demaund and *this case, which, being then a cause* [sic] *of conscience*, I offer myselfe to be judged by any devyne olde or newe, catholique or protestant, I refuse none, whether I ought to sweare herein, and, so farre as they shall yelde that by Gods lawe I ought, so farre I will depose.¹⁰¹

Tresham's reply summarised precisely what the Elizabethan regime was actually doing despite their claims. The mention of 'our present lawes' emphasised the relative novelty of the outlawing of Catholic practice, and the impermanence of Elizabeth's reign. The description of the mass as 'a misterie' was undeniably Catholic, and the reference to Campion's 'vocation' was a

¹⁰⁰ Bruce, 'Observations', p. 92.

¹⁰¹ *ibid.*, p. 95. My emphasis.

damning indictment of the priest's recent arraignment for treason and his predictable execution. It was a remarkable statement.

Mildmay recommended the punishment: the prisoners were sentenced to be imprisoned in the Fleet until they would 'swear herein'. Vaux was fined £1,000, and Tresham and Catesby 500 marks apiece. Lord Hunsdon called for Tresham's fine to be greatly increased — to £3,000 *at least* — because he had 'committed a greater offence in making of his publique defence in courte then he dyd erst in refusinge to sweare', and the Lord Chancellor added that the prisoners should not be released 'without her majesties speciall favour', and ratified the fines recommended by Mildmay.¹⁰²

After the trial

During Tresham's imprisonment he remained committed to acting according to his conscience on his terms, which would at times mean 'offensive' resistance. The clearest expression of this was hearing Mass in Lord Vaux's cell in the Fleet prison with Edward Osborne, a seminary priest, in February 1582, which, under the terms of the 1581 statute, brought with it a fine of 200 marks for saying Mass, 100 marks for hearing it, and a year's imprisonment.¹⁰³ To do so while in prison following a trial wherein Tresham had unsuccessfully taken on the government, was a flagrant act of disobedience. Tresham's behaviour was consistent with the claims he made in Star Chamber — that a spiritual phenomenon ought to be governed only by the individual's conscience — but it conformed to Persons' views and was also an explicit rejection of the law, and to do so while in prison compounded the offence. There was a possible counter-argument. For Tresham and his coreligionist prisoners, the Mass was a spiritual necessity. It provided

¹⁰² *ibid.*, pp. 101, 105, 107.

¹⁰³ TNA SP 12/152 fol. 97r, 'Mr. Richard Topclyffe's note of particulars against William Deane and Edward Osborne, seminary priests: celebration of mass in the Fleet prison before Lord Vaux, Sir Thomas Tresham, Mr. Tirwhitt, and others; and at Lady's Vaux's lodging at St. Mary Overies'; 23 Eliz. I Cap. I. For Osborne, see G. Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests: a Dictionary of the Secular Clergy of England and Wales, 1558-1850*, vol. 1, *Elizabethan, 1558-1603* (Gateshead, 1969), pp. 261-2.

access to a Sacrament that was their spiritual food, and the act of communion sustained them during a time of trial.

Richard Topcliffe, who prepared notes for his interrogation of Osborne, saw it differently. Aside from the flagrant disregard for the law and the subversion of their imprisonment, the affair exposed the far greater problem of the underground networks of missionary priests and their noble flock under his nose in London, and connected Vaux and Tresham to it. Topcliffe had uncovered illicit Catholic rites while investigating the distributors of Thomas Alfield's tract defending *Campion*. He identified Lady Vaux's lodgings at St. Mary Overies' in the parish of St. Saviour's, Southwark (owned by Anthony Browne, Viscount Montagu) as the site of 'three or fower masses' said by Osborne wherein 'henry stewk her [Lady Vaux's] man did helpe him [Osborne] to say mass'.¹⁰⁴ Though Anthony Browne was said to have refused to harbour missionary priests, members of his family and circle certainly did.¹⁰⁵ It reinforced the official view that Tresham and Vaux were part of a coordinated effort between gentry, nobility, and priests, to resist and oppose the state by harbouring its enemies and adhering to an outlawed religion.

III: Post-1583

There is no record of Tresham challenging the government's reasons for holding him in the Fleet during his imprisonment, probably because he was working on having his sentence commuted to house arrest through letters of petition sent in his wife's name.¹⁰⁶ The political context may also have induced him to keep his head below the parapet. Kaushik has argued that incipient war with Spain made it 'impossible for Tresham and his allies to press their campaign for toleration with any real chance of success'.¹⁰⁷ *Regnans in excelsis* remained suspended, though

¹⁰⁴ Questier, *Catholicism and Community*, p. 189.

¹⁰⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 156, 161, 186-7.

¹⁰⁶ See pp. 54-9, above.

¹⁰⁷ Kaushik, 'Resistance', p. 59.

this did not encourage benignity on the part of the government. Peter Holmes observed a watershed in 1584, after which French ideas of resistance began to have more influence on English Catholic resistance as espoused in continental publications.¹⁰⁸ In the aftermath of Burghley's *The Execution of Justice* (1583), Catholic responses made manifest their separation from invasion and treason. Espousing toleration allowed Catholic writers to distance themselves from the radical schemes of which they were accused. *Leicester's Commonwealth* of disputed authorship (1584) and Allen's *True, Sincere, and Modest Defence* (1584) reprised the arguments for non-resistance put forward by Allen and Persons in their respective *Apology and True Declaration* (1581) and *A Brief Discourse* (1580) at the outset of the English mission. The interlocutors of *Leicester's Commonwealth* were full of praise for the nations whose policies of toleration had brought peace, but the work's virulent criticism of Leicester evinced reception of the evil counsellor trope which was deployed in support of invasion and violent resistance in the tracts of the 1590s.¹⁰⁹

The Queen signed the Treaty of Nonsuch in August 1585, agreeing that the English and the Dutch would support each other against Spanish aggression, which was tantamount to a declaration of war.¹¹⁰ War broke out in 1585 and 'engulfed multiple theatres', France, the Low Countries, the Atlantic, and Ireland.¹¹¹ Reports of a summer invasion reached Walsingham's ears in the spring of 1587 and the Armada arrived in the Channel on 19 July 1588.¹¹² A plot to shoot the

¹⁰⁸ Holmes, *Resistance and Compromise*, p. 65.

¹⁰⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 132-3; W. Allen, *An Apologie and True Declaration of the Institution and Endeavours of the Two English Colleges* (1581); *idem*, *A True Sincere and Modest Defence of English Catholiques that Suffer for their Faith both at Home and Abrode* (Rouen, 1584); *Leicester's Commonwealth*, printed as *The Copie of a Leter, Wryten by a Master of Arte of Cambridge Concerning the Erle of Leycester*. On the contested authorship of *Leicester's Commonwealth*, see P. Holmes, 'The Authorship of "Leicester's Commonwealth"', *JEH*, 33/3 (1982), pp. 424-30. See also P. Lake, *Bad Queen Bess? Libels, Secret Histories, and the Politics of Publicity in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth I* (Oxford, 2016), ch. 5.

¹¹⁰ R.B. Wernham, *Before the Armada: the Growth of English Foreign Policy, 1584-1588* (1966), p. 374.

¹¹¹ J. Guy, 'The 1590s: the Second Reign of Elizabeth I?' in *idem* (ed.), *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 1-19, at p. 1.

¹¹² Read, *Lord Burghley*, pp. 396, 429, and *passim*. See also W.T. MacCaffrey, 'The Armada in its Context', *HJ*, 32 (1989), pp. 713-15; A.J. Gerson, 'The English Recusants and the Spanish Armada', *American Historical Review*, 22 (1917), pp. 589-94.

Queen hatched by John Somerville never got off the ground, but nevertheless urged action. The plots of Francis Throckmorton and Anthony Babington, discovered in 1583 and 1586 respectively, had borne all the hallmarks of the Catholic conspiracy feared most by the Elizabethan regime: Jesuit involvement; Spanish invasion; mass betrayal by the gentry and nobility, bringing with it popular revolt; regicide, and the liberation and coronation of Mary, Queen of Scots.¹¹³ Their failure, the subsequent execution of their principal actors, and the eventual execution of Mary in 1587, were a vindication of the government's fears, but also provided resolutions: the public execution of plotters, and the defeat of Mary.¹¹⁴ Tresham, wisely, kept his views about the Queen's cousin private at this time, but there is good reason to think that he favoured Mary. Two devotional manuscripts hymning the 'most serene' Mary were found during a raid of Tresham's Hoxton house in 1584, and notes in Tresham's hand dating from after Elizabeth's death betrayed his preference for Mary's claim, calling Elizabeth illegitimate.¹¹⁵

IV: Letters from prison

Letter-writing was a ubiquitous manifestation of the relationships between individuals, and one of the ways in which these relationships were created and sustained. Letters often embodied the hope of assistance from a patron or would-be patron. Writers employed familiar tropes based on the relationship between writer and recipient, tropes which were reinforced by handbooks training readers in the art of effective letter-writing.¹¹⁶ A letter from a prisoner to a patron might

¹¹³ J. Bossy, *Under the Molehill: an Elizabethan Spy Story* (2001) unravels the plots, but see in particular pp. 78, 108 (Somerville); pp. 31-3, 76-93, 100-105 and *passim* (Throckmorton); pp. 139-42 (Babington).

¹¹⁴ C. Read, *Mr. Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1925), ii, pp. 381-4, 386 (Throckmorton); iii, 1-70 (Babington); idem, *Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth* (1960, this edn. 1965), pp. 340-70 (Mary); J. H. Pollen, *Mary Queen of Scots and the Babington Plot*, Scottish History Society, 3rd ser. (Edinburgh, 1922). Mary's execution was not, of course, unproblematic, nor did it resolve anxieties about the succession: Doran and Kewes, *Doubtful and Dangerous*, p. 4. The dominance of succession in the discourse of the 1590s is discussed in ch. 3.

¹¹⁵ See pp. 216-7, below.

¹¹⁶ J. Gibson, 'Letters', in M. Hattaway (ed.), *A Companion to Renaissance Literature and Culture* (Oxford, 2002), online edn.; G. Schneider, *The Culture of Epistolarity: Vernacular Letters and Letter-Writing in Early Modern England, 1500-1700* (Newark, 2005); T. van Houdt et al. (eds.), *Self-Presentation and Social Identification. The Rhetoric and Pragmatics of Letter Writing in Early Modern Times* (Leuven, 2002), pp. 17-38.

include assurances of honourable conduct or innocence, hoping that the recipient would influence a reprieve: when the length of imprisonment was indeterminate, it is understandable that a prisoner might try to shorten it. Natural, too, was the impulse to make assurances of one's fidelity to the sovereign, affection towards the nation, and the otherwise good character of the prisoner. Through letters of petition, Tresham hoped to be allowed to move to more comfortable lodgings for the period of his house arrest, for the good of his health and his family, and to soften the Privy Council's opinion of him. We can discern patterns in the content of petitionary letters: the prisoner's lament that he has offended, and appeals to concerns about governance, both of the family and the estate — how would they cope in his absence? Prisoners' complaints about ill health and poor treatment from mercenary prison wardens were also commonplace, and contemporaries acknowledged that prisons were often run for the warden's personal gain.¹¹⁷ This first experience of imprisonment was Tresham's focus for the first half of the decade; he was not evidently in a hurry to reprise the Catholic cause. After the defeat of his bold defence in Star Chamber, he did not make overtures on behalf of the Catholic community until 1585.

Letters of supplication and local connections

Letters of petition in Muriel Tresham's name were sent to influential kin. Tresham petitioned members of the Privy Council and drew on local gentry connections in so doing. Despite the locus of the trial and initial imprisonment in London, Tresham appealed to these privy councillors as local landowners. On 1 October 1583, Tresham wrote a supplication accompanied by letters for three members of the Privy Council: Mildmay, Leicester, and Sir Christopher Hatton. He sent them first to his cousin Horseman for copying and sending. The formal supplication required a particular form of presentation, and Tresham indicated this by noting 'Let this be wrighten in supplication wise, with the superscription intituled, as is vsuall' on one of the leaves. Tresham's request was thus. By order of the Council, he was living 'in a certen small and vneasie howse in hogsden' in Hoxton in the parish of Shoreditch and forbidden from

¹¹⁷ W. Thornbury, 'The Fleet Prison', in idem and E. Walford (eds.), *Old and New London*, 6 vols. (1897), ii, 404-416, online edn., *BHO*.

leaving the parish without licence. Tresham's right to inhabit the house had ended in Michaelmas, and the new occupant 'now hastenith to come thither'. He had been unable to find another house where he might 'sett he himselfe, with his familye' in Shoreditch, 'partely throwgth the greatt streyghteness of howses, and partely throwgth the great resorte of strangers continually reparinge to those partes' and therefore made 'speciall sute' to the Council 'for favor to remove to my owne howse in westminster, with libertie in the terme time onely to follow my law cawses, which greatly do concerne mee'.¹¹⁸

The three letters contain this request in roughly the same form, but the relationship between sender and recipient informed the language used. Writing to Leicester, who had 'procuered mee this presentt libertie', Tresham asked for assurances that Leicester's favour towards him would continue, that 'in like sorte yo^w will vovsafe mee yo^r forderance in this my greatt necessitie'.¹¹⁹ We do not know why Leicester intervened for Tresham, having been so outraged during his trial. In writing to Sir Christopher Hatton, whose estates at Holdenby and Kirby Hall were within a seventeen-mile radius of Rushton, Tresham drew on an existing relationship based partly on local connections. All three recipients had links to the Midlands: they had all served as Justices of the Peace for Northamptonshire in 1573, 1577, and 1580; Leicester had also served for Warwickshire in those years, and Hatton was listed there for 1580 and 1582 as well.¹²⁰ Simon Adams wrote that Leicester 'attached a particular sentimental value to his Warwickshire estates and the Dudley claim of descent from the Beauchamp earls of Warwickshire'.¹²¹ He saw Leicester as actively expanding his estates in the Midlands between 1568 and 1585 and interpreted his tour of Northamptonshire in 1581 as an attempt to encourage the 'local godly'.¹²² Mildmay had his

¹¹⁸ BL Add MS 39828, fol. 92r, Tresham's supplication to the Privy Council, 1 October 1583.

¹¹⁹ *ibid.*, fol. 93r, Tresham to the Earl of Leicester, 1 October 1583.

¹²⁰ Ford, 'Mildmay'; see p. 101 n. 69, above.

¹²¹ S. Adams, 'Dudley, Robert, earl of Leicester (1532/3-1588)', *ODNB*.

¹²² S. Adams, *Leicester and the Court: Essays on Elizabethan Politics* (Manchester and New York, 2002), pp. 322 and 338.

estate, Apethorp, in Northamptonshire, around seventeen miles north-east of Rushton, and Hatton was Member of Parliament for Northamptonshire in 1572.¹²³

Tresham expected benignity from Hatton in particular, and the letter he sent to him was considerably longer than the others at two sides of a leaf to just half a side. Hatton had shown great kindness and generosity to his neighbour and fellow gentleman in recent years, and Tresham heaped lavish praise on him as the saviour of his family and emblem of gentry honour.¹²⁴

I cane not turne my thoughtes to meditate on times passed, but I finde his manifold favores, religiusly registred in most thankefull breste: nether may I way in æquall balance, my presentt adversetie but forced am I to agknoledge that [^]his frendly travell was never wantinge to have thence protected me.¹²⁵

Tresham had reason to think that Hatton would be sympathetic. In the ascendant at court since his promotion to the Privy Council in 1577, and playing an even more prominent role from 1581, Hatton was an influential patron.¹²⁶ Hatton's protection of his myriad Catholic associates aroused suspicion from more zealous godly Councillors and he set himself against Puritans on a number of occasions; he may have been influential in the protracted fall of Archbishop Grindal between 1577 and 1583.¹²⁷ Contemporaries judged his time at St. Mary Hall, Oxford, while William Allen was at its head, as evidence of early popery. William Camden thought that Catholics looked upon him hopefully, and noted his cautious line in religious policy. Voicing his

¹²³ S.M. Thorpe, 'Mildmay, Sir Walter (bef. 1523-89)', *HoP* 1558-1603; P.W. Hasler, 'Hatton, Christopher I (c. 1540-91)', *HoP* 1558-1603. Hatton would also serve as MP for Northamptonshire in 1584 and 1586.

¹²⁴ W.T. MacCaffrey, 'Hatton, Sir Christopher (c. 1540-1591)', *ODNB*.

¹²⁵ BL Add MS 39828, fol. 94r, Tresham to Sir Christopher Hatton, 1 October 1583. For Hatton see St. John Brooks, *Sir Christopher Hatton*; M. Deacon, *The Courtier and the Queen: Sir Christopher Hatton and Elizabeth I* (Northampton, 2008); C. Enis, 'The Dudleys, Sir Christopher Hatton and the Justices of Elizabethan Warwickshire', *Midland History*, 39/1 (2014), pp. 1-35; S. Doran, *Elizabeth I and Her Circle* (Oxford, 2015), ch. 6.

¹²⁶ MacCaffrey, 'Hatton, Sir Christopher'.

¹²⁷ P. Collinson, 'The Downfall of Archbishop Grindal and its Place in Elizabethan Political and Ecclesiastical History', in Clark, *The English Commonwealth, 1547-1640*, pp. 39-58, at p. 46; P. Lake, 'The Monarchical Republic of Queen Elizabeth I (and the Fall of Archbishop Grindal) Revisited' in J.F. McDiarmid (ed.), *The Monarchical Republic of Early Modern England: Essays in Response to Patrick Collinson* (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 129-47, at p. 147 suggested that Hatton may have tried to come to Grindal's aid.

scepticism for Hatton as sympathetic towards Catholics, Wallace MacCaffrey noted that Hatton was in fact pretty virulent in his criticism of Allen, and of the Pope, but so too were many Catholics.¹²⁸ The evidence contributed by recent investigations into Hatton's patronage suggest that his ambiguous confessional identity did indeed shroud Catholic sympathies and associations.¹²⁹ Tresham could certainly count himself among these. Their shared commitment to working for the good of what Tresham called 'owre shire' was demonstrated by Hatton's gift of stone to Tresham during the building of the market cross at Rothwell, begun in 1577, 'yea in trades of the yearth, the very stones, must bear witness thearof'. The building would not only memorialise Hatton's great kindnesses in his patronage of Tresham, the stability of Hatton's estate as a symbol of the resilience of the county and the mercies shown to Tresham's poorer estate: 'recorded ... in tyme and stone, in the highway, yea in the midd way between both yo^r stately edifices which forceth not the rage of strongest weather, and which shall ever publishe to owre shire the bontie of happye Holdenby, to the distressed Ruinas Rushton'.¹³⁰

It was due to Hatton's kindly offices that Tresham's brother William had secured a position as Gentleman Pensioner at Court; Hatton had given William his own pension at his promotion to the Privy Council.¹³¹ Following his flight from Court to join Catholic émigrés on the continent, William wrote to Hatton to complain about his unkindness towards him, noting that their friendship long predated Hatton's promotion to the Privy Council.¹³² Tresham's faith in Hatton was not misplaced. It seems that he owed the move from close imprisonment in the Fleet to house arrest in Hoxton to Hatton's intercession, writing that he could barely step into the yard 'belonging to this cotadge, but I must witteness [^]his forderance of mee thereto'. Tresham credited Hatton with protecting his family's reputation, too, such that 'I cane not fix my eyes on the familie of the tresams' without calling to mind Hatton, 'who not onely hath exercised

¹²⁸ MacCaffrey, 'Hatton, Sir Christopher'.

¹²⁹ See forthcoming work by Dr. Neil Younger.

¹³⁰ BL Add MS 39828 fol. 94r.

¹³¹ I am grateful to Dr. Neil Younger for this point.

¹³² St. John Brooks, *Sir Christopher Hatton*, p. 212.

frendly offices of bontie to some, but also lately hath remitted action of iniury and ow[t]rage to others'.¹³³ In a shrewd blend of praise and persuasion, Tresham drew on Cicero's *De Officiis* to intimate to Hatton that duty required him to perform this kindness: '*non demus [est] demus in nostra potestate est: non reddere viro [MS faded] iniuria id facere possit* [Whether we do the kindness or not is not optional; but to fail to requite one is not allowable to a good man, provided he can make the requital without violating the rights of others]'.¹³⁴ The quotation was slightly misremembered, but the meaning was clear and it was probably recognisable to one familiar with the original text. Though circumstance had now cast Tresham in the role of supplicant, times and fortunes might change for those at court, and Hatton might one day find himself out of favour.

IV: Petitions

The petition 'of loyal Catholic subjects to the queen', and Tresham's probable authorship of it, has been seen as emblematic of his prominence among Catholic loyalists.¹³⁵ No reason has yet appeared to doubt Tresham's authorship. The analysis which follows examines the context of the petition presented to Elizabeth in early March 1585 by Richard Shelley and organised by Tresham, Vaux, Catesby, Sir John Arundell, with the involvement of William Tirwhit, Francis Browne (a brother of Lord Montagu), William Wilford, a Mr. Pryce and a Mr. Fitton.¹³⁶ Tirwhit was part of a circle of Sussex recusant families around the Brownes, and Wilford may have hosted Tresham when he needed a suitable residence for his house arrest at Hoxton in 1583.¹³⁷

¹³³ BL Add MS 39828 fol. 94r.

¹³⁴ *ibid.*, fol. 94v, M. Tullius Cicero, *De Officiis*, ed. and trans. W. Miller (*Loeb Classical Library*, 30, Cambridge MA and London, 1913), pp. 52-3.

¹³⁵ Kaushik, 'Resistance', pp. 57-9; Pritchard, *Catholic Loyalty*, pp. 51-4; Trimble, *Catholic Laity*, pp. 120-1, 131-4.

¹³⁶ Anstruther, *Vaux*, pp. 154-8, at p. 157; R.B. Manning, 'Richard Shelley of Warminghurst and the English Catholic Petition for Toleration of 1585' *BCH* 6/6 (1962), pp. 265-74, at p. 270; Shelley's relative and namesake was with Tresham's grandfather a fellow Prior of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem: M. Mullett, 'Shelley, Sir Richard (c.1513-1587)', *ODNB*; Kaushik, 'Resistance', p. 57. For Arundell, see P.Y. Stanton, 'Arundell family (*per.* 1435-1590)', s.v. 'Sir John [v] Arundell (1527x30-1590)', *ODNB* and p. 50, above.

¹³⁷ For Tirwhit, see Questier, *Catholicism and Community*, p. 97; for Tresham's cousin Wilford — his Christian name is not given — see BL Add. MS 39828, fol. 95r, Tresham to his cousin Horseman, 2 October 1583. This letter is discussed above: see p. 113.

Mr. Pryce may have been William ap Pryce of Washingley, Huntingdonshire, whose shield Tresham had included on his market cross at Rothwell in 1577, and who was later imprisoned at Ely along with Tresham and three more of the men above in 1590: Catesby, Arundell, Tirwhit, Thomas Wilford — perhaps related to William, above — was also at Ely.¹³⁸ A preparatory document, ‘reasons for and against a petition’, had been drawn up earlier, and is to be found in the Tresham Papers. It discusses content among other relevant considerations, addressing certain points with ‘*objectio*’ followed by ‘*respons[io]*’ or ‘*solutio*’.¹³⁹ It may have been written in reflection on a note supposedly sent to Tresham by John Townley, then a prisoner in the New Fleet prison at Manchester, and was among the aforementioned group of prisoners at Ely in 1590.¹⁴⁰ First, it will be necessary to establish the political context of the endeavour.

Recent Catholic conspiracies between 1583 and 1584, together with proposed legislation to guarantee Catholic loyalty, created an urgent need for a petition which disassociated English Catholics from the actions of individual conspirators in a bid to halt the passage of an act which would make it treasonous to succour a Catholic priest. Yet the same climate which made a petition necessary in English Catholic eyes also made it dangerous. Within Parliament, the bill had been opposed by one now exposed as a traitor, William Parry, a Welsh Member of Parliament and known ‘*agent provocateur*’, in a speech on 17 December. By February 1585, Parry had been arrested and tried for high treason, and he was executed on 2 March in the yard of Westminster Palace. Parry had been found guilty of plotting to kill Elizabeth, though ambiguity about his biography and his time spent working as a double agent muddied the waters.¹⁴¹ Like Francis Throckmorton, Parry was reputed to have plotted regicide in order to put Mary on the

¹³⁸ Young, ‘Bishop’s Palace’, pp. 216–7. For Pryce’s shield at Rothwell, see appendix I, no. 55. The Rothwell heraldry is discussed in ch. 4.

¹³⁹ BL Add MS 39828, fols. 98r–99v, ‘Reasons for and against a petition’.

¹⁴⁰ TNA SP 12/162 fols. 24–5, at fol. 25r, Laurence Vaux late Warden of Manchester to Mr. Coppage, 21 August 1583.

¹⁴¹ M.A.P., ‘Parry (Ap Harry), William (d. 1585), of London’, *HoP* 1558–1603; J. Lock, ‘Parry, William (d. 1585)’, *ODNB*; See also L. Hicks, ‘The Strange Case of Dr William Parry: the Career of an *Agent Provocateur*’, *Studies: an Irish Quarterly Review of Letters, Philosophy, and Science*, 37 (1948), pp. 343–62; Bossy, *Under the Molehill*, pp. 96–9 and *passim*.

throne and restore England to Catholicism. This Parliament, during which a member had been, quite astonishingly, found guilty of the very conspiratorial activity that the legislation they had been debating was intended to prevent, was already concerned with the threat of Catholicism. Being preoccupied with the real and present danger of Catholic conspiracy and an unsolved succession, this same Parliament saw the passing of the 'Act for ... the surety of the Queen's Majesty's most royal person' (1585), the continuation of the terms of the Bond of Association with more limited terms.¹⁴²

The Bond of Association was drawn up as the 'Instrument of Association' by Walsingham and Burghley in October 1584, while Parliament was out of session.¹⁴³ It was a response to terrifying events in 1584, in particular the assassination of the Dutch Protestant Prince William of Orange, and the discovery of the Throckmorton plot, which would have replaced Elizabeth with Mary, Queen of Scots. Its central actor Francis Throckmorton — a cousin of Muriel Tresham who had spent time with Catholic émigrés on the continent — was executed in July 1584. Throckmorton's treason, in which Ambassador Mendoza was deeply implicated, had helped to convince Parliament of a 'grand Catholic plot in which the mission of the seminarians played an important role which justified the most rigorous measures of repression'.¹⁴⁴ The Throckmorton plot had ultimately grown out of a frustrated attempt to control Scottish unrest through a so-called 'Association' scheme with Mary.¹⁴⁵ This scheme followed intrigues concerning a cadre of Catholic nobles and consisted of a plan to release the Scottish Queen from prison to rule Scotland with her son James VI. The scheme had potentially convenient outcomes for the

¹⁴² 27 Eliz. Cap. I.

¹⁴³ E. Vallance, 'Loyal or Rebellious? Protestant Associations in England 1584-1696', *The Seventeenth Century*, 17/1 (2002), pp. 1-23; D. Cressy, 'Binding the Nation: the Bonds of Association, 1584 and 1696' in D.J. Guth and J.W. McKenna (eds.), *Tudor Rule and Revolution: essays for G. R. Elton from his American friends* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 217-34; Collinson, 'The Monarchical Republic', pp. 413-8; idem, 'The Elizabethan Exclusion Crisis', pp. 63-8, 70-1.

¹⁴⁴ W.T. MacCaffrey, *Queen Elizabeth and the Making of Policy, 1572-1588* (Princeton, 1981, this edn. Princeton, 2014), pp. 328, 148.

¹⁴⁵ A. Plowdon, 'Throckmorton [Throgmorton], Francis (1554-1584)', *ODNB*; 'A discovery of Francis Throckmorton's treasons', in W. Oldys and T. Park (eds.), *The Harleian Miscellany*, 10 vols. (1809), iii, pp. 190-200; J. Bossy, *Giordano Bruno and the Embassy Affair* (New Haven and London, 1991), pp. 28-31.

English Protestant cause; developments over the border made it seem that James ‘appeared to be leaving the reservation of English-backed Protestant dominance and to be relying instead on Marian, crypto-Catholic, and Catholic support’. Though it had originated with Mary, who would have regained her liberty, it promised dual benefits for the Elizabethan regime: controlling ‘the newly resurgent Marian and Catholic interest in Scotland’ and bringing James back ‘to the Protestant sphere of influence, while locking Mary into a stable role’. Such was the currency given to the ‘Association’ scheme by the regime that Burghley and Walsingham prepared arguments for and against, but Mary’s unwillingness to forgo conspiracy in favour of collaboration impeded the scheme’s progress.¹⁴⁶

The 1584 Bond of Association required Elizabeth’s subjects to defend her person, to avenge any attempts on her life, and to commit vengeance against usurpers who tried to take power in the wake of a successful assassination, and in whose name conspiracy was concocted. In so doing it made provision for the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots: ‘Put bluntly, this meant that should an attempt be made on Elizabeth’s life, Mary Queen of Scots was to be destroyed, whether a party to the action or not.’¹⁴⁷ We do not know whether Tresham or members of his circle subscribed to the bond. The copies from Middlesex — where the imprisoned Tresham could plausibly have been approached — do not survive, but Catholics may have been among those who signed it.¹⁴⁸ These developments at the centre of the Elizabethan regime were a response to the ‘concerted Catholic propaganda drive of the summer of 1584’, which included the successive publication of three textual attacks on the Protestant vilification of Catholics, including *Leicester’s Commonwealth*.¹⁴⁹ In the light of the Throckmorton Plot and circumstances in Scotland, laws against Catholics were being enhanced. The Act against Jesuits and seminary priests, debated during the first session of the 1584 Parliament, and opposed by Parry, made

¹⁴⁶ Lake, *Bad Queen Bess*, pp. 110–111, quotation at p. 111.

¹⁴⁷ J.E. Neale, *Elizabeth I and her Parliaments 1584–1601*, 2 vols. (1957), ii, p. 17, quoted in J.G. McManaway, ‘Elizabeth, Essex, and James’ in idem, *Shakespeare, Bibliography, and Theatre* (New York, 1969), pp. 163–74, at p. 164 n. 1.

¹⁴⁸ Marshall, *Heretics and Believers*, p. 552; Holmes, *Resistance and Compromise*, p. 179,

¹⁴⁹ Lake, *Bad Queen Bess*, p. 7.

priest-harbouring treasonous.¹⁵⁰ It marked a dramatic escalation in anti-Catholic legislation. Previously, a lay Catholic might be found guilty of misprision of treason under the Treason Act redefined in 1571, and recusancy attracted its own financial and social penalties, but the new legislation equated the activities of the gentry and noble recusant community directly with treason. Not only would a treason conviction under this act involve grisly death by hanging, drawing, and quartering, but it would also besmirch the family name and bring financial and social ruin on its surviving members. It is only with these circumstances in mind that the document discussing the petition, and the petition itself, may be properly understood.

'Reasons for and against a petition'

Some Catholics, both clerical and lay, at home and abroad, recognised in Tresham potential for leadership of a loyalist Catholic cause. Referring to the Mass heard in Vaux's cell in 1582, William Allen called Vaux and Tresham 'the true noble confessors of Christ' in his *True, Sincere and Modest Defence of English Catholics*.¹⁵¹ Allen's praise does not evince a personal connection, but this prominent radical text would have come under the gaze of unsympathetic and influential readers, and Allen's invocation of Vaux and Tresham so soon after their trial and imprisonment may have suggested an association with the pro-invasion group to hostile government readers.¹⁵² In around August 1583, shortly after his release from the Fleet into the comparative freedom of house arrest in Hoxton, Tresham was approached to comment on the possibility of a petition. The approach came via a note 'for a supplication to the Quenes majesty' written by John Townley on the reverse of a letter from Laurence Vaux — no relation of the Northamptonshire Vauxes — to John Coppage. Both Townley and Coppage were then prisoners in the New Fleet at Manchester, and Laurence Vaux was imprisoned in the Gatehouse at

¹⁵⁰ Neale, *Parliaments, 1584-1601*, ii, 31, 37-9, 53-4, 57.

¹⁵¹ W. Allen, *A True, Sincere and Modest Defence*, 2 vols. *Catholic library ser.*, ii (1914), i, p. 25, quoted in Anstruther, *Vaux*, p. 143.

¹⁵² As a response to his *Execution of Justice* we might assume that Burghley, at least, felt the need to read it.

Westminster after returning from Louvain.¹⁵³ Townley wrote that ‘we wolde haue you shewe this note to Sir Thomas Tressam and knowe his opyon therin to witte whether yt weare nessessarye to exhibyte to her majesty a lyke petion’. Both Coppage and Townley were by this stage advanced in years, and had been imprisoned and fined variously for their recusancy and their association with priests, including Laurence Vaux in particular.¹⁵⁴ The proposed supplication asked Elizabeth to grant her Catholic subjects ‘ffree libertye of their Conscience in Quiet vse of the Catholyke Religion ... wythowt impechement’, with six churches in every shire, two in every city, and the revocation of all penal statutes relating to Catholicism. In return, English Catholics would ‘of their voluntarye good wyll offer vnto your majesty a yerely subsedye duryng yor majesty’s pleasure’ to be levied on lands and goods in the form of grants of Parliamentary subsidies.¹⁵⁵

It may have been in partial response to Townley’s proposal — assuming that it did indeed reach Tresham — that the document ‘Reasons for and against a petition to the Queen’ was drafted with Tresham’s involvement, but the difference in content casts some doubt on this. The author of the document recommended that the petition prioritise the availability of priests in England to ensure access to the sacraments, but it does not mention the provision of churches, nor the subsidy, and it seems therefore to have been a different enterprise. Townley’s supplication resembles more closely the proposals discussed at James’ accession, wherein Catholics suggested that they would safeguard the revenue that recusancy generated for the Crown by paying fines if they could be allowed to retain their priests. The petition usually and reasonably attributed to Tresham, sent to James soon after his accession, is a protestation of English

¹⁵³ J.J. La Rocca, ‘Vaux, Laurence (1519-85)’, *ODNB*; *A Catechisme or Christian Doctrine by Laurence Vaux*, ed. T.G. Law, Chetham Soc., new ser., iv (1885), pp. lxxiii–lxxv.

¹⁵⁴ La Rocca, ‘Vaux, Laurence’; TNA SP 12/162, fols. 24r–5v, at fol. 25r. The note sent to Tresham, assuming that there was one, does not survive. It is to this draft that Peter Holmes referred: Holmes, *Resistance and Compromise*, p. 62.

¹⁵⁵ TNA SP 12/162, fol. 25r.

Catholic loyalism, but makes no reference to priests, recusancy, or fines.¹⁵⁶ Both petitions, therefore, differ substantially in their proposed solution, and we might therefore argue for the presence of competing loyalist ideas about the best way of resolving with the government the question of Catholic worship and penal fines.

Tresham was the recipient of the copy of the document ‘reasons for and against a petition’ in the Tresham Papers: the paper has been folded three times and there are remnants of sealing wax.¹⁵⁷ His authorship is unlikely in the light of this. It is written in an unremarkable secretary hand, probably that of a clerk or secretary, and is badly damaged. We do not know whether further copies were made and sent to other Catholics, or the identity of the author, but the most likely reason for its appearance among Tresham’s correspondence is that he was involved in drafting a petition to the Queen.

This preliminary document discussed form, content, and timing of the petition, who should put their name to it, and whether it should be subscribed. It elucidates something of the climate among Catholic loyalists like Tresham in the mid-1580s, their perception of the direction of legislation, and their understanding of themselves as a group. It therefore questioned the homogeneity of English Catholics, asking if ‘All be not a like touched therfore howe can all ioyne’: if people had been affected in different ways, how could they make a united call for relief?¹⁵⁸ The author was working on his own — ‘These poyntes I have hastelye scribeled vp’ — but it is not immediately clear whether the second person singular or plural was meant: ‘not to d[i]rect] you in any sort but onelye to sterre suche matter [as in] yo^r prudent deliverations maye be censured’. The relief of English Catholics was a unifying concern: ‘to our reliefe bothe of [body] and soule, and to the honour, and glorie of Allm[igh]ty god’. The final sentiment of the

¹⁵⁶ BL Add MS 39829, fol. 104r, ‘The most humble petition of your Majesties most humble and obedyente Subiectes the afflicted Catholiques of yor Realme of England’, see Kaushik, ‘Resistance’, p. 62.

¹⁵⁷ BL Add MS 39828, fols. 98r-99v. The wax is visible on the fold between fols. 98v and 99r. I am grateful to Dr. Daniel Starza Smith for advice about folding practices in early modern correspondence: see letterlocking.org.

¹⁵⁸ BL Add. MSS 39828, fols. 98r-99v.

note is that it satisfies the Queen and does not offend Parliament.¹⁵⁹ It is not known whether the original petition was to be presented to Parliament, or whether the author expected that after presenting it to the Queen it would naturally come to Parliament's attention; Parliament was in session when the petition was eventually presented.

The author argued that the petition should only contain the names of those who had consulted it and consented, lest examination reveal that names had been subscribed without reading, or lest it be taken as 'an universall consent, sollicitd throughe out all the partes of the realme; and so take the same offencyvely against us'. This last point is particularly interesting. If the petition looked too much like a national initiative like the Bond of Association, it would be seen as threatening. On the other hand, the author supposed, the petition should speak for all Catholics, because 'wherin we be all grieved doubtles we all would be relieved'. It had, then, to speak for all without including all, so as not to raise suspicions of a coordinated effort. The author felt that the petition could confidently speak for all Catholics, because all were loyal, being guided by the precept that 'Godes worde is the generall rule unto our conscience', but this might also cause it to resemble a Catholic bond, which would appear threatening.

Further predictions about the petition's success or failure surrounded the inclusion of subscriptions. The author considered whether Catholics had all been affected by legislation to the same degree, and whether they could all submit to a petition if they had not shared the same experience, but decided that the document was 'not onely exhibited by those feawe which here shalbe present about the cytie to subscribe, but also for the generall body of all our fellowe Catholiques'. This was London opposition, 'about the cytie', and its actors were focused on Parliament. Timing was a difficult question. To the proposition that the supplication ought to be submitted as soon as possible so that relief may come soon, there was the concern that submitting it in anticipation of stricter laws against Catholics risked needless objection and 'may greatlye exasperate the Parleament howse against us', that is to say, the Act against Jesuits

¹⁵⁹ *ibid.*, fol. 99v.

and seminary priests. The petition itself was likely not signed. The names of the organisers, including Tresham, were given up by Shelley under examination, repeated by John Strype, and taken up by modern commentators.¹⁶⁰

A petition risked angering Queen and Parliament, but it also offered a faint hope for some improvement. The author supposed that it had ‘no likelihood of good successe’ and might only make things worse, but that it might also improve the Council’s perception of English Catholics. Furthermore, there was precedent for subjects approaching their monarch in this way. It was common for ‘subjectes distressed to appeale to their prince for mercie and reliefe’, as had been seen in ‘Germanie to the Emperour, Flaunders to the kinge of Spayne, the Frenche to the kinge of Fraunce, the Protestantes in Queen Marie’s tyme to her, as appeareth in Foxe, &c’. These were disastrous examples, and one wonders what the author meant by using them. The stance elsewhere in the document is understandably bleak about prospects for Catholics in England: ‘as well for that lawes be dayly aggravated against us, as that in former yeares when we had more friends and lawes lesse penall then nowe are intended, we ever had bad success in supplications, for the most part rather heaping upon us displeasure and severitie’. This last concern was not overblown, and refers to the proposed ‘act against Jesuits’. The author was similarly cautious around the recusancy statutes: it was to ‘manifest particularlye all our calamities’ but was not to mention repealing the recusancy laws.¹⁶¹

The petition of loyal Catholics to the Queen

The copy of the petition to the Queen from her ‘Catholique and approved loyall subiectes’ in the Tresham Papers is a scribal fair copy with one marginal annotation in Tresham’s hand. But for

¹⁶⁰ Kaushik, ‘Resistance’, p. 57 says it was signed, but there is no evidence for this; J. Strype, *Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1824), iii, pt. 1, pp. 433-4; the record of Shelley’s examination is BL Lansdowne 45, fols. 176r-178v.

¹⁶¹ 27 Eliz. Cap. II.

this note, it could easily have been the copy presented to Elizabeth.¹⁶² Tresham's note reads 'Monday: Stubbs' and pertains to the line 'And in books daylye printed against vs we are most odiouslye termed Bloodsuckers'.¹⁶³ Here we see Tresham demonstrating his engagement with some of the central actors of contemporary religious politics. It indicates two anti-Catholic authors, Anthony Munday and John Stubbs — though Munday's early confessional activities have been the subject of justifiable suspicion — and is likely a reference to tracts by them published in 1579 and 1584 respectively: Stubbs' *The Gaping Gulf* and Munday's *A Watch-Word to England*.¹⁶⁴ Stubbs' tract was ostensibly about the proposed marriage between Elizabeth and Francis, Duke of Anjou, but one of the horrors it predicted if the marriage went ahead was the benefit to the cause of Mary, Queen of Scots, and it contained much anti-Catholic vitriol.¹⁶⁵ The relevance of this anti-Catholic tract to Catholic fears of prejudice is self-evident, but the reference to Stubbs is pertinent to the petition for another reason, and serves to emphasise quite how brave a gesture the petition was. Elizabeth's response to Stubbs' pamphlet made clear her extreme dislike of unsolicited counsel, and the men responsible may only have been saved from the death penalty by public support.¹⁶⁶ A pamphlet printed so as to reach a wider audience was audacious, and its incitement against the marriage touched Elizabeth's person and prerogative very closely. The public maiming of those involved shocked its audience, and a Parliamentary bill of 1581, proposing greater punishments for 'slandering the monarch', passed into law as the

¹⁶² BL Add MS 39828 fols. 100r-101v, The Petition of Loyal Catholics to the Queen. Though we know little about the contemporary reception of the petition, and nothing of its potential circulation, it was sufficiently well-known and passed around and copied extensively enough to be printed in a pamphlet some 35 years later: R. Broughton, *English Protestants Plea, and Petition, for English Priests and Papists to the Present Court of Parlament, and all Persecutors of them: diuided into two parts* (Saint-Omer, 1621), STC 3895.5. I am grateful to Steven Foster for this reference.

¹⁶³ BL Add MS 39828 fols. 100r-101v, at fol. 100r.

¹⁶⁴ D.M. Bergeron, 'Munday, Anthony, bap. 1560 d. 1633' ODNB; N. Mears, 'Stubbe [Stubbs], John (c. 1541-1590)' ODNB; A.G.R.S., 'Stubbe, John (c. 1543-90)' HoP 1558-1603; [J. Stubbe], *The discoverie of a gaping gulf whereinto England is like to be swallowed by another French mariage, if the Lord forbid not the banes, by letting her Maiestie see the sin and punishment* (1579), STC 357; [A. Munday], *A watch-woord to Englande to beware of traytours and tretcherous practises, which haue beene the ouerthrowe of many famous kingdomes and common weales* (1584), STC 18282.

¹⁶⁵ Doran and Kewes, 'The Earlier Elizabethan Succession Question Revisited', p. 32.

¹⁶⁶ K. Barnes, 'John Stubbe, 1579: the French Ambassador's Account', *Historical Research*, 64 (1991), pp. 421-6.

Act Against Seditious Words and Rumours.¹⁶⁷ To utter unsolicited counsel on controversial matters was to walk a dangerous path indeed.

The presentation of the petition to Elizabeth coincided with the immediate aftermath of the execution of William Parry. The petition's endorsement therefore condemned such plots with 'an open detestation of that trayterous and unnaturall practice of Parrye and all other who were privie and consenting to his intended damnable sacrilege'.¹⁶⁸

The petition contained a statement of the Catholics' long-endured miseries and their fear of 'more straunge and far greater calamities daylye fore threatened us' — the terms of the Act against Jesuits. It is replete with outpourings of love for the Queen, national affection, and statements of innocence and mistreatment. The supplicants bemoaned that their innocent piety had been misconstrued as malevolent, 'in discharginge our consciences towards God, are reported of (and that before your sacred Majestie) to be evill affected towards your Royall personne'. Recusancy, 'our greatest accusation', was not borne of sedition, but of 'meere conscience and feare to offend God'.¹⁶⁹

Yet the petition was not entirely successful in disassociating itself from all forms of Catholic political resistance, as Sandeep Kaushik's identification of casuist sentiments within it shows.¹⁷⁰ Its treatment of *Regnans in excelsis* was not as clear-cut a rejection as it might seem, and was open to dissimulation: 'We for our partes utterlye denye that either Pope or Cardynall hath power or authoritie to commaunde or lycence any manne to consent to mortall Synne, or to committe or intend anye other Acte *Contra Jus divinum*'.¹⁷¹ The limits on the power of the Papacy it offered up could be a smoke screen for the actual terms of *Regnans* for a reader prepared to

¹⁶⁷ J.E. Neale, *Elizabeth I and Her Parliaments, 1559-1581* (1953), pp. 393-9; 23 Eliz. Cap. II; Mears, 'Stubbe, John'.

¹⁶⁸ BL Add MS 39828, fol. 101v.

¹⁶⁹ *ibid.*, fol. 100r.

¹⁷⁰ Kaushik, 'Resistance', p. 58.

¹⁷¹ BL Add MS 39828, fol. 100r.

interpret it casuistically. For the author of *Regnans*, Pope Pius V, acting to overthrow the heretic Elizabeth was not a mortal sin and not contrary to divine law. The statement about consenting to sin and contravening divine law was therefore not the point. An English Catholic could feasibly act upon the bull by plotting against Elizabeth while still claiming that no Pope or Cardinal could compel an individual to commit mortal sin. But there is room here for a casuistical interpretation which could technically allow a Catholic to plot against the Queen.

The assurances proffered of Catholics' willingness to attend the Established Church, too, are less than convincing. If Elizabeth's clergy — 'the Learned (nowe assembled in Convocacyon)' — could prove conclusively that a Catholic could attend a Protestant service without endangering his soul, Catholics would gladly resort to their parish churches.¹⁷² The point here was that no such proof was possible. Tresham did not refer to the members of convocation as priests or bishops, sidestepping the question of whether he recognised their ordination. Arguments for conformity from both Protestant and Catholic authors had already been put forward and rejected by recusants. The essential pastoral and sacramental role of Catholic priests was explained, and a guarantee made that every priest the supplicants had ever conversed with was a truly loyal subject who recognised the Queen's sovereignty '*Tam de Jure quam de facto*'.¹⁷³ Any priest found to be plotting treason would be reported.

The supplicants' substantive request was that Elizabeth should not make Catholic rites treason; that Catholics be clear of suspicion, that their manifold 'calamities' be remedied; that no law be passed 'whereby all Catholique Priestes of this Realme shall be banished and their Receyvours made Traytors'; that the gentry be allowed to 'doe the workes of mercye', that is to say, to harbour and maintain their priests, 'so longe as they pray for your Majestie and use themselves dutyfullye to your highnes'. The supplicants' suggestion that the gentry had a duty to support the clergy in this way chimes with John Bossy's seigneurial community, one where the gentry and nobility

¹⁷² *ibid.*

¹⁷³ *ibid.*, fol. 100v.

acted as patrons for missionary priests. It may also record the gentry's condemnation of their government's treatment of the missionary clergy; the statement may have been a rejection of the idea that, when itinerant priests asked the gentry, of their charity, for hospitality, they should just turn them away or report them. The inspiration for these requests was the claim 'delivered in Pulpitts, and published by books of late prynted and otherwise divulged' — the *Execution of Justice*, William Cecil's defence of anti-Catholic legislation — that Elizabeth 'neither hath or will punishe any of your Catholique Subjectes (for their conscience in matters of Religion) with death'.¹⁷⁴

Richard Shelley presented the petition to Elizabeth as she was walking in Greenwich Park, and he was promptly arrested and committed close prisoner in the Marshalsea, where he died shortly afterwards. But Shelley could not have presented the petition otherwise: a personal appeal to the Queen herself warranted a personal approach. The petitioners could have had no reasonable expectation that it would have reached Elizabeth herself if they had sent it to the Privy Council. The Act against Jesuits was passed in early 1585, rendering priest-harboursing treasonous. Tresham was not involved in such a petition again until after the accession of James.

Prison at Ely

A letter to the Earl of Rutland in December 1587 ordered certain Catholic laymen to be committed to the care of prominent clergy. Tresham was named a 'recusan[t] of habite' and placed under the care of the Bishop of Lincoln at Buckden, Huntingdonshire; Vaux was committed to the charge of the Archbishop of Canterbury; Sir John Arundell to the Dean of St. Paul's; and Sir Thomas Cornwallis to the Bishop of London.¹⁷⁵ In July 1588, when the first

¹⁷⁴ *ibid.*, fols. 101r – 101v; W. Cecil, *The Execution of Justice in England* (1584), STC 4904; edition consulted: R. Kingdon (ed.), *The Execution of Justice in England by William Cecil and A True, Sincere, and Modest Defense of English Catholics* (Ithaca, 1965).

¹⁷⁵ HMC, *The Manuscripts of His Grace, the Duke of Rutland, G.C.B., preserved at Belvoir Castle*, 4 vols. (1888–1905), i, p. 232, quoted in Gerson, 'The English Recusants and the Spanish Armada', p. 593. For Arundell, see Stanton, 'Arundell family' and ch. 1, above, p. 5; for Cornwallis, see A. Weikel, 'Cornwallis, Sir Thomas (1518/19–1604)', *ODNB*; for Perne, see P. Collinson, 'Perne, Andrew (1519?–1589)', *ODNB* and D. McKitterick (ed.), *Andrew Perne. Quatercentenary Studies* (Cambridge, 1991).

Armada loomed in English waters, Tresham was moved to the Bishop's Palace at Ely, where he would be imprisoned four times between 1588 and 1597.¹⁷⁶ Recusant elites were imprisoned to prevent them from siding with their foreign coreligionists, an affront to their status and avowed loyalism which contributed to their sense of persecution. The charge that Philip Howard, thirteenth earl of Arundel, prayed for the success of the Armada while in the Tower of London fuelled suspicion.¹⁷⁷ The decision to imprison recusant gentlemen — not women — at Ely in 1588 may have been taken to protect them from the fury of Protestants who held them responsible for the invasion, though the argument that they could not then raise their tenants for the invasion is more persuasive.¹⁷⁸ Many Catholics chose to conform in this climate, including Lord Montagu, and Lord Morley, previously an exile.¹⁷⁹

Between 22 and 28 October 1588, after the defeat of the first Armada, Andrew Perne, Dean of Ely, put an oath of loyalty to his prisoners at the request of the Privy Council. Perne had himself come under suspicion for his retention of conservative beliefs, though he performed his offices with equanimity.¹⁸⁰ The oath was intended to test the protestations of loyalty made by the prisoners and others, and to expose those who were not truly loyal, so that 'there may be sure account made of them to be loyal subjects against all her enemies'.¹⁸¹ In a move echoing Lord Hunsdon's criticism of Tresham's defence in Star Chamber, arrangements were made to keep

¹⁷⁶ Tresham's imprisonments have been worked out using official records, where possible, and using the locations indicated in his correspondence: *HMC* iii, pp. 43-98. Reference has also been made to the table of Tresham's imprisonments in Cogan, 'Catholic Gentry', p. 267.

¹⁷⁷ J.G. Elzinga, 'Howard, Philip [St. Philip Howard], thirteenth earl of Arundel (1557-1595)', *ODNB*.

¹⁷⁸ F. Young, 'The Bishop's Palace at Ely as a Prison for Recusants, 1577-1597', *BCH*, 32/2 (2014), pp. 195-218, at pp. 201-2. For the imprisonment of Catholics under Elizabeth more generally, see P. McGrath and J. Rowe 'The Imprisonment of Catholics for Religion under Elizabeth I', *BCH*, 20/4 (1991), pp. 415-35 and G. de C. Parmiter, 'The Imprisonment of Papists in Private Castles', *BCH*, 19 (1988), pp. 16-38.

¹⁷⁹ Trimble, *Catholic Laity*, p. 136 n. 70, quoting TNA SP 12/231/11 (Montagu) and TNA SP 12/211/68 (Morley).

¹⁸⁰ P. Collinson, 'Andrew Perne and his Times', in McKitterick (ed.), *Andrew Perne*, pp. 1-34.

¹⁸¹ *Fifth Report of the HMC: Part I, Report and Appendix* (1876), pp. 406-7; *APC*, xvi, 313, quoted in Young, 'Bishop's Palace', at p. 202. Young refers to the 'Oath of Allegiance' (*ibid.*, pp. 217-18) being put to prisoners by Perne, but this is misleading; the sources do not use the term, and it invites confusion with the Jacobean Oath of Allegiance of 1606.

prisoners apart during this process, to prevent the refusers from influencing the others.¹⁸²

Tresham was one of fifteen men who made declarations of loyalty.¹⁸³ He made his protestation — *not* in the form of an oath — in the presence of Perne and Legg, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, on 22 October 1588, declaring his belief that ‘Queene Elizabeth is my undoubted soveraigne Lady and Queene de jure et de facto that her highness is supreme governor of this realme’. Supreme usually referred to Church *and* state — ‘Supreme Governor’ invoked the official nomenclature for Elizabeth’s headship of the Church. But with this verbal similitude, did Tresham practise mental reservation, or mean that Elizabeth enjoyed supremacy over the realm, but not the Church? He ‘acknowledge[d] myself her highnes natyf Lyoll subject wherby I am religiously bounden in christian duty ever to doe or humbly endure her sacred will’.¹⁸⁴ This statement, too, betrays imperfect loyalty: Tresham *had* to be loyal and obey the Queen, even to ‘humbly endure’ the royal prerogative, her ‘sacred will’, because it was his duty as her subject. This conveyed acceptance of the Queen’s power to enact laws but was not the same as agreeing with the Queen’s laws, and ‘sacred will’ was, crucially, not equal to spiritual authority. This was a statement of Tresham’s commitment to civil obedience only. He evidently hoped that his words, using all of the right kinds of vocabulary, would prove sufficient evidence of his loyal intentions.

Like many Catholics trying to make their loyalism persuasive, Tresham invoked the regime’s fear of invasion. Such a theme had perennial resonance, and was never more apt than in the period following 1588. The Kings of Spain — Philip II and, after 1598, Philip III — were not quashed by the failure of the first Armada in 1588, nor did the government expect that they would be;

¹⁸² See p. 90, above.

¹⁸³ Young, ‘Bishop’s Palace’, p. 202.

¹⁸⁴ BL Lansdowne MS 58, fol. 29r, The humble protestation of my alleagiance to her Majestie exhibited by me vnto Mr Doctor Pearne Deane of Elie; & Mr Doctor Legge Vicechauncelor of Cambridge authorised by the LL. of her Majesty’s most honourable Pryvie Councell to receyve the same of me Sir Tho: Tresame knight prysoner in the pallace of Elie’, 22 October 1588, at Ely.

Spanish fleets sailed to England in 1596 and 1599, and assailed Ireland in 1601.¹⁸⁵ Tresham sought to dispel all taint of Catholic plots by his countrymen and foreign powers, including the Pope. Thus he swore never to lift a hand against 'her Majestie Gods anoynted', to defend her royal person, and to 'preserv[e] this realme and all other her highness dominions from invasion against all persons without exception be yt Prynce Poope, or Potentat whosoever and under what cullar or pretext soever the same shall be attempted' and offered himself, his land, and his goods, in Elizabeth's defence.¹⁸⁶ This was intended as an emphatic confirmation of a subject's duty to his sovereign. Tresham was released a month later after the Council wrote to the warden at Ely on 28 November 1588 that since Tresham had made a declaration of his allegiance and had poor health, his declaration was sufficient to secure his release.¹⁸⁷

These periods of constraint were not like close imprisonment in the Fleet. In Tresham's case, the Privy Council responded favourably to requests for liberty to settle business affairs. Although Tresham had to enter into bonds for large sums of money, and was required to remain at Hoxton, the periods of freedom could be long. In 1590 he was granted liberty to assist Lord Vaux with the sale of some lands to pay his debts. This required Tresham's presence because he served as Vaux's feoffee for these lands. Consequently, he was released on 20 May. It turned out that he would not return; after several renewals of his discharge he was eventually granted liberty for an indeterminate period in a meeting of the Privy Council on 5 October, but that same meeting ordered a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury directing that all recusants imprisoned at Ely and Broughton be released.¹⁸⁸ There would be further imprisonments throughout the following decade, but the 1590s also brought Tresham's first period at Rushton since 1581.

¹⁸⁵ I. Archer, 'The 1590s: Apotheosis or Nemesis of the Elizabethan Regime?', in A. Briggs and D. Snowman (eds.), *Fins de Siècle: How Centuries End, 1400-2000* (New Haven and London, 1996), pp. 65-98, at p. 86.

¹⁸⁶ W.M. Noble, *Huntingdonshire and the Spanish Armada* (1896), pp. 60-1 prints Tresham's declaration in full.

¹⁸⁷ This is a slight modification of the argument made in Young, 'Bishop's Palace', p. 202.

¹⁸⁸ APC, xix, pp. 139, 309, 365, 396, 416, 427; *ibid.*, xx, p. 8.

III RESISTANCE AND LEGACY, 1590-1605

Tresham's experience changed substantially in the 1590s. His activities in this period point to a sense of caution about the impossibility of achieving toleration for private Catholic worship under Elizabeth. She was not immortal, and an undecided successor gave rise to hope of greater freedom. The prospect of the accession of James VI of Scotland, albeit not settled, gave hope to many Catholics; could not the son of Mary, Queen of Scots be relied upon to champion their cause? In January 1593 Tresham returned home to Rushton for the first time since 1581. There were further imprisonments, but after 1600 Tresham found himself able to move between Rushton, Hoxton, and Lyveden before his death at Rushton in September 1605. This chapter argues that the experience of the 1580s and the religio-political climate emergent in the early 1590s shaped Tresham's resistance to anti-Catholic policies, which took the form of constructed recusant defiance. This included library-building, a donation of books, and building — elite activities given a Catholic colour as Tresham turned his thoughts towards his legacy and the future of the faith in England.

Prelude: further imprisonment

Tresham seems to have been imprisoned at Ely for a third time between February 1593 and July 1594, but he was released on bond on several occasions to deal with further Vaux business. When on 21 February 1593 he failed to report to the Archbishop of Canterbury to renew his bond a warrant was issued for his arrest two days later, but he was able to write to his nephew from Lyveden on 28 February, and he was writing letters from his houses at Hoxton, Rushton, and Lyveden throughout February, March, April, May, June and July 1593, so we may doubt how much time he actually spent at Ely.¹ He was imprisoned in the Fleet for an unspecified period

¹ Summarised in F. Young, 'The Bishop's Palace at Ely as a Prison for Recusants, 1577-1597', *BCH*, 32/2 (2014), pp. 195-218, pp. 203-4; *HMCR* iii, pp. 65-78.

around March 1594.² Tresham's final period at Ely was from December 1596 to October 1597. His final imprisonment was unconnected to his Catholicism: he was committed to the Fleet in the summer of 1599 for refusing to pay the marriage portion of his niece Muriel Vaux, who had married Tresham's servant George Fulshurst against the wishes of her father and uncle.³

I: The politics of the 1590s

The political developments of the late 1580s made a relaxation of anti-Catholic legislation seem an impossible prospect in the following decade. Changes between 1588 and 1590 to the composition of the Privy Council shaped religious politics. Elizabeth lost four of her closest advisors, 'doyens of the first-generation establishment' and 'linchpins of Protestantism': Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester; Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick; Sir Walter Mildmay and Sir Francis Walsingham. Sir Christopher Hatton, the Queen's 'second favourite', died in 1591 and Lord Treasurer Burghley was pre-eminent, but his influence over religious policy was diminished by that of Archbishop Whitgift.⁴ Thomas Sackville, first Baron Buckhurst had been a Privy Councillor since February 1586, but had sparred with Leicester in the past and exerted greater influence after the latter's death. Though he had been one of the Queen's lawyers in Tresham's Star Chamber trial in 1581, and declared Tresham's contempt to be 'odious', there was reason to expect leniency by the 1590s.⁵ Buckhurst took on some of Hatton's offices, including the chancellorship of Oxford, and though he supported the move to keep missionary priests and recusants out of the University as per government policy, he likely did so for reasons of political expediency. Elsewhere he was quite sympathetic towards Catholics. His kinship circle included the second Viscount Montagu, his son-in-law, and Buckhurst exercised a degree of protection

² See p. 145, below.

³ For Tresham's legal preoccupations, see pp. 59-67, above.

⁴ J. Guy, 'The 1590s: the Second Reign of Elizabeth I?' in idem (ed.), *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 1-19, at pp. 3, 6.

⁵ Bruce, 'Observations', p. 106.

over Catholics in Sussex; he cautioned zealous pursuers of recusants not to assume guilt without a fair hearing even at the height of the Armada crisis in 1588.⁶

Changes at Court were germane to Tresham's relationship with the government. Hatton's friendly relations with his neighbour Tresham had opened up a crucial petitionary route. Hatton was also offering an alternative source of patronage to that of the Dudleys in the 1570s and 1580s, exerting influence on the magistracy in Warwickshire which had ramifications for relations between privy councillors and enveloped Tresham kin.⁷ Leicester's outrage at William Tresham's criticisms of him after the latter's unforgivable departure from court, and his exasperation with Tresham's answers in Star Chamber in 1581, did not make him an obvious patron for Tresham, but he had responded with clemency to Lady Tresham's petitionary letters by commuting Tresham's close imprisonment to house arrest at Hoxton. The petitionary route between Catholics and courtiers was one side of the political coin: the politics of lay and clerical Catholics at home and abroad was of consequence for Court politics.

Alexandra Gajda observed that the 'association of Catholics with radical theories of resistance was enhanced in the 1590s', and rightly asserted the role of Catholic political thought in shaping the object of government policy.⁸ The ambiguities present in this period, over an unsettled succession and the demands of English military interventions, are crucial to the character of the 1590s. In Gajda's analysis, the 1590s and early 1600s were alive with debate surrounding different theories of monarchy that ranged across the continent and are visible in the activities of key personalities at court, notably Robert Devereux, second earl of Essex.⁹ Wallace MacCaffrey also recognised the centrality of religious politics, especially where Catholicism was concerned, and

⁶ R. Zim, 'Sackville, Thomas, first Baron Buckhurst and first Earl of Dorset (c. 1536-1608)', *ODNB*.

⁷ C. Enis, 'The Dudleys, Sir Christopher Hatton, and the Justices of Elizabethan Warwickshire', *Midland History*, 39/1 (2014), pp. 1-35, at p. 15.

⁸ A. Gajda, 'Political Culture in the 1590s: the 'Second Reign of Elizabeth', *History Compass*, 8/1 (2010), pp. 88-100, at p. 91.

⁹ *ibid.*, p. 93.

of the succession to this period. He saw the stormy fortunes of the Catholic lords in Scotland between 1591 and 1594, with Anglo-Scottish relations and the certainty of the Jacobean succession threatened by James' reticence about following Elizabeth's advice, as among the defining features of the period.¹⁰

Tresham pinned hopes of religious toleration at least and Catholic restoration at most on prospective patrons, and on the succession. The confessional identity of Elizabeth's successor would determine the religion of their realms according to the Reformation maxim *cuius regio, eius religio*. *Eius religio* was the most pressing concern: would England be returned to Catholicism, as under Mary, sustain the Protestantism established by Elizabeth, or would the new reign bring further reformation of the Protestant Church? What would this mean for Catholics? Recent work has rightly cast the succession as uppermost in the concerns of the 1590s, and Catholic politics were essential in this. The Archpriest controversy, initially a dispute between cadres of secular and Jesuit priests over the question of clerical hierarchy, but which rippled out to encompass fundamental political differences between kinds of Catholic clergy, and views on Spanish influence, was significant, but Tresham was silent on the topic.¹¹

For those who considered themselves actors in securing the succession in the 1590s, the pre-eminence of religion did not necessarily mean that actions were confessionally polarised. Robert Devereux, second earl of Essex, courted both Catholics and the godly in his bid to 'enhance his public image as the leading young statesman in England, and the most likely instrument of the

¹⁰ W.T. MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I: War and Politics, 1588-1603* (Princeton, 1992), pp. 308-16.

¹¹ P. Lake and M.C. Questier, 'Taking it to the Street? The Archpriest Controversy and the Issue of the Succession', in S. Doran and P. Kewes (eds.), *Doubtful and Dangerous: the Question of Succession in Late Elizabethan England* (Manchester, 2014), pp. 71-91, at p. 71. On the succession, see J. Hurstfield, 'The Succession Struggle in Late Elizabethan England', in idem (et al., eds.), *Elizabethan Government and Society: Essays Presented to Sir John Neale* (1961), pp. 369-96; M. Questier, 'Sermons, Separatists, and Succession Politics in Late Elizabethan England', *JBS*, 52 (2013), pp. 290-316; P. Collinson, 'The Religious Factor', in J. Mayer (ed.), *The Struggle for the Succession in Late Elizabethan England: Politics, Polemics and Cultural Representations* (Montpellier, 2004); T. McCoog, 'Harmony Disrupted: Robert Parsons, S.J., William Crichton, S.J., and the Question of Queen Elizabeth's Successor, 1581-1603', *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, 72 (2004), pp. 149-220; Gajda, 'Political Culture'.

succession'. This was motivated both by a 'desire to establish political pre-eminence under the next monarch' and 'genuine irenicism'.¹² Essex's approach in the 1590s is of great import to a consideration of Tresham and his circle even before Francis' involvement in the events of 1601. In 1593 Essex seems to have been part of a group in Parliament who disliked the incoming bill to sharpen pressures on recusants.¹³ Essex was present at the meeting of the Privy Council on 1 April 1593 which granted temporary liberty to two notable recusants, Tresham and Edward Gage. Tresham was then at Ely, and was granted three months' liberty to assist Lord Vaux in the sale of lands, for which Tresham was feoffee, in payment of Vaux's debts.¹⁴ It may be that the Council's assent to these two requests was due to Essex's sway. Reporting on proceedings, Thomas Phelippes wished his agent William Sterrell to inform Thomas Fitzherbert that Tresham had been granted liberty through Essex's influence, noting that Tresham's son followed the earl 'of late'.¹⁵ Both Phelippes, former intelligencer and cryptographer for Sir Francis Walsingham, and Sterrell, then in the Low Countries reporting on English Catholics, were agents in Essex's employ, and Fitzherbert was then an intelligencer at the Spanish Court.¹⁶ In June 1595 Essex gave his personal protection to the priest and former Jesuit Thomas Wright, newly returned to England, procuring for him 'freedom of personal movement — an astonishing liberty'.¹⁷ Essex had sent a message of support to the godly, too, in February of that year, by attending a prominent controversial Calvinist sermon delivered by his former college acquaintance Dr. William Whitaker in Cambridge. It seemed that both sides of the confessional divide could thus expect Essex to fight their corner.¹⁸

¹² A. Gajda, *The Earl of Essex and Late Elizabethan Political Culture* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 120, 136, 110.

¹³ *ibid.*, p. 114.

¹⁴ PC 2/20, fols. 302r, 310r; J.D. Elzinga, 'Browne, Anthony, first Viscount Montagu (1528-92)', *ODNB*.

¹⁵ *CSPD*, ccxlv, p. 342. Phelippes' letter is cited in Gajda, *The Earl of Essex*, p. 114 n. 22. See also W. Richardson, 'Phelippes, Thomas, c. 1556-1625x7', *ODNB*.

¹⁶ G. Ungerer (ed.), *A Spaniard in Elizabethan England: the Correspondence of Antonio Pérez's Exile*, 2 vols. (1974-6), i, 247-8; A.J. Loomie, *The Spanish Elizabethans: the English Exiles at the Court of Philip II* (1963), p. 109.

¹⁷ Gajda, *The Earl of Essex*, p. 109.

¹⁸ Loomie, *Spanish Elizabethans*, p. 108; P.E.J. Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics: the Political Career of Robert Devereux, Second Earl of Essex, 1585-1597* (Cambridge, 1999), esp. ch. 5; Questier, 'Sermons, Separatists, and Succession Politics'.

II: Tresham and 'loyalist' rhetorical strategies

Identification of the rhetorical strategies employed by Catholic writers of varying hues situates Tresham in the wider context of Catholic political engagement. Elizabeth's realms were at war within and without: with each other in Ireland, and with Spain and other Catholic forces in France and the Low Countries between 1589 and 1594, and renewed conflict with Spain thereafter until the peace of 1604.¹⁹ In the shadow of justified fears of further invasion attempts, Tresham joined other Catholic voices in opposing invasion to make his claims of loyalty to the Elizabethan regime more convincing. By restating his patriotism and his commitment to defending the realm, and the person of the Queen in particular, from hostile foreign attacks, he challenged the government's language of disloyalty. Tresham also engaged with a second prominent feature of Catholic writing in this period by deploying the 'evil counsellor' trope to emphasise his loyalty to Elizabeth. By praising the Queen's virtues and blaming her Machiavellian counsellors for the persecution of her long-suffering subjects, Tresham could critique government policy without seeming to oppose the Queen's supremacy. This strategy also played on internal divisions within the Council over godly reform and the potential of anti-Catholic legislation. Catholics with far more radical proclivities than Tresham had played the same card to try to appeal to hostile readers. Thus in 1584, the Catholic tracts *A Treatise of Treasons* and *Leicester's Commonwealth* both deployed the 'evil counsellor' trope to speak the language of moderation and loyalism, 'written more in sorrow than in anger'.²⁰ Later Catholic works countered the unification of religious and temporal authority in the English state and urged that Catholics were naturally loyal and peaceful.²¹

¹⁹ P.E.J. Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars: War, Government, and Society in Tudor England, 1544-1604* (Basingstoke, 2003), pp. 175-235.

²⁰ P. Lake, *Bad Queen Bess? Libels, Secret Histories, and the Politics of Publicity in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth I* (Oxford, 2016), p. 126.

²¹ *ibid.*, p. 337.

The Tresham Papers contain a scribal copy of a letter of petition, sent in Tresham's name, on 25 March 1590. In a badly-damaged wrapper Tresham wrote (in his own hand)

A Copie of ane humble and dewtiefull letter of a Catholike prisoner to the Lord Archebushop of Canterburie and others of her Majesty's mo[st] honorable priuie Councell scribed in skanted tyme of hastie departure vnto Elie prison presentlie vppon his dismissinge from that honorable presence at Lambeth[.]²²

It was sent from Hoxton, Tresham seemingly having secured temporary release. In this lengthy disquisition, Tresham took up the cause of his noble and gentry coreligionists. It was a continuation of the protestations of allegiance invited by Drs. Perne and Legg in late October 1588. Specifically, Tresham was concerned with the imprisonment of Catholics at Ely and Banbury during the Armada crisis and their misery at being forbidden to muster for the defence of their Queen and country.²³ Further, he asked why their release had been delayed after the 1588 Armada had been defeated and the threat passed. The letter was apparently prompted by an audience, alongside other Catholic prisoners, with the Archbishop of Canterbury John Whitgift at Lambeth the previous Thursday (22 March), whereafter Tresham had been committed immediately to Ely. Tresham wrote that he had held his tongue until now because his efforts to articulate arguments in the past had brought him so much trouble, and in so doing he emphasised his own role in these arguments. The wrapper tells us that he sought Protestant advice, 'referred by him to the censure of sondrie his honorable Protestant friends whether without all offence it might so passe as it was hudled vpon dewtiefullest intention', likely an attempt to render the letter more acceptable.²⁴

Tresham condemned the Spanish invasion in the strongest terms; he described its supporters as the 'vilest monstrouous guiltiest favoringe of forren invasion'. Like any critical voice, Tresham made repeated disclaimers about his natural reluctance to speak, his horror at the notion of offending the Queen, and the extreme circumstances which ultimately pressed him to reject

²² BL Add MS 39828, fols. 138r-142v, at fol. 138r, 'A Copie of ane humble and dewtiefull letter', 25 March 1590.

²³ See pp. 129-32, above.

²⁴ BL Add MS 39828, fol. 138r.

these impulses. Tresham's explanation of his political action bore echoes of other Catholic tracts. Peter Lake observed the Jesuit Robert Southwell's account of his motivation for *An humble supplication to her majesty*:

We are forced to divulge our petitions ... being terrified with the precedent of his imprisonment who last attempted it ... hoping that, among so many as shall peruse this short and true relation of our troubles, God will touch some merciful heart and let your highness understand the extremity of them.²⁵

Lake argued that Southwell's tract was written and circulated in manuscript in the early 1590s, making it roughly coterminous with Tresham's letter. Lake's claim that Southwell's work was 'the ultimate loyalist act', made with the health of the realm in mind, sounds remarkably like Tresham's explication of his motivations for presenting the desperate case of his beleaguered coreligionists: 'But these fatall and vntymed frightes are now forced to geve peace to powerfull and irresistable necessitie: Therefore maye nott forbear somehatt to saye whatt maye nott longer bee suppressed'.²⁶

Tresham insisted that he did not set his sights on leadership. He wrote that in coming to Lambeth he had been resolved 'nott to haue spoken anie one worde, other then in answ[er to your] hono^rs, which alonely had concerned myselfe, and which without note of contr[MS torn] eschewe, the same nott vnknowne to moste of all my fellowes' and that when he had been compelled to speak he had feared that he would again be accused of making himself a leader:

in expected, then inevitable meanes, beinge therto violentlye hayled, and pulled I did spec[ially] spare to speake what otherwise I right vnwillinglie would. And that simplie for [MS torn] drede of relapsinge into that inconvenience wherwith I have ofte beene vndewlye charged [MS torn] in speakeinge in suche a presence. That I delighted to heare myselfe to speake, and sowght by skilled sleight to insynuate myselfe, & cawse into the eares of the Auditorie, then to make a iuste defence.²⁷

In a proclamation dated 18 October 1591 and probably written by Burghley, Elizabeth warned her subjects that the heads of continental seminaries had encouraged the Spanish King to invade

²⁵ R. Southwell, *An Humble Supplication to Her Majesty* (1595 or 1601), ed. J. C. Bald (Cambridge, 1953), p. 45, cited in Lake, *Bad Queen Bess*, p. 375.

²⁶ BL Add MS 39828, fol. 139r.

²⁷ *ibid.*, fol. 139r.

England again 'this next year' by assuring him of a groundswell of Catholic support were he to do so, with 'many thousands ... of able people' to be 'found ready, secretly in the Queen's dominions', prepared by the seminary and Jesuit priests they had hidden in their homes.²⁸ These were wolves in sheep's clothing. The proclamation did more than admonish: the English were called upon to be vigilant against the treachery of missionary priests and their Catholic followers by assisting with more stringent searches. Elizabeth 'earnestly require[d] and charge[d]' her subjects not only to be ready 'with their handes, purses, & advices' to defend her realms, but also to root out the enemies in their midst by investigating anybody who had stayed in their homes or on their estates in the past year, to ascertain their 'condition', 'country', occupation, prior travels, and religious conformity.²⁹ The proclamation provoked, unsurprisingly, virulent Catholic responses from Joseph Cresswell and Thomas Stapleton in Latin and Richard Verstegan in English. These have been ably investigated elsewhere, but another response has particular significance to this discussion, since the only known copy of it exists in the Tresham Papers.³⁰

'The copie of an answere vnto a protestantes letter to his frend beyonde the seas' is an anonymous manuscript tract taking the form of a letter; the title takes a common form. It is written in a scribal hand, using catchwords at the foot of the page to assist compilation, and is dated 16 December 1591.³¹ The author rejects the accusations of disloyalty made against Catholics in the proclamation, arguing that it is Elizabeth who is dragging Philip into

²⁸ 'A declaration of great troubles pretended against the realme by a number of seminarie priests and Iesuits, sent, and very secretly dispersed in the same, to worke great treasons vnder a false pretence of religion, with a prouision very necessary for remedy thereof', *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, iii, pp. 86-95, at 88-9.

²⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 90, 91-2.

³⁰ P. Holmes, *Resistance and Compromise: the political thought of the Elizabethan Catholics* (Cambridge, 1982), p. 135. V. Houlston, 'The Lord Treasurer and the Jesuit: Robert Persons's Satirical *Responsio* to the 1591 Proclamation', *SCJ*, 32/2 (2001), pp. 383-401; *idem.*, *Catholic Resistance in Elizabethan England: Robert Persons's Jesuit Polemic, 1580-1610* (Farnham, 2007), ch. 3. The text does not correspond to any of those cited by Houlston, or in Lake, *Bad Queen Bess*, and the title cannot be found in A&R or ARCR.

³¹ BL Add MSS 39828, fols. 154r-165r, 'The copie of an answere vnto a protestantes letter to his frend beyonde the seas, concerninge a proclamation publyshed in London in November laste'.

unnecessary wars, not *vice versa*. Catholics were being executed for their religion, not for treason, and the Elizabethan regime's attempts to deceive its people are dismissed as 'inuisible treasons'. The promised vigilance and searches are decried as the 'Englishe inquisition', turning the anti-Spanish tenor of the proclamation in on itself. The author lampooned the regime's hounding of missionary priests in the name of defence: 'Nowe what an opinion they carrye in England of theyre well fortifyed estate you may well perceue when they thinke that a fewe poore preistes and Jesuites sent in amonge them as lambes amongste the woolues are able to subuerte and distroye it'.³²

Tresham's ownership of the tract is symptomatic of his being alive to criticisms of the Queen at the very least. Peter Holmes read no 'direc[t] attack' on Elizabeth in the tract, but the author's censure moves beyond the 'evil counsellor' trope.³³ Observing that the dominance of evil counsellors in certain societies often grew out of improper social mobility, 'basnes of birth', like that which the royal proclamation had attributed to missionary priests, the author held Elizabeth, and her gender, partially responsible: 'evill princes for evill causes doe dyvers tymes prefere evill men and that some by Sinister practises and innovasions or by abvsing the sexes of princes eyther women or children and depressing of auncient nobilitye, doe creepe vpp vnto honr'. Thus Burghley had risen to prominence from more modest Welsh roots, 'Cicill of Stamforde from Sitcillite of Wales'.³⁴ But Elizabeth was not to be blamed for those who 'brought in sundry corruptions of John Calvin', and in this way the author drew on some of the features of the 'evil counsellor' trope. He reserved the peak of his revulsion for the counsellors who had 'brought the queene to this new kynd of crueltie that hath perswaded', balking at 'how exceedinge brutish and inhummaine is the blood thirstie appetite of him [Calvin]'. Yet the tone of the tract is hostile towards the Queen, who 'in her old adge grovs more and more odious to

³² *ibid.*, fol. 154v.

³³ Holmes, *Resistance and Compromise*, p. 140.

³⁴ BL Add MSS 39828, fol. 156r.

the world the reformation of your evill more vrged and desyred'.³⁵ Assuming that Tresham read the tract, he was engaging — irrespective of whether he agreed with it — with a covert publicity campaign against legislation, and against Burghley in particular. The tract is an example of problems inherent in Tresham's 'loyalism', of how his posturing was only one part of his political mindset.

Loyalism and resistance

When scholars refer to 'loyalism', they tend to mean the practice among English Catholics of trying to win either toleration or favour, or to ease persecution by showering the Queen with affirmations of their affection for her, their unquestioning commitment to defending her royal person, and their abiding natural fidelity to their country. Loyalists sometimes spoke duplicitously: none of these statements necessarily required uncomplicated acceptance of Elizabeth's legitimacy, nor did they mean that Elizabeth's Councillors were worthy of the same confidence. There existed a language of loyalty on which different groups — not just Catholics of all hues — could draw at different times. The loyalist position depended on a distinction being made between spiritual and temporal allegiance, a distinction which the statutory framework of the Elizabethan regime denied. Loyalists tried to emphasise their ability to uphold loyalty to Queen and country with private Catholic beliefs and practice, and reinforced their opposition to continental Catholic powers with anti-Spanish rhetoric and, usually, studious avoidance of any discussion of the Pope. Sandeep Kaushik has shown that loyalty did not always join hands with passivity, and could even tend towards (non-violent) resistance; Peter Holmes and Peter Lake have explored the appropriation of loyalist platitudes by even the most radical opponents to the Elizabethan regime.³⁶ In speaking of Tresham as a loyalist leader, even *the* loyalist leader, scholars mean that his voice was pre-eminent, his commitment unswerving,

³⁵ *ibid.*, fol. 164r.

³⁶ Kaushik, 'Resistance', p. 41; Holmes, *Resistance and Compromise*, ch. 2; Lake, *Bad Queen Bess*, pp. 127–32.

and that he elected to act as spokesperson for his coreligionists on the national political stage.³⁷ In reality, loyalism has proved an effective shorthand for an increasingly expansive spectrum of ideas. These ideas played out amid tested loyalties and deep personal conflict.

Resistance, too, was a broad church. Tresham's resistance, as it emerges in this thesis, could not have been further from that espoused by Robert Persons (*alias* R. Doleman) in *A Conference about the Next Succession* (1595).³⁸ In the *Conference*, 'resistance theory' was based on 'the human right of kings' as embodied in the coronation oaths sworn by monarchs in order to argue that 'royal power was derived from the people, and that kings made certain promises at their coronations'. In the light of this, when 'bad kings' broke these promises the people were empowered even to depose them, or to block the accession of an undesirable heir.³⁹ Monarchs could thus be chosen by their subjects; Catholics could choose a Catholic monarch. William Allen brought in the long tradition of Papal power to sharpen the distinction between Catholic resistance, underpinned by Papal authority, and its inferior Protestant sibling, wherein 'heretics resisted their kings according to their own whim and fancy', resulting in the kind of chaos that 'conservative, orderly, respectful' Catholic resistance avoided.⁴⁰ The *Conference* was 'designed to deter premature commitment to one candidate or another', to minimise division.⁴¹ Even views as vigorously expressed as those of Allen and Persons changed over the course of the period, though we should note that this was often due to calculated machinations by these actors, rather than a kind of organic process of dynamic refinement. When Persons wrote his *Memorial of the Reformation of England* he mused on the practicalities of the Catholic restoration to

³⁷ Kaushik, 'Resistance', p. 39 n. 10 summarises the literature around Tresham as loyalist leader; see above, p. 13.

³⁸ R. Doleman [R. Persons], *A Conference about the Next Succession to the Crowne of Ingland, 1594*, facs. edn. *English Recusant Literature, 1558-1640*, 140 (Menston, 1972). Persons' authorship of the pseudonymous work has been the subject of dispute, but Peter Holmes resolved the issue persuasively: P. Holmes, 'The Authorship and Early Reception of *A Conference about the Next Succession to the Crown of England*', *HJ*, 23/2 (1980), pp. 415-29.

³⁹ Holmes, *Resistance and Compromise*, p. 150.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p. 158.

⁴¹ Houliston, *Catholic Resistance*, p. 118.

which he now looked; '[t]here is no call to arms, no defence of the right of resistance or of papal sovereignty, no critique of Elizabethan policies or ministers'.⁴²

III: Tresham as figurehead

Any consideration of Tresham must take him on his own terms. Tresham led by example, as befitted a gentleman of his standing, out of a powerful appreciation of his social and religious responsibility to model good conduct. Moved by their own preoccupations, Tresham's contemporaries looked for something more than an example. There is evidence that figures from both sides — hostile and coreligionist — saw in Tresham the potential for leadership of the Catholic cause. Tresham was subjected to hostile questioning in the Fleet on 25 March 1594 by William Waad and Justice Richard Young.⁴³ We do not know how long Tresham spent there, but he referred to his 'long late close imprisonment in the Fleet' in a letter to Lord Vaux sent from Rushton four months later.⁴⁴ The reasons for this are unclear, and the Tresham Papers are silent. Before discussing these questions, and Tresham's answers, it will be necessary to examine the political context.

Tresham's imprisonment and questioning likely originate in the answers given under interrogation by the would-be regicides John Annias and William Polwhele in February 1594. They had been captured under suspicion of being involved in a plot, originating overseas with the Jesuit William Holt and Sir William Stanley's lieutenant, Jaques Francis, to poison the Queen.⁴⁵ Examined by Thomas Wilkes, Thomas Egerton, Edward Coke and William Waad, Annias said that 'he hath heard muche speache by *Jaques* and by [Hugh] Owen of Sir Thomas

⁴² Holmes, *Resistance and Compromise*, p. 165.

⁴³ Waad and Young are not named on the records of Tresham's examination but are mentioned, in passing, as coming to the Fleet to question Tresham in the previous entry, TNA SP 12/248, fol. 87r, Benjamin Beard to Morgan Jones, 25 March 1594.

⁴⁴ HMCR iii, pp. 80-1.

⁴⁵ M.A.S. Hume, *Treason and Plot: Struggles for Catholic Supremacy in the Last Years of Queen Elizabeth* (1901), pp. 101-9.

Tresham, and of great hoope they haue of him'.⁴⁶ Polwhele swore to his evidence on 'his corporall oath' before Egerton and Coke. He revealed that 'he hearde father Sherwood reproue one Edmund Halsey (that was servaunt to Sir Thomas Tresham) for vndertakinge to haue poysoned the L Treasurer, sayinge ... that your Capteyne, meanyng the said Jaques, woulde not haue ^{^you} to aduenture to meddle with any, saving you know whome, which was the queene'.⁴⁷ Optimism about Tresham's support came, perhaps, from an assumption that the brother of William Tresham, still abroad and then in the service of Stanley as a pensioner, would surely support his coreligionists.⁴⁸ The conspirators likely knew of Tresham's association with Edmund Campion, and had perhaps heard of his imprisonments, certainly of his recusancy, and seem therefore to have assumed that he was their kind of Catholic gentleman — one who would do what was necessary for the future of the faith in England. If, as is surmised here, these assumptions did lie at the root of the plotters' invocation of Tresham, it ought not necessarily convince us that they were correct. It is likely that Annias and Polwhele were tortured, and evidence extracted under such duress must be read carefully.

Correspondence in the State Papers over the weeks leading up to 25 March shows privy councillors preoccupied with the question of recusant disloyalty, plots, and Spanish invasion — all part of the same Catholic problem. A new conspiracy had been uncovered. The Portuguese physician Roderigo Lopez, sometime physician to Leicester and decried as a poisoner in *Leicester's Commonwealth*, was later physician to Walsingham, for whom he may have acted as an informant. It was Essex who claimed to have exposed a plot to poison Elizabeth and the King of France at the behest of the King of Spain, and Lopez was named under torture as one of three would-be poisoners. These three were hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn on 7 June 1594. Though the plot had Philip II at its centre, it was not straightforwardly Catholic, and printed

⁴⁶ TNA SP 12/247, fol. 90r-v, at fol. 90r, 'The 5. confession of Jo: Annyas', 11 February 1594.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, fols. 117r-118r, at fols. 117v-118r, Examination of Wm. Polwhele before Att. Gen. Egerton and Sol. Gen. Coke, 21 February 1594. Edmund Halsey appears in a list of household servants at Rushton in the Tresham Papers: *HMCR* iii, p. 50.

⁴⁸ Loomie, *Spanish Elizabethans*, p. 262.

tracts following the executions at Tyburn made much of Lopez's putative Judaism.⁴⁹ Sir Robert Cecil's informants wrote to him in February and March to report on the likelihood of Spanish invasion and the involvement of English Catholic exiles: 'the King of Spain is making great preparation to set out ships and men-of-war ... the banished Englishmen hope that he will change the state in England and alter the religion'.⁵⁰

Waad sent a report of Lopez's conspiracy to Cecil on 4 March. Notes by Burghley two days later consider 'what is fit to be done with the multitude of Recusants of the realm' in the light of certificates produced by the 'commissioners authorized to inquire for Jesuits and seminaries'.⁵¹ Burghley wrote that the recusant prisoners of Ely and Banbury were to be 'called for upon their bonds, and if not reformed, recommitted'. Recusant wives were to be indicted if they were obstinate and the penalties levied upon their husbands, who were to be committed 'until satisfaction is made, or a certificate received...of their wives' reformation'. Notification was to be given, 'to avoid any general murmur in the realm for restraining these recusants' that this was 'not done by way of punishment', but to deter invaders by removing all possibility of their depending on a groundswell of recusant support. Interestingly, Burghley had given thought to the implications for loyalist recusants:

for though so many such recusants so restrained may offer their loyalty and obedience to the Queen and her realm, against such invaders, their overtures cannot be known to foreign enemies, or will not be believed; and it is therefore expedient for the public quiet to have them restrained of their liberty, but yet to live in all convenient conditions for health and sustenance.⁵²

In early March Benjamin Beard reported to Lord Keeper Puckering, for whom he was acting as informant in return for liberty, that 'the warden of the Fleet is not to be trusted' and noted that

⁴⁹ E. Samuel, 'Lopez [Lopes], Roderigo [Ruy, Roger] (c. 1517-1594)', *ODNB*; *CSPD* 1591-4, pp. 444, 448, 453, 455-8, 460-2, 564, 577.

⁵⁰ *CSPD* 1591-4, p. 451, Wm. Emro [alias Walter Orme] to Otwell Smith, merchant, addend. Otwell Smith to Lord Burghley, February 1594.

⁵¹ *ibid.*, pp. 452-3, 'Considerations by Lord Burghley of what is fit to be done with the multitude of Recusants of the realm'.

⁵² *ibid.*, p. 453.

two seminary priests, Fennell and Richards, formerly lodging in the house of Beard's late grandmother Mrs. Tichbourne, had gone to Ireland.⁵³

Tresham's interrogators were interested in possible links between him and the French Ambassador Guillaume de l'Aubespine, marquis de Châteauneuf, and four out of the ten interrogatories addressed this. Had Tresham not 'had a servante that longe tyme had dwelt with him a ffrenche man borne that after went to the saide *Chasteauneuf*'? Further, 'this ffrencheman being sent hether 3 or 4 yeares sithence by one Dexter and other Englishemen that were prysonrs at *Roane* did not he at that tyme repaire to your house, and had he not speche with you'?⁵⁴

The remaining questions pertained to different spheres of influence: local leadership, leadership of a national community of recusants, and patronage of Catholic prisoners. The first two questions tried to establish whether he was organising military provision across his estates: why 'dwellinge in an Inlande Countie vpon the lettinge of his landes reserue suche seruices of horse and fotemen?' And on how many tenants had Tresham 'layed that burthen and vpon what condicion'? On Tresham's supposed pursuit of Catholic leadership, they asked 'What maketh him to seeke that greatnes and credyt ouer all the Recusantes that they depende vpon him for aduise, dyrection and in all matters when they are brought in question'? The backdrop to this line of questioning included the likely mounting frustration at Tresham's apparent guardianship of Vaux, an inconvenience which had forced the Privy Council's hand in releasing Tresham from Ely for five months in May 1590. It was likely more strongly connected, however, to the evidence of Tresham's fellow prisoners, and of Annias and Polwhele.

⁵³ *ibid.*, pp. 451-2. Beard wrote again to Puckering on 10 March to ask for liberty in return for further intelligence about Catholics in and around the Fleet: *ibid.*, p. 456. Tresham is not mentioned, and though Fennell was suspected of lodging with Tresham in 1592 there is no mention of this here. For Fennell see p. 71, above.

⁵⁴ TNA SP 12/248, fol. 88r, 'Interrogatories to be mynistred vnto Sir Thomas Tresham knight', 25 March 1594.

For the Council, the origins of Tresham's present over-mightiness lay in his primacy at Ely: 'By whose aduise was the submyssion drawne that was acknowledged by the Recusantes that were Commytted 5 or 6 yeares sithence to Ely?'⁵⁵ By the 'submyssion', the Council presumably meant the submission of loyalty Tresham sent to the Privy Council on 25 March 1590, dating the issue back to the oaths of loyalty put to the prisoners by Perne and Legg in 1588.⁵⁶ Further, had not Tresham sent a copy of that submission to Châteauneuf? The Council suspected Tresham's involvement with the prisoners at Wisbech, too, despite his never having been among them. Had he made himself their benefactor by sending them 'releife'? Had his tenants offered the same, or had venison been sent to them from Tresham's parks?⁵⁷ The implications of Tresham as a leader at Ely, and of this extending even to another Catholic prison, one where he had never been an inmate, were severe indeed, considering that some privy councillors held the view that Catholics, like Tresham, would rise up in support of a Spanish invasion. The prisoners were disempowered by their imprisonment, but they were also united by it, by place and experience. Spreading the recusant gentry and nobility between Wisbech, Ely, and Banbury was supposed to divide them, but if Tresham was relieving the prisoners at Wisbech the scheme became less effective. Prison engendered solidarity, and if the Catholic gentry and nobility had a leader, they were organised, and if they were organised they were more dangerous.

Tresham was deliberately evasive and likely used mental reservation in some of his responses, just as he had done in Star Chamber in 1581. Over the recusant community Tresham claimed that he 'seeketh no suche superiority or credit and doth thincke himself wronged in that opinion' and regarding his letter to the Privy Council, 'he himselfe being at liberty in the behalfe

⁵⁵ *ibid.*

⁵⁶ BL Add MS 39828, fols. 138r-142v, at fol. 138r, 'A Copie of ane humble and dewtiefull letter', 25 March 1590. The terminology is confusing here, since the interrogatories use both 'submission' and 'petition'. Both are accurate, but to avoid confusion with the more formal petitions with which Tresham was involved, this letter is not described as a 'petition' apart from in quotation from primary sources.

⁵⁷ TNA SP 12/248, fol. 88r.

of dyuers Recusantes that were restrayned, for theire liberty he confesseth he was aquaynted with that petition but doth not remember he did penn the same'.⁵⁸ The use of 'penn' does not preclude Tresham's authorship because a scribe was employed: the words may have been Tresham's, but somebody else put 'penn' to paper. The claim not to 'remember' likewise points to equivocation. Tresham's evasiveness in his responses strongly support his authorship. Tresham's denial that he had sought advice for the submission demonstrated his recognition that the Council was trying to widen the net, perhaps to gather intelligence about the possible involvement of missionary priests. It was arguably an attempt to present the document as a larger coordinated endeavour, perhaps implicating Tresham in something resembling Catholic conspiracy that centred upon the French ambassador. He made, wisely, short answers to these most incriminating of questions, in the negative: 'euery man drewe his owne petition', and 'he denyeth any knowledge' of the French ambassador's involvement in the submission, and of having sent him a copy of it. There were further carefully evasive denials: he had 'not sent any *mony* at any time to those in Wisbeche' (my emphasis), and though he 'did send once or twyce venyson to Ely to some frendes there' — friends, but not the whole community of prisoners — 'butt not to Wysbich'. If a tenant had sent 'any such thinge ... it is more then he dothe knowe'. On the matter of Tresham's former servant, probably the most easily-verifiable accusation, Tresham did not try to deny the obvious: he had had 'suche a servant and he heard the said ffrenchman came euer hether', but not only had Tresham not spoken with him, he had 'refused to speake with him'.⁵⁹

In Tresham's answers to the interrogatories he emphasised his loyalty to Queen and country, as being not only opposed to invasion but prepared to serve Her Majesty in military endeavours. Tresham seems to have taken the unusual — and suspicious — step of making provisions to

⁵⁸ TNA SP 12/248, fol. 89r, 'Thexamynacion of Sir Thomas Tresham knight taken the 25th of marche 1594'.

⁵⁹ *ibid.* A list of Tresham's servants in the household accounts for 1589 contains only English names, apart from one servant, Clement, whose surname is not given. A list of Lady Tresham's servants refers to 'Mawdlyn the Frenchwoman': *HMCR* iii, p. 50.

provide soldiers for hypothetical royal campaigns, perhaps as an opportunity to assert his membership of elite governing society and to vindicate his claims of loyalism. Tresham had not been able to participate in the governance of his county among the commission for the peace or shrievalty since 1573, but it may be that he hoped to share in the honour of elites who commanded the militia, with its provision of a 'tangential link to the chivalric elements still associated with gentility'.⁶⁰ He claimed, quite remarkably, that his tenants — numbering 'vnder one hundred' — had all entered into a covenant with him to provide soldiers for the Queen's military endeavours overseas: 'all his Tenauntes that holde of him by Lease and Indenture by Couenaunt are to furnyshe a man fytt for seruice either to himselfe or his Sonne as he doth suppose yf either of them shalbe ymployed in her majesty's warres beyonde the seas'.⁶¹ Plainly, Tresham saw this as his duty, and perhaps as one of the rights won by gentility, but it appeared highly suspicious to his interrogators.

We do not know whether any of Tresham's tenants or servants ever served on military campaigns, but they may have done, for members of Tresham's family did. He made arrangements for his second son Lewis to embark on a military vocation following the Anglo-Spanish peace, arranging for the interpreter Giles Porter to accompany him on a trip sanctioned by the Privy Council.⁶² Lewis Tresham was questioned about his time in Spain when he was questioned following the arrest of his brother Francis in the wake of the Gunpowder Plot a decade later. He had accompanied Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham to Spain, but had not returned with him, and had remained there for a month or so, returning via Cornwall, or so he claimed.⁶³ He was reported to be travelling through Valladolid on his way home with Lords

⁶⁰ Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 172. Cogan, 'Catholic Gentry', pp. 178-186 discusses 'Catholics and military participation', and reaches similar conclusions about the import of Tresham's covenant with his tenants, p. 184.

⁶¹ TNA SP 12/248, fol. 89r.

⁶² *HMCR* iii, pp. 147-8.

⁶³ TNA SP 14/17, fol. 35r, 'The examination of lewys Tresam gent', 9 December 1605.

Norris and Willoughby in July 1605.⁶⁴ It may be that he was part of Howard's most recent diplomatic mission, his 'spectacular embassy to Spain to ratify the peace treaty which ended the Anglo-Spanish war' in May 1604.⁶⁵ Lewis's connection with Howard, who would later judge the Gunpowder conspirators, and his time abroad, deserves greater attention than is possible here. We know very little about the youngest Tresham son, William, but while he too was being examined after the Gunpowder Plot he admitted to having gone 'ouer to gaunt where the leaguer laye about midsommer last and served vnder mr John Blunt and was to haue 10 crownes a moneth ... the residue ran in the ~~kinges~~ Archdukes dett'.⁶⁶ If this is a confession of being in the pay of the Catholic Archduke Albert, it is difficult to know how to interpret it. William claimed to have gone to Ghent at midsummer in 1604, just as the delegates of the Somerset House Conference were negotiating the Anglo-Spanish peace. Tresham's son-in-law William Parker fought for the Earl of Essex in Ireland.⁶⁷

Pressed further, Tresham 'saieth he taketh yt to be for the seruice of the countrye to furnyshe that man which by Couenaunt they ought, which he could not demaund vnles yt were reserued by Couenant'.⁶⁸ We do not know whether 'countrye' meant Northamptonshire or England, but the number of tenants who were covenanted to serve Tresham fuelled the Council's concerns about his martial intentions. The fact that Tresham's brother William was then in the pay of the Spanish army was not far from the minds of Tresham's interrogators. That Tresham 'hath neuer a Tenant that is a Recusant' was probably a falsehood.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ J. Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad, 1604-1667: their Influence in English Society and Politics* (New York, 1968, rev. edn., New Haven and London, 1989), p. 25.

⁶⁵ J. McDermott, 'Howard, Charles, second Baron Howard of Effingham and first earl of Nottingham (1536-1624)', *ODNB*.

⁶⁶ TNA SP 14/17, fol. 36r, 'Examination of Wm. Tresham', 9 December 1605.

⁶⁷ Cogan, 'Catholic Gentry', p. 180.

⁶⁸ TNA SP 12/248, fol. 89r.

⁶⁹ *ibid.* A future tenant, Thomas Walker, was reported by his neighbours for receiving papist guests and hearing Mass: see Cogan, 'Catholic Gentry', p. 30. It has not been possible here to investigate Tresham's tenantry.

The provision of men for royal armies had been typical for the nobility until the early part of the sixteenth century as part of part of “quasi-feudal” arrangements inherited from the later Middle Ages’, but it had fallen out of common practice by Elizabeth’s reign.⁷⁰ Leicester’s campaign to the Netherlands in 1585 was an exception. He contributed 750 of ‘his own followers’ and ‘400 foot “of his own tenants”’, and Sir Thomas Cecil and Sir Philip Sidney each took 200 of their own men. Essex was zealously in favour of military invention to quash Spain throughout the 1590s.⁷¹ But Tresham was not a nobleman, and as far as we know from the surviving evidence for his life it is unlikely that he was planning to embark on a military campaign. Neil Younger attributed the alteration in military recruitment to lingering conservative and Catholic allegiances, which made some of the nobility ‘ill-suited to raise troops for a Protestant regime’. Yet under the extraordinary circumstances of the 1588 Armada crisis ‘the nobility provided large contingents of troops’.⁷²

One set of such agreements for Tresham tenants survives, and is dated 20 August 1599, perhaps coincidentally during another summer when England feared an Armada. Tresham made indenture agreements with eleven men in Northamptonshire which included an ‘agreement to perform suit of service’.⁷³ The men were John Read of Cottesbrooke, esquire; a clerk, William Gilbert of Haselbech, and his wife Bridget; nine yeomen — William Lynnett *alias* Lynell and his wife Agnes, of Haselbech, and Edward Walpole the elder, also of Haselbech; Robert Mowyer of Welford; Lawrence Rogers of the City of London and his wife Bridget née Warde; Thomas Elborough of Brixworth, and his wife Frances, with her daughter Isabell Welche; John Parker and Thomas Walpole, both of Haselbech; Edmund Walpole and his wife Amy; Alexander Lovell of Guilsborough, and his wife Agnes. John Read may have been a relative of Theodosia Read(e),

⁷⁰ S. Gunn, D. Grummitt, and H. Cools, *War, State, and Society in England and the Netherlands, 1477-1559* (Oxford, 2007), p. 138.

⁷¹ Gajda, *Earl of Essex*, ch. 2.

⁷² N. Younger, *War and Politics in the Elizabethan Counties* (Manchester, 2013), p. 167.

⁷³ TNA catalogue, Northamptonshire Record Office, WY16/(a), Indenture Agreement, 20 August 41 Eliz. See *OED*, s.v. ‘suit, n.’, 2a.

who married Tresham's son William. Other leases are not extant, so we do not know for how long the Treshams had asked this of their tenants, whether the practice originated with Tresham, his grandfather, or an earlier antecedent. A wider study of leases and indentures is beyond the remit of this thesis, but would contextualise this evidence.

Catholic perceptions of Tresham

We know comparatively little about Tresham and missionary clergy — both Jesuits and seminary priests. He was suspected, but not formally accused, of harbouring priests, such as Simon Fennell, but the assumption that he did so based purely on his initial association with Edmund Campion is misleading and it is likely that Vaux was the major missionary supporter in Tresham's circle.⁷⁴ Sabine Chambers left Tresham his books before going to Paris and becoming a Jesuit, and he later sent a book to Lady Tresham, but we know nothing further of their association.⁷⁵ But Tresham was known to missionary priests, and there is evidence that he was seen as a figurehead for English Catholics. Some time in 1603, the secular priest Thomas Hill, later a Benedictine, wrote a remarkable letter to Tresham from Newgate prison, from where he was expecting to be taken to Tyburn and executed the following day. In the event, Hill was reprieved, and died at the ripe age of 84 in Douai in 1644. Tresham's note on the wrapper indicates that he knew Hill had not been executed: 'Mr Hills letter at the tym he exspected to haue been the next day executed at Tyborne: then in newgate prysoner condemned for beyng a preeste'.⁷⁶ No records survive of any association between Hill and Tresham except this letter. Hill had returned to England in 1599, having been delayed as a punishment for the 'grave moral offences' of visiting taverns and 'other places of ill repute', but Hill nonetheless knew of Tresham's efforts for the Catholic cause and wrote to praise him.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Kaushik, 'Resistance', p. 44; Pritchard, *Catholic Loyalism*, pp. 49, 56. For Campion see ch. 1.

⁷⁵ See pp. 71-2, above.

⁷⁶ BL Add MS 39829, fols. 78r-9v, at fol. 78r, Thomas Hill to Tresham, ?1603.

⁷⁷ G. Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests: a Dictionary of the Secular Clergy of England and Wales, 1558-1850*, vol. 1, *Elizabethan 1558-1603* (Gateshead, 1969), pp. 167-8.

I knowe not howe I haue an incredible desyre ^{^to} ~~the~~ beholde the amiable countenances of all o^r worthy confessant Catholiques, and especially of yo^rselfe who by the singuler grace and assistance of god haue opposed yo^rself in the defence of that cause *tanquam murum ab æneum contra cuneos aduersæ dominationis* [blocks as a wall of bronze against the despotism of the adversary] of whom I more boldlie saye as of another Moyses ... and therefore as the face of holie Moyses after he had ben conuersant in the holy Mountaine with almightie god became so illustrious and bright, that the people coulde ^{^not} beholde yt: So ys the very countenaunce exterior countenaunce of yo^rself and all the rest of o^r worthy confessant Catholiques *ex contemplatione diuinæ charitatis in cordibus vestris per spiritum sanctum copiositer effusæ* [by contemplation of the divine charity in your hearts abundantly poured out by the holy spirit] most amiable and delightsome vnto mee. In regarde whereof (as I sayde before) I haue an incredible desyre to see yo^u all, to grant a comforte (I confesse) to be afforded vs in this worlde and therefore reserved as the last but not the least complement of o^r absolute felicity in the worlde to come where I trust to see you all face to face.⁷⁸

We do not know how widespread the image of Tresham as Moses to the English Catholic community was, but it was a powerful comparison, not with just any Biblical figure, but with the prophet who led God's people out of bondage into the promised land. Hill was offering comfort to Tresham, and assurances that their Church would be reunited in heaven, though he wished he could diminish the trials of the earthly world. What does this letter mean for our consideration of Tresham? We do not know whether other Catholics received letters from Hill. Hill could have been writing to stir Tresham to take up the leadership for which he deemed him well-suited, or to inspire him to continue what he was already doing. Hill assured Tresham that 'if I goe before you I will carry yo^r Token with mee' — meaning either a keepsake or heraldic arms — and that he would work for the salvation of Tresham and his kin:

all those whom I shall vnderstand to haue any relation of consanguinitye kinredd or alliance vnto you as ... you haue good store, and those right hono^rable worshipp:^{ll} famous & renowned, in whom throughe the participation of my love towardes yo^rselfe I doe correioyce with you very much.⁷⁹

IV: The demands of kith and kin

⁷⁸ BL Add MS 39829, fol. 79r

⁷⁹ *ibid.*, fol. 79r; *OED*, s.v. 'token', 8b, 9.

Throughout the 1590s and early 1600s, Tresham's energies were tested by members of his family. Chapter one discussed the divisions wrought by the marriages of the second generation of his circle. His own children fared better in this than those of Vaux — though their marital success came with demands on Tresham's purse — and he spent much of the 1590s dealing with suits brought against him by his Vaux kin: Anne, Eleanor, Muriel, and George. Tresham's brother William was a burden, linking the family with sedition. Still in disgrace on the continent, having flounced off in 1582 following a squabble with the Earl of Leicester, William embodied an association with the Tresham name and the community of Catholic rebels and exiles on the continent — the Earl of Westmorland, Charles Paget, Oliver Eustace, Ralph Lignons, John Stonor, James Chambers and John Petit — to say nothing of his being in the pay of the Spanish king. In 1596 William was in receipt of a pension of 40 *escudos* from the king of Spain, and appears to have served as a captain in the Earl of Westmorland's Spanish regiment of Catholic émigrés before it was disbanded, but he complained bitterly of his treatment and remuneration.⁸⁰

Throughout 1599, William Tresham was making overtures to privy councillors for a safe passage home and for guarantees that he could return without reproach. In doing so, he undermined Tresham's attempts to convince the Council that the Catholic gentry and nobility were prepared to defend Queen and country against the invading Spaniard. In a 'somewhat unreliable' so-called confession in 1594, the Jesuit Henry Walpole claimed to have conferred with William Tresham at Brussels, and that William had asked Walpole to carry a message to his sister, perhaps Lady Vaux. Though Walpole described William's loyalty to England, the reassurances of a Jesuit were unhelpful, and another Catholic prisoner, Henry Young, confessed that William was part of a 'council for the state of England', by which he meant a group of Catholic émigrés and priests on the continent who met to discuss the problem of Elizabethan England.⁸¹ William

⁸⁰ Loomie, *Spanish Elizabethans*, pp. 35-8; 261-2; Gibbons, *English Catholic Exiles*, p. 157; *CSPD 1598-1601*, nos. 29, 85, 1, 27, 34, 26, 122, 34, 110; *CSPD Add.*, nos. 39, 47, 55, 89, 102, 6; *CSP Spain*, no. 647; R.N. McDermott, 'Neville, Charles, sixth earl of Westmorland (1542/3-1601)', *ODNB*.

⁸¹ Houliston, *Catholic Resistance*, p. 54 n. 26; TNA SP 12/148, fol. 181r, 'Examination of Henry Walpole SJ', 27 April 1594; TNA SP 12/248, fol. 22r, 'Further Confession of Henry Walpole', 13 June 1594; TNA SP 12/249, fol. 75r, 'Confession of Henry Walpole', July 1594; TNA SP 12/249, fol. 196r, 'Confession of Henry Young', 24 August 1594.

Tresham lobbied Essex, Lord Henry Howard, and Secretary Robert Cecil between March and October 1599, and while there is no record of the eventual permission to return to England, it is not until 1603 that we find him at home.⁸²

Tresham's son Francis, too, made impolitic associations and conducted himself poorly. Between August and December 1591, Francis and his father were questioned by the Privy Council because Francis had allegedly forged a warrant from the Privy Council for the arrest of George Ball and 'had by violence entered into the lodging of the said Ball', having arrived with thirteen horsemen, and detained him in various Tresham houses for a period of twelve weeks. To make matters worse, Ball was aged 70 at the time, and claimed that his heavily-pregnant daughter had been pushed down the stairs in the skirmish.⁸³ Ball was indebted to Tresham by some £400, and Tresham had written to Ball's son-in-law, Mr. Maryott, on 29 May 1591 to say that he had a Privy Council warrant to arrest Ball, and that he was sending his son, Francis, and a servant to 'effectuate the matter'.⁸⁴ Francis had been aided and abetted in this wrongdoing by George Fulshurst, a Tresham servant who would later make a scandalous match with Tresham's niece Muriel Vaux. The Vaux-Fulshurst match resulted in Tresham spending some months in the Fleet in 1599 — his final imprisonment — for refusal to pay Muriel's marriage portion, likely as a debtor.⁸⁵ In 1601, Francis was involved in Essex's failed *coup d'état* with his cousin and future co-conspirator, Robert Catesby. Tresham was able to secure his son a pardon, but at a cost of £2,000 for which he had to part with some lands, and following a three-week imprisonment — we do not know where — while he got together the money.⁸⁶

⁸² TNA SP 15/34, fol. 7r, William Tresham to the Earl of Essex, 10 March 1599; TNA SP 12/272, fol. 23r, Scribal petition of William Tresham to Lord Henry Howard, 28 August 1599; TNA SP 12/273, fol. 1r, the same to Secretary Cecil, 8 October 1599.

⁸³ Ball petitioned the Privy Council to compel Tresham to release him in June 1591: *HMCR* iii, p. 61.

⁸⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 60-61.

⁸⁵ TNA PC 2/18, pp. 472, 488, 490, 522, 552, 556; TNA PC 2/19, pp. 9, 11, 40, 70, 76. For George Fulshurst and Muriel Vaux, see ch. 1.

⁸⁶ TNA PC 2/26, pp. 241, 249, 277, 335.

V: The Accession of James VI and I

Like many, Tresham had great hopes for toleration under the new monarch.⁸⁷ Having resigned himself to enduring the end of Elizabeth's reign, he once again began to engage formally with contemporary religious politics at James' accession. Tresham made a public signification of his support for James' succession within days of Elizabeth's death, a demonstration of local seniority that points to a desire to achieve greater involvement in public life and service under a tolerant new monarch. Just as his grandfather and namesake had done for Mary in 1553, Tresham proclaimed James at Northampton on 25 March 1603, and wrote a rather self-aggrandising memorandum of the occasion.⁸⁸ There had been uncertainty surrounding the death of Queen Elizabeth, prompting Tresham to delay for five days lest he commit treason by proclaiming a new monarch. Tresham's record of the event emphasises his determination to prove himself loyal, and his hopes for James.

Religious polarisation in the county is clear in Tresham's account. He wrote that he rode to Northampton from Dunstable, proclaiming the new king 'to all travellers', and was resolved to enter the county capital despite warnings from travellers that he would be in 'eminentt danger', and that he would not be able to gain entry to the town because 'of the great tumult' there. On arriving in the suburbs of Northampton, Tresham encountered 'manny ... kynsmen and contrymen assembled for appeasyng the tumulte' but 'made no stay' and 'hasted to effecte the servyce which he came for'.⁸⁹ Tresham gave evidence of the religious tensions present in local society, recounting hostility from the warders guarding the mayor's house as he tried to enter the town on horseback. The incident evinces great hostility between Tresham — whose Catholicism was manifestly well-known throughout the county — and the urban population of Northampton. The acrimonious exchange between Tresham and the warders took place along

⁸⁷ See M. Questier, 'Loyalty, Religion and State Power in Early Modern England: English Romanism and the Jacobean Oath of Allegiance', *HJ*, 40/2 (1997), pp. 311–329.

⁸⁸ Finch, *Wealth*, p. 68; BL Add MS 39829, fols. 95v–101r, Memorandum in Tresham's hand, 25 March 1603.

⁸⁹ *ibid.*, fols. 96v, 97r.

religious lines, with Tresham goading them about the unreformed, even superstitious tenor of their behaviour. The accusation was deliberately offensive, and exploited a major source of friction between confessions.⁹⁰

Sir T.T. asked of them howe lately that ceremony was growen vppe in northampton? and whether they wold have Mayor accompted for ane Idol that non might access to him but on foote. And forder told them that as he well knew the inhabitantes of the towne did not allow of pillgrymage so wold not he akknoledge the mayor for ane ydoll.⁹¹

As Tresham passed through, one of the warders 'did bend his *partisan* on sir T. shakyng the same at him and swaryng a terryble oth menaced' him. When he was accosted by the mayor and ordered to desist from making speeches to the multitude — Tresham wrote that there were more than 500 people present — Tresham refused to perform the service with anything less than the proper prominence: '[he] wold compleatt his speches to the people And that hys service was no ^{^secrete} chamber worke, butt to be done in publyke att the market cross'.⁹² Tresham was persuaded to enter the mayor's chamber because of the presence of 'Sir Robert Spencer and ~~other~~ many other of sir T.T. worshipfull good frendes and kynsmen' but found it 'full frought and many gentlemen whom he knew not'. He duly proclaimed the king but on praying God to prosper James was heckled by 'one whoo stood next sir T. behind him sayd lett vs pray that the kyng prove sownd in religion'. Tresham ignored it at first, but when it was repeated he reproved the heckler and made a defence of civil obedience and loyalty:

turning himselfe vnto that partye sayng ... that the kyng bee not of yor relygeon, that then yow owe him not dutye and loyalte? ... Sir T. avowchyng forth of the prophetes of the appostells that wee shold geve to cesar what was due to caesar ... Therefore sayd Sir T. thowgth yow dyfer in religion from the kynge, yett in so muche as he ys a professor of the chrystyan religeon yow vppon a farr stronger argyment ar bound to obey him as yor kyng in civyll loyalte and obedience.⁹³

The incident painted vividly the tensions of the divergent hopes and expectations of competing religious groups, and demonstrated the kind of hostility that a Catholic of Tresham's standing

⁹⁰ See M. Aston, *England's Iconoclasts*, vol. 1, *Laws against Images* (Oxford, 1988).

⁹¹ BL Add MS 39829, fols. 95v-101r, fol. 97v.

⁹² *ibid.*, fols. 98r, 99r. The prominence Tresham acknowledged in the market cross is reminiscent of his own market cross at Rothwell, see pp. 176-86, below.

⁹³ *ibid.*, fols. 99v-100r.

might encounter. The godly crowd Tresham had encountered were deeply suspicious of his loyalty, and there is the sense that they saw him as a Catholic — and therefore hostile — leader. Yet there was an optimism in Tresham's position at James' accession; he wanted to advertise his civil obedience to the new King, and to encourage others to follow suit. Tresham thought that James even showed signs of Catholicism, or at the very least Catholic sympathies. It also says something about Tresham's willingness to lead, and to proselytise in public about due conduct and the obedience owed to the monarch, and must therefore contribute to an assessment of his engagement with the government.

Tresham was probably the author of a short petition of loyalty endorsed by 'your Majesty's most humble and obedyente Subiectes the afflicted Catholiques of yo^r Realme of England'.⁹⁴ The copy in the Tresham Papers is written by a clerk, perhaps George Levens, in a neat and consistent secretary hand on one sheet of paper, with generous margins to the left and bottom of the text which indicate that this was a fair copy. It shows no sign of having been received by Tresham from someone else — it has been folded and endorsed for storage rather than sending; there are no remnants of sealing wax or an address. No names appear on it. The mention of Catholics having 'shewed in our forwardnes of proclayminge yr Majestie as the lawfull and rightfull Kinge' their 'loyall dutifull affeccion' may well refer to Tresham's proclamation of James at Northampton. The author professed Catholics' loyalty to James, and their preparedness to offer 'faythfull and zealous dutye' to the new king, describing 'the great hope which we haue conceiued of yo^r princelye leuitye and benigne nature doth in a manner assure vs, that yo^r Majesty comminge to this imperyall Crowne will giue happie end to o^r miseries and troubles'. It asks that James consider his Catholics in the same way as any other faithful subjects, 'Our humble peticion to yor Majestie is that yow would haue that opinyon of vs as of others yor Majesties good subiectes who ar and euer will bee readye to spend the best blood in o^r bodies for yor Majesties seruice'.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ BL Add MS 39829, fols. 104r-v, at fol. 104v, Petition of English Catholics to James I, ?April 1603.

⁹⁵ *ibid.*, fol. 104r.

On 16 July 1603, Tresham wrote from Rushton to Lord Henry Howard.⁹⁶ As with many of the correspondents in the Tresham Papers, there is no other surviving evidence of their relationship. Despite his admittedly inconsistent success at court, Howard's religious sensibilities are generally acknowledged to have been crypto-Catholic.⁹⁷ Tresham wrote to him after the accession of James VI and I, ten days before the coronation. It was a reply, delayed by '[t]his tyme of pestilent infection' — by which Tresham probably meant plague, rather than contrary religion — and carried by Tresham's brother William, recently returned from his disgraceful exile in France and the Low Countries. Evidently Howard had helped Tresham in some way relating to his brother, on whom Howard had bestowed 'honorable fauours', perhaps in response to William Tresham's petitionary letter of 1599.⁹⁸ Tresham, now a man of sixty, lamented his 'nowe compleeted ^{^triple} prentiships of one and twentie yeares in direst aduersitie'. The letter is full of scorn for those who had persecuted Catholics, for Puritans and Anabaptists, and for Catholics who plotted against the monarch. As Howard's Catholicism, such as it was, entailed outward conformity, Tresham felt confident to rail against 'the godless crewe of the Puritane rakehells, multipliers of damnable driftes' and to ask God to 'delyver vs' from them.⁹⁹

Conspiracy had immediate relevance in July 1603, as two plots had been discovered. The Bye plot, which aimed to force a captive James into Catholic toleration, implicated forty individuals, including Tresham's son-in-law Sir Edward Parham, though he was never indicted.¹⁰⁰

Concurrently, the Main plot was the projected replacement of James with Arabella Stuart, and

⁹⁶ BL Add MS 39829, fol. 106r-v, Tresham to Lord Henry Howard, 16 July 1603.

⁹⁷ See Gajda, *The Earl of Essex*, p. 116; D.C. Andersson, *Lord Henry Howard (1540-1614): an Elizabethan Life* (Cambridge, 2009); L. Levy Peck, *Northampton: Patronage and Policy at the Court of James I* (1982); P. Croft, 'Howard, Henry, earl of Northampton (1540-1614)', *ODNB*. Howard was not created earl of Northampton until 1604.

⁹⁸ See pp. 156-7, above.

⁹⁹ BL Add MS 39829, fol. 106r.

¹⁰⁰ M. Nicholls, 'Treason's Reward: the Punishment of Conspirators in the Bye Plot of 1603', *HJ*, 38/4 (1995), pp. 821-42 analyses the aftermath of these plots, including the pardoning of some of the prisoners; S.R. Gardiner, *History of England from the Accession of James I to the Outbreak of the Civil War 1603-1642*, 10 vols. (1883-4), i, pp. 108-40 is the standard narration; M.C. Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion, c. 1550-1640* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 268 observes the proliferation of statements of loyalty in the wake of the plots.

drew in such leading statesmen as Sir Walter Raleigh and Henry Brooke, Lord Cobham, and the secular priest William Watson. Tresham condemned the ‘imperfections’ present among England’s Catholics — groups of would-be conspirators — and invited Howard to shun them: ‘Yf anie suche menstruous, or rather monostrous filthiness hath proceeded from anie challenginge himselfe, or themselves for a Catholique, or Catholiques of England, Lett him or them be Anathema among vs for *talem consuetudinem* [such custom] we detest’. To Tresham, they deserved chastisement ‘farre aboue treacheroustest Puritane or Anabaptist’. He warned Howard of the possibility of further sedition, which he decried based on his experience of the poisonous climate surrounding Elizabethan plots: ‘I haue so longe tume beene experimented in the cursed Macheuillian proiectes visored in former tymes on vs in vgliest wise, that I partlye (vnder correction of my superiors be itt sayed) doe suspect *Latet anguis in herba* [a snake lies in the grass]: Ane Athesticall Anthonie Babingtons complottment’.¹⁰¹ This statement was not simply about Tresham disassociating himself from Catholic plots; Catholic libels went further, propagating the view that atheists at the heart of government contrived Catholic plots to ensnare innocent loyal Catholics.¹⁰² The statement is not such an explicit accusation of government conspiracy, but it shifts the blame from sinful Catholics to unholy atheists.

Tresham reflected on the hotly-debated question of punishing husbands for their wives’ recusancy, and mused that he would endure further hardship to ensure the safety of his wife’s soul: ‘But if I must agayne serue a like longe prentiship to preuent the foregoeing of my beloued beawtiefull and gracefull Rachel (*videbantur illi pauci dies præ amoris magnitudine* [and they seemed but a few days, because of the greatness of his love]) then onelye expect from me prayers, and indelible registred thankfullness’.¹⁰³ Indeed, Tresham had earlier made notes on ‘whether the innocent husband may by law be bound to pay for his wyfes recusancye’; a

¹⁰¹ BL Add MS 39829, fol. 106r.

¹⁰² Lake, *Bad Queen Bess*, pp. 242-3 and 254-5.

¹⁰³ BL Add MS 39829, fol. 106r. Genesis 29:20. For the legal problem of recusant wives, see A. Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge, 1993, repr. 1999), pp. 79-81; Bossy, *ECC*, pp. 154-9.

fragment of an endorsement reads ‘parlamentt queries’.¹⁰⁴ Tresham was not ‘innocent’ of recusancy, but framed his queries in general terms, and concluded that a husband should not be held responsible for his wife’s actions in this way. He also had among his papers — but not in his hand or that of Levens — a rough copy of a draft act from around 1604 to prohibit fining the husbands of recusant wives £20 per month.¹⁰⁵ If, as Alexandra Walsham observes, this was at least symptomatic of the influence of crypto-Catholics at court, it may be possible that Howard was involved.¹⁰⁶

The subject of Tresham’s letter to Howard was not purely religious. Tresham was alarmed about a new procedure for elevating men to knighthoods, ‘callinge vp all menne that canne dispende fortie poundes reuenewe in fee simple, or for terme of life, to be knightes’. He described it as ‘irregulare and scandalous’ and was concerned about how it would look — ‘itt will bee a worldes wonder, especiallie in the beginnunge of the kinges reigne’. The measure would elevate ‘some landless’ men, and those who did not possess the requisite characteristics, leading, one presumes, to the debasement of the rank, ‘manie base, and dosser headed clownes, and not one amonge fortie worthie of that degree’.¹⁰⁷ Tresham had good reason to expect his recipient’s agreement: Howard, a member of a premier, if disgraced, noble family, had ‘harshly attacked the increasing numbers of those granted arms in the 1590s by describing commerce as an infection’.¹⁰⁸ This concern chimed with a long-standing Catholic critique of Protestant influence. This was a social argument based on antiquity and authority, describing Protestant Councillors as an upstart sect of Machiavels and atheists who were depriving the ancient Catholic gentry and nobility of their traditional roles in society. The anonymous author of ‘A copie of an answer

¹⁰⁴ BL Add MS 39829, fols. 57r-v, undated, *HMCR* iii, p. 111 estimates July 1601.

¹⁰⁵ *ibid.*, fol. 175r, ‘An Acte for the Exxplaininge of a doubt conceaved vppon certeyne statutes made against such as are commonly called Recusantes’.

¹⁰⁶ Walsham, *Church Papists*, p. 79 n.30.

¹⁰⁷ BL Add MS 39829, fol. 105r.

¹⁰⁸ L. Levy Peck, ‘The mentality of a Jacobean grandee’ in *idem* (ed.), *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 148-69, at p. 163. The inflation of honours was an acknowledged problem from the 1590s onwards: L. Stone, ‘The Inflation of Honours, 1558-1641’, *EHR*, 14/1 (1958), pp. 45-70.

vnto a Protestant friend', writing in 1591, had used the same argument in his invective against the Protestant authors of the recent proclamation:

nowe bothe in court and countrey are in honor and aucthoryty whose Originall reaceth litle further then to suppression of Abbyes, but for example a fewe shall suffice, who was greater in his tyme then the late duke of Northumberlande, yet was his grandfather noe more then a carpenter albeyt his sonne was neeire dayes nominated a kinge, the last Lord keeper was the sonne of a sheapeherd, and the Lord Treasurer that nowe ys as doubtles of verye meane parentage.¹⁰⁹

In Michaelmas Term 1604 Tresham drafted a petition to the Privy Council from 'some few suche who [^]in the lyfe tyme of q. Eliz. haue duly payd the — 20li — for [^]theire mownethly recusancye', that is to say, on behalf of the recusant Catholics of substance who had suffered under Elizabeth and now sought further financial relief as a gesture of toleration.¹¹⁰ James had been 'so well pleased [^]to pardon and remytt vs of all suche sommes of recusancye mony which have beene payable to his highness [^]majesty' from the death of Elizabeth until 30 July. Contrary to the advice that 'the then vulgar fame' of the king was that 'of his ~~royall~~ especiall grace and clemencye wold not take owre [^]sayd recusancye mony', 'divers of vs' recusants had paid their half year's recusancy fines in the Easter Term following the Queen's death to avoid the risk of 'els forfeytyng of all [^]owre goods'. They asked James 'to exonerate vs of owre recusancye meonye accrued synce the sayd — 30th— of july, and now payable [^]by vs this terme'. The implication was that the Catholic community would take this as a sign of James's 'pryncely bownty and clemencye' towards them, and is a sign that Tresham believed that James would not maintain the recusancy legislation.¹¹¹

The petition challenged government legislation on church attendance, the bedrock of religious conformity and thus a vehicle for Protestant hegemony. This was related to toleration: asking the state to permit the coexistence of plural religious identities and not to impose sanctions on those who did not participate in the services of the Established Church. The term 'toleration'

¹⁰⁹ BL Add MS 39828, fol. 156r; see pp. 141-3, above.

¹¹⁰ BL Add MS 39829, fol. 154r, 'The humble peticion of some few', draft in Tresham's hand.

¹¹¹ *ibid.*

was pejorative to early modern ears: 'to permit religious diversity to exist within one's midst was a recipe for divine wrath, political disaster, and the anarchic dissolution of Christian society'.¹¹² Many of those waiting for the end of Elizabeth's reign understood toleration as an interim measure to end persecution; the party asking for toleration might not be prepared to offer it themselves when circumstances were different.

Another document, known as the *Petition Apologetical*, may also have been penned by Tresham, but it was printed and enjoyed greater circulation. Tresham had a copy of the printed version, and of *The Coppie of the Banished Priestes Letter* printed with it.¹¹³ The *Petition* contains elements of the petition presented to Elizabeth in 1585 and both of the Jacobean petitions associated with Tresham — for the cessation of recusancy fines and for the profession of loyalty. At thirty pages, not including the preface and the *Banished Priestes Letter*, it is far more extensive than any of the other petitions. The author's preface, written under the *nom de plume* John Lecey, was a plea for the decriminalisation of the priesthood, asking that Catholics be given 'only a secret and silent permission of such Pastors, as shall shewe to them and the whole world, sufficient euidence and approbation for the charge of soules they vndertake'.¹¹⁴ The petition itself asked for Catholics to be relieved of recusancy fines, explained that they would gladly attend the services of the Established Church if divines could prove that it was not sinful.¹¹⁵

The presence of the printed version alone in Tresham's papers is not sufficient evidence of his authorship, which has otherwise been assumed, but internal evidence makes it possible to attribute the core arguments to Tresham.¹¹⁶ First, Tresham and his kin appear as exemplars with

¹¹² A. Walsham, 'Cultures of Coexistence in Early Modern England: History, Literature and Religious Toleration', *The Seventeenth Century*, 28/2 (2013), pp. 115–37, at p. 115.

¹¹³ *A Petition Apologeticall, presented to the Kinges most excellent Maiestie by the lay Catholikes of England in Iuly last. The Coppie of the Banished Priestes Letter to the Lordes of his Maiesties ... Privy Councill* (Douai [false imprint for London], 1604). See appendix III.

¹¹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 3.

¹¹⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 9, 19–20. Bossy, *ECC*, p. 38. See also *idem*, 'Henri IV, the Appellants and the Jesuits', *BCH*, 8 (1966), pp. 80–112, at p. 95.

¹¹⁶ Kaushik, 'Resistance', p. 62; V. Houlston, 'Filling in the Blanks: Catholic Hopes for the English Succession', *SEDERI*, 25 (2015), pp. 77–104, at pp. 93–5; Bossy, *ECC*, p. 39.

other lay Catholics throughout the text. For their 'forewardnes in proclayming' James, the author praises 'the L. Mounteagle, M. Fran. Tresham, Sir Levvys Tresham, in the Tovvre of London', and for 'the dangers and difficulties that some amongst vs passed in performing thereof in times so greene and doubtfull' only one name is given: 'Sir Thomas Tresham at Northampton'.¹¹⁷ Mentioning a conference between Protestant divines and the Jesuits Campion and Ralph Sherwin, Tresham, Vaux, and Catesby are cited as 'divers Catholikes both of honourable and vvorshipfull degree, for Testemony of their conscience only' alongside Thomas Somerset, 'brother to the Earle of Worcester'.¹¹⁸ One argument has particular resonance for arguments posited by Tresham, that 'wee with voluntary aduenture of our liues and worldly fortunes offered to serue in Person with our Sonnes, Seruants, and Tennantes; at our owne charges', but Vaux is the example. A reference to the recusants who subscribed to a 'forme of protestation of their dutie and alleageance' written by the Privy Council and put to them by Perne and Legg also points to Tresham.¹¹⁹ Tresham's brother William, who complained so bitterly of his inability to return home, is probably the 'Cap. Tresham' listed alongside 'M. Charles Paget ... M. Iohn Stonor ... and diuers others' as 'notorious' for the 'dangers we haue passed at home, and what slaunders and damages very many of our catholike brethren haue suffered abroad'.¹²⁰ Finally, Tresham, Vaux, and Throckmorton are among the families who worked for the benefit of James and his mother:

infinite are the families of the Catholikes that haue suffered for them both. As the Seatons, the Gordens, the Simpells, the Maxuells in Scotland: the Hawards, Persies, Vauxes, Pagets, Treshams, Throgmortons, Winsors, Salisburie, Abington ¹²¹

in contrast to the lack of commitment by Protestants: 'Neuer was it heard of that in England or Scotland any Minister or Ministers euer suffred any thing for that gracious Lady [Mary, Queen of Scots], or your Maiesties Title'.¹²²

¹¹⁷ *Petition Apologeticall*, p. 8. It has not been possible to locate further evidence for the proclamations of Mounteagle, Francis, and Lewis Tresham.

¹¹⁸ *ibid.*, p. 19.

¹¹⁹ *ibid.*, p. 23.

¹²⁰ *ibid.*, p. 27.

¹²¹ *ibid.*, p. 27.

¹²² *ibid.*, p. 32.

These exemplars raise some questions, however. Charles Paget had lived behind enemy lines as a Catholic émigré, but he worked hard to secure James' succession, and was rehabilitated in July 1603.¹²³ Members of the Howard and Percy families, had been implicated in Catholic plots, too, but these ancient noble families had earlier produced trusted statesmen.¹²⁴ The *Petition Apologeticall* came during a flurry of printed petitions by Catholics and Puritans who entertained hopes of more favourable treatment under James.¹²⁵ It may be that Tresham's arguments had been co-opted into the intra-Catholic power struggles between Jesuits and secular priests — the text shows clear support for the latter.

Tresham continued to concern himself with the prospects for English Catholics until his death in September 1605. Members of his family likewise remained engaged, and the Tresham Papers contain an undated and unsigned memorandum entitled 'an oath to be taken by recusants', recently proposed in Parliament and including questions of civil obedience. The sender wished to inform — or warn — the recipient of what Catholics would soon have to swear. This was the Oath of Allegiance of 1606, brought in during the second session of the first Parliament that year.¹²⁶ The writer sought his recipient's opinion on queries such as 'whether the Pope hath authoryty to excom[unicate] a King that never was a child of his church', and we may consider whose advice was being sought on how lay Catholics were to respond to the oath.¹²⁷ It was perhaps sent to Lewis Tresham who had leadership of the household following the deaths of his

¹²³ P. Holmes, 'Paget, Charles (c. 1546-1612)', *ODNB*.

¹²⁴ J.G. Elzinga, 'Howard, Philip [St. Philip Howard], thirteenth earl of Arundel (1557-95)', *ODNB*; C. Levin, 'Percy, Henry, eighth earl of Northumberland (c. 1532-85)', *ODNB*; M. Nicholls, 'Percy, Henry, ninth earl of Northumberland (1564-1632)', *ODNB*; Croft, 'Howard, Henry'; K. Gibbons, *English Catholic Exiles in Late Sixteenth-Century Paris* (Woodbridge, 2011).

¹²⁵ See W.B. Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom* (Cambridge, 1997). For petitions protesting the decisions of the Hampton Court Conference, see C.W.A. Prior, *Defining the Jacobean Church: the Politics of Religious Controversy, 1603-1625* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 89-97.

¹²⁶ 3 and 4 Jac. I. Cap. IV. The text of the oath is in Prothero, *Statutes*, pp. 259-60.

¹²⁷ BL Add MS 39829, fols. 137r-140r, at fol. 137r.

father and brother, though we do not know by whom.¹²⁸ The presence of this document hints at the divisions wrought by the oath, and we might wish that Tresham had lived to see it, and to write about it.¹²⁹

Conclusion

This chapter has challenged the notions of loyalism and resistance at the heart of scholarly treatment of Tresham. It has made connections between Tresham's writing and Catholic libels, and in its discussion of 'The copie of an answere vnto a protestantes letter' it has discussed a little-known tract attacking the proclamation against Jesuits and seminary priests in October 1591, one which colours the image of Tresham as consistently loyal and moderate. These were the very same arguments propagated by some of the most extreme Catholic controversialists — Robert Persons, Thomas Stapleton — and they sit awkwardly alongside the use of 'loyalist' without qualification. Loyalism was part of the language of political engagement in this period, and could accompany audacious criticisms of the state.

The following chapters reveal Tresham's concentration on his architectural and scholarly legacy, making arguments for a novel understanding of resistance which takes into account the squally climate of uncertainty and resignation present in the 1590s. In his brief foray into religious politics under James, Tresham made a hopeful return to the battle for toleration, but it was not

¹²⁸ For Catholic and Puritan responses to the establishment of Jacobean religious policy at the Hampton Court Conference, see P. Collinson, 'The Jacobean religious settlement: the Hampton Court conference' in H. Tomlinson (ed.), *Before the English Civil War: essays on early Stuart politics and government* (Basingstoke, 1983), pp. 27-52; M.H. Curtis, 'Hampton Court Conference and its Aftermath', *History*, 46/156 (1961), pp. 1-16.

¹²⁹ For the Catholic response to the Oath of Allegiance, see J.P. Sommerville, 'Papalist Political Thought and the Controversy over the Jacobean Oath of Allegiance', in E. Shagan (ed.), *Catholics and the 'Protestant Nation': Religious Politics and Identity in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 2005), pp. 162-84; A. Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: the Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600-1640* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 253-63; M.C. Questier, 'Loyalty, Religion and State Power in Early Modern England: English Romanism and the Jacobean Oath of Allegiance', *HJ*, 40/2 (1997), pp. 311-29.

to be. The petitions were unsuccessful. Recusancy fines for the thirteen men liable to pay the £20 per month fine were reinstated on 28 November 1604.¹³⁰

¹³⁰ Gardiner, *History of England*, i, p. 224.

IV

TRES TESTIMONIUM DANT: RELIGIOUS, SOCIAL, AND LOCAL IDENTITY IN ARTWORK, ARCHITECTURE, AND GARDENS, 1577-1605

The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate that the religious symbolism employed by Tresham in visual arts, architecture, and horticulture belong to a consideration of his social, political, cultural, and religious activities. Moreover, that in the political context of the 1590s, his buildings took on the qualities of resistance. Tresham's artistic and architectural projects are revelatory works in their own right, but within this thesis they complete a picture of his world. Tresham's buildings have received extensive attention from a small number of scholars.¹ This chapter draws on their insights in order to situate the buildings within Tresham's experience, using the works in synthesis. New interpretations are also offered on the social context of the buildings as evident in their heraldic embellishments, and on the numerological systems employed by Tresham in the Triangular Lodge. The cautious foray into numerology offered here is led by documents in the Tresham Papers, in which Tresham spent his imprisonment at Ely drafting schemes of decoration for his buildings and making notes on the backs of letters. In these notes, Tresham wrote out prayers with the number of letters in each word written above them, sometimes altering the spelling slightly to achieve the desired word-length. He can be seen to be playing with these numbers, adding or multiplying them in various combinations.² Yet this evidence should also sound a note of caution: numbers can be manipulated to provide any desired answer, and from this meaning may be extrapolated which bears no resemblance whatsoever to the original design. Much of the interpretive work must therefore remain speculative.

¹ These include recent examples: S.M. Cogan, 'Building the Badge of God: Architectural Representations of Persecution and Coexistence in Post-Reformation England', *Archiv für Reformationgeschichte*, 107 (2016), pp. 165-92; K.A. Fairey, 'Mapping Status in the Elizabethan Landscape: Sir Thomas Tresham's Architecture at Rothwell and Rushton, c. 1575-1600' (unpublished PhD thesis, Univ. of Yale, 2008).

² See, for example, BL Add MS 39828, fols. 294r-296v and BL Add MS 39831, fols. 2r-15r. The standard work on Renaissance numerology is A. Fowler, *Spenser and the Numbers of Time* (1964). I am grateful to Professor Peter Davidson for this reference and for his help elucidating Tresham's scribbles.

The gentry and nobility found that ‘new building provided a wide range of opportunity to display gentility’.³ Throughout the sixteenth century, Englishmen and women developed an appreciation of architecture as a form through which identity might be demonstrated. Through travel and reading, English elites were able to learn about, and be influenced by, architectural fashions; it was incumbent upon them to inform themselves of the artistic, geometric, and practical aspects of architectural design and the building process as part of the cultivation of gentility and the competent management of their estates. Tresham was a part of this milieu, and it was a sphere of local society and gentry culture in which he was able to participate at a time when his Catholicism closed off avenues of involvement and advancement. Restrictions on his movement prevented him from travelling, but he did so through books. He was able to do so without hiding his faith — the reverse is true — and he shaped this elite activity to suit his own identity, leaving his mark on the local landscape. Tresham’s reading informed his architectural endeavours, in particular the geometric principles behind their design. His copy of Euclid’s *Elements of Geometrie* survives in Cambridge, with evidence in the margins of his close engagement with it.⁴

I: Rushton crucifixion scene (1577)

In 1577, Tresham commissioned a painted plaster sculpture depicting the Crucifixion, likely to act as a reredos for an oratory at Rushton Hall, his principal residence. Of all the works of artistic or architectural patronage associated with Tresham, it has received the least attention, perhaps because its interior location and its function make it the most private. Its hues are blues and greens, with red for the garments. It is in a contemporary red and black frame with Tresham’s arms — six trefoils — incorporated into the base. The coat of arms is surrounded by

³ Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 298.

⁴ *The Elements of Geometrie of the Most Auncient Philosopher Euclide*, trans. Henry Billingsley (1570); J.C. Jarrett, ‘Sir Thomas Tresham’s *Elements of Geometrie*’, *Notes and Queries*, 61/2 (2014), pp. 214–6. The Tresham copy is in the Cambridge University Library, Adams.4.57.1.

the remnants of a motto.⁵ Only letters from the beginning of the motto — ‘IN HIC’ — and some from the end — ‘IOR AR’ — are visible, and as such it has not been possible to speculate what it might have been.

The scene shows Christ’s passion (fig. 4). His cross is central, in the foreground, with the label nailed above his head by Pilate, *INRI* (*Iesus Nazarenius Rex Iudaeorum* [Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews]), uppermost. The two thieves crucified with him are at either side, with contrasting postures. Their limbs are tied to their crosses with ropes, their knees bent inwards to the centre of the scene, and their gazes forward, out of the picture. The dying Christ is nailed, without ropes, and is looking down at Mary Magdalene. Centre-left, three women stand, aghast, supporting the fainting Virgin Mary, with a fourth looking up at the cross. Mary Magdalene kneels clinging to the cross, her eyes cast upwards at Christ and her hair loose and uncovered.⁶ To the right of the scene, soldiers hold spears and the *SPQR* banner aloft. There are more soldiers on the extreme left, also carrying spears and the imperial eagle banner. In the uppermost corners, the sun shines on the left, and on the right a crescent moon with, perhaps, a downcast face within, is inclined towards the cross. Above and behind the women a centurion on horseback — the only figure in Roman livery — holds his sword aloft in his right hand, pointing it at Christ.⁷ To the right of the scene and opposite Mary Magdalene, a soldier in a contrasting pose is standing and pointing up at Christ with his left thumb and forefinger. Like the other soldiers featured he wears sixteenth-century English livery, and he carries a halberd, but the others are looking away. The soldiers cast lots for Christ’s clothes: a man gestures at Christ’s tunic, red, which is shown lying on the floor in the foreground, with two coins besides it. The date of the work is uppermost, split between the two sides: ‘*ano dni*’ and ‘1577’. An earlier, smaller version of the date showing the first three digits, ‘157’, is still visible immediately to the

⁵ Gotch, *Complete Account*, p. 11; R. Williams, ‘A Catholic Sculpture in Elizabethan England: Sir Thomas Tresham’s Reredos at Rushton Hall’, *Architectural History*, 44 (2001), pp. 221–7, at p. 221.

⁶ Gotch, *Complete Account*, p. 10, makes some similar observations.

⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 10–11.

right of the cross. Other damaged, incomplete, or erroneous features can be seen; three soldiers are without their heads. J.A. Gotch also found that ‘various arms and legs have been knocked off’ and identified in the foreground ‘a soldier apparently bewailing the loss of a foot’.⁸ In total there are 23 figures, not including Christ and the two thieves.⁹

The curious central inscription, either side of the cross, has provoked some speculation. It reads:

ECCE SALVTIFERVM SIGNVM THAV NOBILE LIGNVM	O QVAM IVDÆI MEDITANTVR INANIA MVLTA
≈ VITÆ SERPENS HIC ÆNEVS ALTER ERAT	ET GENTES MANIBVS QVAM FREMVERE SVIS
VENDITVS HIC IOSEPH PRO VILI MVNERE IONAS	HI CAPVT ATTOLVNT HI RIDENT HI MALEDICVNT
QVI TRIDVO CETI CORPORE CLAVSVS ERAT	SVNT QVI PRO TVNICA LVDERE FORTE VOLVNT
HIC SALIENTIS AQVÆ FONS NAMA <u>PEIRA</u> SACER	EST QVI COR TENERUM CRVDELI PERCVTIT HASTA
AGNVS QVI OCCISVS <u>THIPIRL</u> <u>PRRLIS</u> ERAT ~	EST QVI VVLT MAGNAM TOLLERE FELLE SITIM ^{SCIV}
AGNVS ET OCCISVS PRIMÆVA AB ORIGINE MVNDI	MATER AT O MATER LACHRYMIS COMPVNCTA LABA
CRIMINA QVI LAVIT SANGVINE NOSTRA SVO ξ	SED MVLIEBRE GENV DAT MVLIERIS OPEM

Behold the health-giving symbol
Thau, the noble tree of life. This
was the second brazen serpent; a
Joseph sold for filthy lucre; a Jonas
who was shut for three days in the
whale’s belly. This was a fount of
springing water, a [peira] Priest; a
Lamb who was slain [thipirl prrlis];
and a Lamb slain from the
foundation of the world, who
washed away our sins with His
Blood.

O how the Jews imagine many vain
things, and the peoples raged with
their hands! These raise the head,
these laugh, these curse. There are
some who wish to cast lots for the
tunic. There is one who pierces the
tender heart with a cruel spear.
There is one who wishes to quench
great thirst with gall. But the
Mother, O Mother, overcome with
tears begins to faint; but the
womanly knee gives the help of
woman.¹⁰

The Latin text, with unidentifiable words, led Gotch to conclude that it had been restored by ‘a hand wholly destitute of Latin’.¹¹ Williams suggested that the inscription resembled a ‘typical contemporary devotional text’ with its invitation ‘to dwell on details of the crucifixion and enter into the Virgin Mary’s grief’.¹² Two spears protrude into the text, pointing to ‘*tunica ludere*’ (to

⁸ *ibid.*, p. 10.

⁹ Williams, ‘A Catholic Sculpture’, p. 221.

¹⁰ Gotch, *Complete Account*, pp. 11–12. The translation is by Gotch. The seemingly nonsensical words ‘peira’, ‘thipirl’ and ‘prrlis’ are underlined in the transcription and indicated by ellipses in the translation, but they are included in square brackets for context here.

¹¹ *ibid.*, p. 11.

¹² Williams, ‘A Catholic Sculpture’, p. 222.



Fig. 4 *Crucifixion scene, Rushton Hall (1577). Author's photograph.*

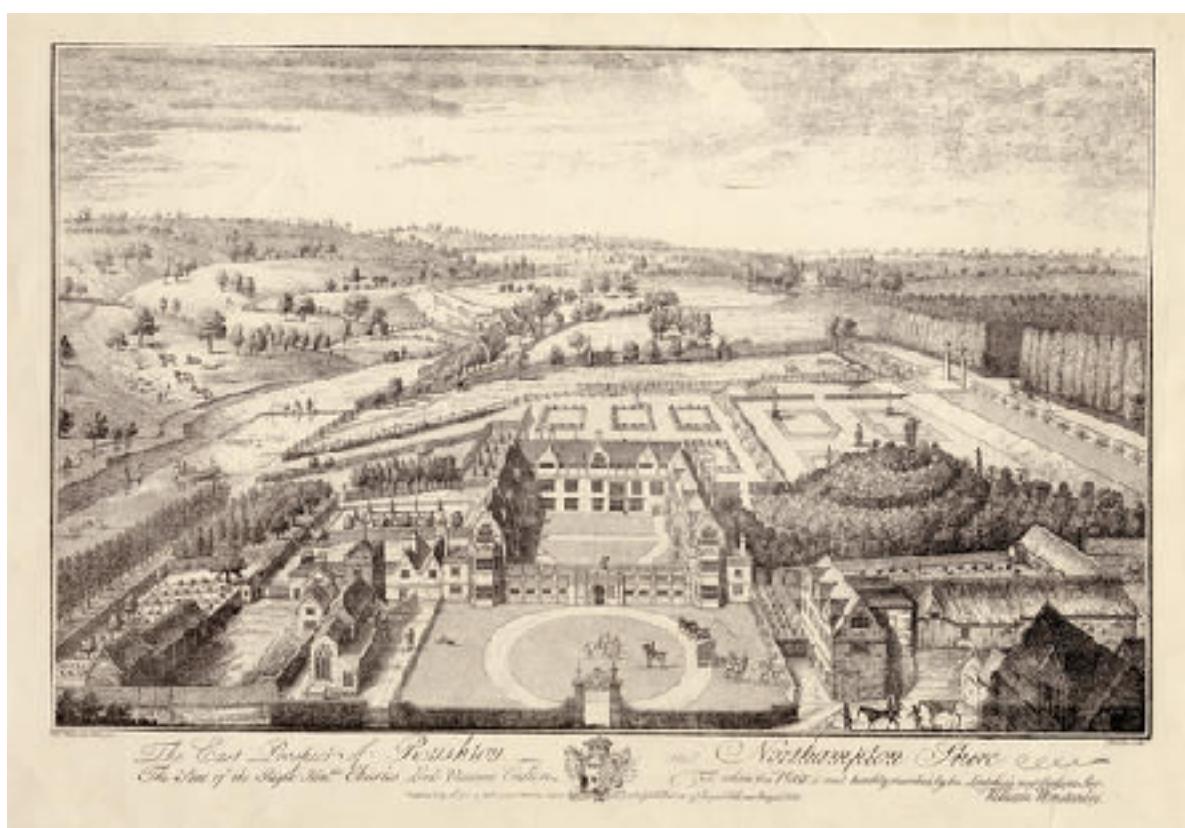


Fig. 5 *The East Prospect of Rushton (1750), The Sir Henry Dryden Collection, showing St. Peter's church in the bottom left corner.*

cast lots [for] the tunic), to emphasise the action happening beneath them. The Greek letter Tau (τ), with which the text opens, refers to a cross, but it is the Greek cross whose arms are of equal length, in contrast to the Latin cross of the crucifix.¹³ The use of the cross in heraldry to indicate knighthood may refer to Tresham's recent elevation to that rank in 1575.¹⁴ 'Tau' thus gives us both the 'T' in Tresham's name and his status.

As far as we know, the Crucifixion scene retains its original location and position at Rushton, in a small room on the first floor, on the north side of the house. Within the room it is at the top of the east wall.¹⁵ The piece looks to have been created to fit the space it now occupies. Until its destruction in the eighteenth century there was a parish church dedicated to St. Peter at Rushton Hall (fig. 5), but the sculpture's survival, and lack of evidence for relocation, both suggest that it was not commissioned for use there. This point is important: all of our evidence tells us that Tresham was not a recusant in 1577, and it seems therefore that he was combining statutory church attendance with private traditional worship, though we do not know what form that worship took, nor how far he engaged with parish worship. The private chapels of Catholic elites would prove a stumbling block for the enforcers of conformity.¹⁶ Indeed, in a raid on Tresham's house at Hoxton in 1584, painted crucifixes as well as books were confiscated.¹⁷

The iconoclastic hinterland of Tresham's sculpted crucifixion scene renders it an act of conscious disobedience. Elizabeth's reign had begun with iconoclasm, and the 1559 visitation articles targeted domestic images and idols as well as those in churches:

whether you know any that keep in their houses undefaced any images, tables, pictures, paintings, or other monuments of feigned and false miracles, pilgrimages,

¹³ *ibid.*

¹⁴ *OED*, s.v. 'cross', III. 18. a-b.

¹⁵ Williams, 'A Catholic Sculpture', pp. 221-227.

¹⁶ See, for example, E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400-1580* (2nd edn., New Haven and London, 2005), p. 569.

¹⁷ See pp. 217-8, below.

idolatry and superstition, and do adore them, and specially such as have been set up in churches, chapels, or oratories.¹⁸

Despite considerable friction between Elizabeth and many of her bishops, including over the conscious ambiguity of the visitation injunctions, which modified the article, to say nothing of the Queen's preference for a cross and candles in the Chapel Royal, the spirit of episcopal implementation was that images were superstitious remnants of England's popish past. For Tresham to commission a crucifixion scene — by its very nature depicting Christ — was a rejection of the measures being taken in parish churches to remove anything offensive to the second commandment, including rood screens and crosses. By October 1561, the royal arms were to take 'the central place of the proscribed crucifixion'.¹⁹

The decision to commission a new piece suggests that Tresham may have envisaged turning towards private, domestic worship, and while Richard Williams doubted whether Tresham would have commissioned a piece of this size and position for private devotion alone, the reverse seems true. The sculpture is large, but not as extravagant as, say, gilt plate, or a scene carved in stone, and suits a man possibly beginning to place more importance on private devotion over public worship. Moreover, its position at the top of the room, perhaps to be gazed up at as a kneeling supplicant casts his eyes to heaven, suits its purpose very well indeed.²⁰ To commission such a work for private Catholic worship in the very year in which the first seminary priest was martyred was a bold statement.

II: Rothwell Market Cross (1577-8, unfinished)

¹⁸ VAIR iii. 6, quoted in M. Aston, *England's Iconoclasts*, vol. 1, *Laws against Images* (Oxford, 1988), p. 301.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 301-313, quotation at p. 313; see also L.E.C. Wooding, 'Reading the Crucifixion in Tudor England', in S. Corbellini, M. Hoogvliet, and B. Ramakers (eds.), *Discovering the Riches of the Word: Religious Reading in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, vol. 38, *Intersections: Interdisciplinary Studies in Early Modern Culture* (Boston, 2015), pp. 282-310.

²⁰ Williams, 'A Catholic Sculpture', p. 223.



Fig. 6 Rothwell Market Cross today. Author's photograph.

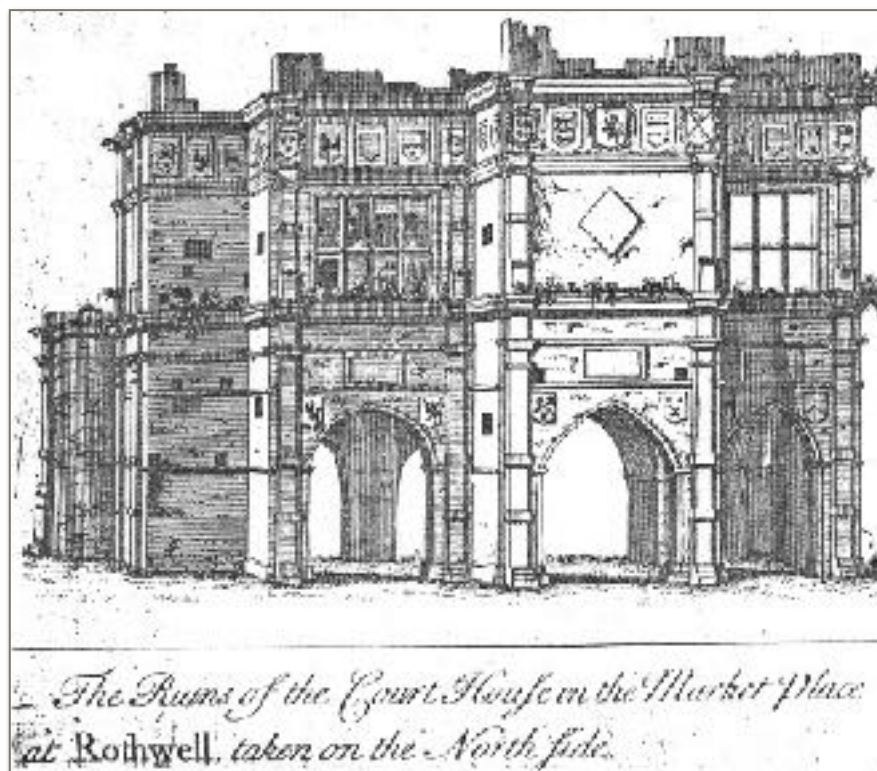


Fig. 7 *The Ruins of the Court House in the Market Place at Rothwell taken on the North Side, Peter Tillemans (c. 1719).*

Tresham had been pricked as sheriff in 1573 and was knighted by the Queen during her visit to Kenilworth in 1575. By that year he was also Lord of the Manor of Rothwell, the market town known locally as 'Rowell'.²¹ Begun in 1577 or 1578, the 'market house' or 'market cross' at Rothwell was Tresham's first major architectural project (fig. 6). Some scholars have suggested that further work towards its completion was undertaken in the 1580s, but it certainly remained roofless until its completion in the nineteenth century by the local architect and architectural historian, John Alfred Gotch.²² Tresham's heirs did not undertake to complete it, probably because Lewis concentrated his efforts on the estate at Lyveden. Studies of Tresham's buildings have relied on Gotch's insights, and in particular his architectural and heraldic sketches and diagrams.²³ In recent years, new light has been shed on Tresham's land-holdings, and the architectural features of Tresham's buildings at Rothwell and Rushton.²⁴ A full architectural analysis has been provided elsewhere, and is therefore not rehearsed in its entirety here, but a brief description of the building is included to contextualise the ensuing discussion.²⁵ In particular, elements of its decoration will be considered: its inscription and the eighty-nine coats of arms which adorn it.

The ground level is an open hall, possibly a market hall, where market business might be conducted while being protected from the elements.²⁶ A staircase exists in the south-east corner, but the stairs have since been destroyed. The upper storey also consists of one room, with fireplaces in the centre of the north and south sides.²⁷ The cruciform structure was built from stone given to Tresham by Sir Christopher Hatton, from his quarries at Weldon.²⁸ Gotch drew attention to the quality of the craftsmanship, and suggested that the facing stone came

²¹ Gotch, *Complete Account*, p. 15. For Rothwell's market town status, see Fairey, 'Mapping Status', pp. 44-5.

²² Fairey, 'Mapping Status', pp. 51-2.

²³ I. MacAlister rev. J. Elliott, 'Gotch, John Alfred (1852-1942)', *ODNB*.

²⁴ Fairey, 'Mapping Status'.

²⁵ Gotch, *Complete Account*, pp. 15-21; Fairey, 'Mapping Status', ch.2, esp. pp. 51-70.

²⁶ Fairey, 'Mapping Status', pp. 47-8.

²⁷ Gotch, *Complete Account*, plate ROWELL 1.

²⁸ See pp. 24, 116, above.

from quarries at Stanion or Weldon. Particularly striking architectural features include semicircular arches on the lower storey, and square-headed mullioned windows on the upper storey, but the inscription on the lower frieze and shields on the upper frieze and tympana of the arches are the most relevant to this study.²⁹

Kristen Fairey viewed Tresham's buildings as indicative of Tresham's 'worldview'.³⁰ For Fairey, the design choices made for the exterior of the Market House at Rothwell indicate that 'Tresham aspired to extend his prestige well beyond the physical and temporal boundaries of Rothwell', with heraldry an attempt to 'link himself and his family inextricably with the men and their families whose prominence and influence often reached beyond Northamptonshire to London and Queen Elizabeth's court'. Within this scheme, classical themes represent Tresham trying to 'include himself in the elite among the gentry who had access to and an emerging appreciation for [the] continental Renaissance'. In its structure, Fairey saw the evocation of a triumphal arch symbolising the centrality of the Market Hall to the community.³¹

Heraldry

Heraldry allowed a gentleman to demonstrate the honour, tradition, and validity of his family. It had a practical function, allowing identification and providing evidence in claims of descent which might influence, for example, the possession of land. The right to bear arms was not taken lightly, and to bear arms falsely had serious consequences. As a signifier of social and familial identity, heraldry was supremely important.³² As Tresham was building Rothwell, a politicised genealogical dispute was being played out between the Dudleys and a Catholic Warwickshire family, the Ardens.³³ Tresham's employment of heraldry was as much a natural

²⁹ Gotch, *Complete Account*, p. 16

³⁰ Fairey, 'Mapping Status', p. 30.

³¹ *ibid.*, p. 39.

³² Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, pp. 32-40. See also, Sir W.H. St. John Hope, *A Grammar of English Heraldry*, 2nd edn., rev. A.R. Wagner (Cambridge, 1953).

³³ C. Enis, 'Edward Arden and the Dudley earls of Warwick and Leicester, c. 1572-1583', *BCH*, 33/2 (2016), pp. 170-210.

impulse as it was a strategy, for the friendship he declared to other armigerous families could be utilitarian; as a man recently-knighted he may have wished to advertise his membership of the county elite. Indeed, Tresham's father-in-law Sir Robert Throckmorton likewise asserted his family's rightful place among the local elite by commissioning glasswork in 1578-9 to honour recent alliances. Throckmorton's sons-in-law, Tresham and Catesby, had been elevated to knighthoods at Kenilworth in 1575 and their subsequent return there in April 1576, 'where they attended the Earl of Warwick and Sir Fulke Greville', but these alliances had not yet borne fruit. Cathryn Enis interpreted Throckmorton's glasswork as the manifestation of 'hop[es] for a more permanent return to the pre-eminence that was eluding them'.³⁴

Rothwell cross represents Tresham's commitment to participating in local government. This dual purpose was not unusual, nor was Tresham's patronage unique, as Robert Tittler's study of English town halls, in which he identified 52 constructions employing 'market' in their names out of a sample of 202 town halls, demonstrates.³⁵ John Alfred Gotch suggested that the design of the Market House intended 'an open Market-Hall' on the lower floor with the upper level 'probably as a Public Hall, or Town Hall'.³⁶ Clive Holmes suggested that the market house may have been intended as a quarter sessions house, and the title of 'court house' given by Peter Tillemans to his early eighteenth-century engraving (fig. 7), commissioned by the antiquarian John Bridges, supports this view.³⁷

The decorative scheme asserts family status and honour, and situates the Treshams within the community of elite families, advertising local identity and kinship.³⁸ A pattern is discernible in

³⁴ idem, 'The Dudleys, Sir Christopher Hatton, and the Justices of Elizabethan Warwickshire', *Midland History*, 39/1 (2014), pp. 1-35, at p. 5.

³⁵ R. Tittler, *Architecture and Power: the Town Hall and the English Urban Community, c. 1500-1640* (Oxford, 1991), p. 28, quoted in Fairey, 'Mapping Status', p. 48.

³⁶ Gotch, *Complete Account*, p. 15.

³⁷ C. Holmes, 'Heralds and Heraldry in Shakespeare's England', ed. Nigel Ramsay, *EHR*, 131/550 (2016), pp. 660-661, at p. 661.

³⁸ Sir G. Isham, 'Sir Thomas Tresham and his Buildings', *Reports and Papers of the Northamptonshire Antiquarian Society*, 65/2 (1966), pp. 1-37, at p. 12.

Tresham's choices for the heraldic display on the Rothwell market cross: these were the families of elites who had, like him, recently attained local precedence and now took their place alongside the ancient nobility — by ennoblement, inheritance, marriage, or the purchase of land in Northamptonshire, or its nearest neighbours. Just under half of the shields represent individuals who held office. Records of office-holders for Northamptonshire and its neighbouring counties, particularly Warwickshire, and Leicestershire, contain the names of many whose shields are to be found on Tresham's building at Rothwell. The lists of JPs for 1573, 1577, and 1580, MPs, and sheriffs reveal that forty shields represent local office-holders.³⁹

Tresham featured his own shield three times on its own, on the cornices and in the tympana of the arches. In total the building displays 89 shields of equal size — of which one is lost and four are blank — and one large shield bearing the quartered arms of Tresham and Throckmorton to represent the marriage of Tresham and Muriel Throckmorton. The Throckmorton arms on this large shield signify Muriel's father Sir Robert, whereas another Throckmorton shield contains a mark of difference. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, whom Tresham specified in the single Throckmorton shield with a martlet for difference (for the fourth son), was the younger brother of Muriel's father Robert, and he represented office-holding Throckmorton kin. The Throckmortons had two branches, in Paulspury, Northamptonshire, and Coughton, Warwickshire. Both branches of this important family, important to Tresham and to the Midlands, are thus represented. The shields are all carved and unpainted, so that similar shields differentiated only by tincture are sometimes not possible to distinguish. The shields encircle the upper level of the building, and threadlike around its lower frieze is a Latin inscription:

*THOME TRESAMI MILITIS. FVIT HOC OPVS IN GRATIAM DVLCIS PATRIAE FECIT SVAE
TRIBVSQVE NORTHAMPTONIAS VEL MAXIME HVIVSQUE VICINI SIBI PAGI NIHIL
PRAETER BONVM COMMVNE QVAESIVIT NIHIL PRAETER DECVS PERENNE AMICORVM
MALE QVI INTERPRETATVR DIGNVS HAVD TANTO EST BONO Aº DOMINI MILLESIMO
QVINGENTESIMO SEP..*

³⁹ JPs: TNA SP12/93; TNA SP 12/121; TNA SP 12/145. Sheriffs: *List of Sheriffs for England and Wales, from the Earliest Times to A.D. 1831: Compiled from Documents in the Public Record Office* (1898). MPs: *HoP 1509-1558*; *HoP 1558-1603*.

This was the work of Thomas Tresham, Knight. He erected it as a tribute to his sweet fatherland and county of Northampton, but chiefly to this town [or district] his near neighbour. Nothing but the common weal [or common good] did he seek; nothing but the perpetual honour of his friends. He who puts an ill construction on this act is scarcely worthy so great a benefit. A.D. One Thousand, Five Hundred & Sev...⁴⁰

We do not know what lay behind the defensive final line. It may imply tension, that Tresham expected to have his motives questioned, that he would be accused of self-aggrandisement: the inscription testifies civic duty, local loyalty, and gentry honour, but may also reveal local friction. This is an important consideration: could neighbours of rival confessions live alongside each other in charity? In March 1603 Tresham wrote of the bubbling over of local tensions in Northampton when he tried to proclaim King James, but the evidence of the Rothwell market cross points to the beginnings of these as early as 1578.⁴¹

Men of national, even international, standing find their place among Tresham's neighbours in the shields which adorn the building.⁴² Fidelity to Catholicism was not common to all of the families, and Tresham included the shields of many Protestant magnates. This was a project of social inclusion. Seven arms are repeated once: those of Zouch, Spencer, Lane, Kynnesman, Saunders, Griffin, and Osborne. Gotch suspected that the missing arms of Tresham's closest kinsmen, Catesby and Vaux, were intended to take a more prominent position, perhaps in the frieze of the staircase, now lost.⁴³ The panels above the arches may also have had inscriptions planned.⁴⁴ The Dudley family is honoured in two shields, one, a lion rampant, used by Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester and his brother Ambrose, Earl of Warwick after they had been granted membership of the Order of the Garter. Ambrose had been in attendance at Kenilworth when Tresham was knighted.⁴⁵ Contemporary portraits of the men in garter robes used this charge

⁴⁰ Gotch, *Complete Account*, p. 18.

⁴¹ See pp. 158-60, above.

⁴² See appendix I.

⁴³ Gotch, *Complete Account*, p. 20; Gotch's identification of the shields is an unpaginated plate, 'Rowell 6'.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*, p. 18.

⁴⁵ John Nichols's *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I: a New Edition of the Early Modern Sources*, vol. 2, 1572 to 1578, ed. E. Goldring, et al (Oxford, 2014), p. 297, n. 477. Hereafter *Progresses*.

with the motto shared by the monarch and the Order, '*honi soit qui mal y pense*'.⁴⁶ Next to it on the east elevation is the shield of the Russell family, earls of Bedford. In 1577 the earl was Francis Russell, the second earl, and his daughter Anne had married Ambrose Dudley as his third wife in 1565.⁴⁷ Bedford was also a Justice of the Peace for Northamptonshire in recent years — 1573 and 1577 — but was also connected to Tresham by marriage. Muriel's maternal aunt, Bridget, married Bedford in 1566.⁴⁸ Further Dudley heraldry was visible on the north elevation, this time the shield of Dudley of Tipton, Staffordshire, featuring two lions passant. This earlier branch of the family was represented in the arms of Ambrose Dudley.⁴⁹

The Mildmay shield was doubtless included for Sir Walter Mildmay, a local landowner as well as Privy Councillor, but also of hot Protestant views. Among other offices he was Justice of the Peace for Northamptonshire and other counties in 1573 and 1577. His daughter, Winifred, had married locally: she wed Sir William Fitzwilliam of Dogsthorpe, Northamptonshire, in September 1569. Sir Christopher Hatton, of Holdenby, some 14 miles south-west of Rothwell, was gaining prominence in the county.⁵⁰ A gift of silver plate from the Queen in 1572 marked particular favour.⁵¹ The Yelverton family were of Norfolk stock, but Sir Christopher Yelverton moved to Northamptonshire to marry the daughter of Thomas Catesby of Whiston. It is clear from the mullet in chief that Tresham meant to specify Christopher, a third son. Yelverton was reputedly Puritan, and as county recorder and then JP in 1573 and 1577 was empowered to report on recusants.

⁴⁶ Ambrose in 1563, Robert in 1559. See *General Armoury*, p. 303.

⁴⁷ See pp. 57-8, above.

⁴⁸ W.T. MacCaffrey, 'Russell, Francis, second earl of Bedford (1526/7-1585)', *ODNB*; S. Adams, 'Dudley, Ambrose, earl of Warwick (c. 1530-1590)', *ODNB*.

⁴⁹ *General Armoury*, p. 303; Sir G.J. Armytage and W.H. Rylands (eds.), *Staffordshire Pedigrees Based on the Visitation of that County made by William Dugdale Esquire (1912)*, pp. 75-6; *The Heraldic Visitations of Staffordshire in 1614 and 1664-64*, in *Collections for a History of Staffordshire*, ed. The William Salt Archaeological Society, pt. 2, vol. 5 (1884), pp. 114-7.

⁵⁰ P.W. Hasler, 'Hatton, Christopher I (c. 1540-91), of Holdenby and Kirby Hall, Northants.', *HoP* 1558-1603.

⁵¹ W.T. MacCaffrey, 'Hatton, Sir Christopher (c. 1540-1591)', *ODNB*. On gift-exchange see F. Heal, *The Power of Gifts: Gift-Exchange in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2014). For Tresham and Hatton, see pp. 113-7, above.

A shield bearing a lion rampant with a mullet for difference probably referred to Sir George Howard, third son of Lord Edmund Howard and his first wife Joyce, daughter and coheir of Sir Richard Culpepper of Kent. His sister was Catherine Howard, sometime Queen, and he was related to Elizabeth through Anne Boleyn.⁵² By 1579 Howard was a gentleman usher of the Privy Chamber, and he had attended the royal progress at Kenilworth when Tresham was knighted. Howard's inclusion is likely a result of this association.

The de Vere shield directs us to another curious inclusion, the Earl of Oxford. In 1577 the title was held by Edward de Vere, the seventeenth earl, having inherited from his father John in 1562. De Vere had recently come of age (1571), and married Burghley's eldest daughter Anne in a ceremony attended by the Queen in December of that year. His most recent exploits, however, brought de Vere into dangerous waters. His marriage was not propitious, and the prosecution of Thomas Howard, fourth duke of Norfolk, saw de Vere at odds with his influential father-in-law. He left the country without licence in July 1574 and spent a month consorting with Catholic exiles in the Low Countries before being brought home by the Queen's gentlemen pensioners. By the time Tresham was building at Rothwell, de Vere was associated with Henry Howard and Charles Arundel, who 'flirted with Catholicism and sedition'.⁵³

The earls whose family shields appeared on the market house were connected by marriage, and had land holdings in the midlands. The shield of the Stanleys, earls of Derby may refer to the presence of Henry, the fourth earl, at the royal progress at Kenilworth, during which Tresham had been knighted.⁵⁴ Henry Stanley had only recently inherited the title from his father Edward,

⁵² The mullet is in Baker, *History and Antiquities*, unpaginated plate 'Arms on Rowell Market House', but not Gotch, *Complete Account*, 'Rowell 6'; P. Hyde, 'Howard, Sir George (b. 1523, d. 1580)', *ODNB*; H.G.O. 'Howard, Sir George (d. 1580), of London and Kidbrooke, Kent', *HoP* 1558-1603.

⁵³ A.H. Nelson, 'Vere, Edward de, seventeenth earl of Oxford (1550-1604)', *ODNB*.

⁵⁴ *Progresses*, p. 297, n. 477.

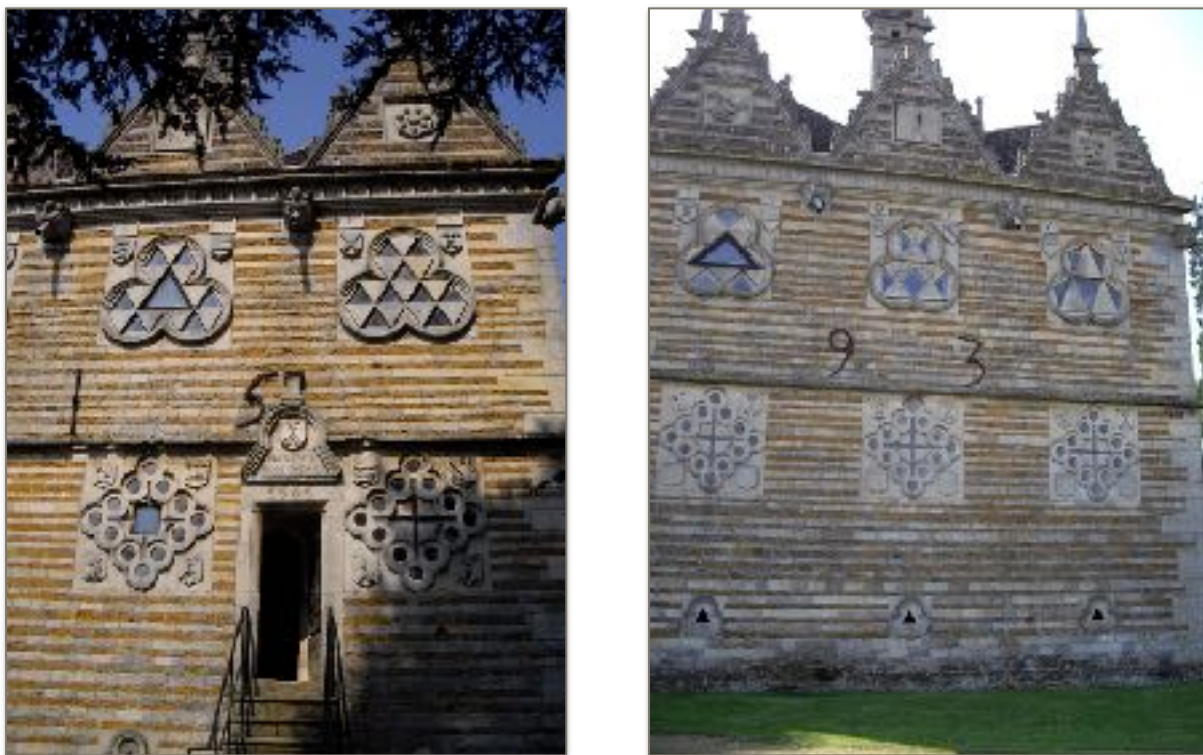


Fig. 8 *The Triangular Lodge, Rushton. Author's photograph.*

the third earl, in 1573.⁵⁵ Henry's mother Dorothy was a daughter of Thomas Howard, second duke of Norfolk. Henry Stanley entered the Order of the Garter in 1574.⁵⁶ In 1573 Edward Stanley's widow married Henry Grey, sixth earl of Kent, newly ennobled and the owner of extensive lands in Northamptonshire. She was the daughter of Mary Onley of Catesby, Northamptonshire, whose family shield also adorns Tresham's building.⁵⁷ Grey and Stanley shields stand next to each other, the first shields in a series displaying five consecutive earldoms. The final of these is Devereux and may mark their renewed ennoblement in 1572, when Sir Walter Devereux, second viscount Hereford, was created 1st Earl of Essex and made a knight of the Garter. Though he was based mainly in Pembrokeshire, his two brothers, Edward and William, held family lands in Warwickshire and Leicestershire, but not in Northamptonshire.

⁵⁵ See B. Coward, *The Stanleys, Lords Stanley and Earls of Derby, 1385-1672: the Origins, Wealth, and Power of a Landowning Family* (Manchester, 1983).

⁵⁶ L.A. Knafla, 'Stanley, Henry, fourth earl of Derby (1531-1593)' *ODNB*.

⁵⁷ *Peerage*, IV, 355.

Edward purchased the manor of Castle Bromwich, Warwickshire from Walter in 1572, and married Katherine, daughter of Edward Arden of nearby Park Hall. William, of Merevale, Warwickshire, held offices in the counties: High Sheriff of Warwickshire and Leicestershire in 1564, Member of Parliament for Warwickshire in 1572, and a Justice of the Peace for Warwickshire in 1573 and 1577.⁵⁸

III: Rushton Triangular Lodge (begun 1593)

Standing less than a mile from Rushton Hall, the Triangular Lodge is perhaps Tresham's best-known building (fig. 8). The lodge was a warrener's cottage, to be occupied by the man in charge of the farming of rabbits on the estate but its decoration performed a symbolic function; it had a dual practical and symbolic purpose. As is consistent with Tresham's successful managing of agricultural production on his lands, this Rushton industry was profitable. There were 300 acres of warrens at Rushton and carriers transported boxes of rabbits and skins to London three times weekly: this was a 'considerable business based on hard-won contracts with London poulterers'.⁵⁹

Tresham began work planning the lodge on his return to Rushton in 1593 following a reluctant twelve-year absence of imprisonment and house arrest, and in the same year Parliament passed further anti-Catholic legislation. Its shape is, as its name suggests, an equilateral triangle, with the number three omnipresent: each side is thirty-three feet long, each with three triangular

⁵⁸ J.J.N. McGurk, 'Devereux, Walter, first earl of Essex (1539-1576)', *ODNB*; R. Virgoe, 'Devereux, Edward (c. 1550-1622), of Castle Bromwich, Warws.', *HoP* 1558-1603; W.J.J., 'Devereux, Sir William (c. 1525-79), of Merevale, Warws.', *HoP* 1558-1603.

⁵⁹ Finch, *Wealth*, pp. 75-6, n. 6. See also Fairey, 'Mapping Status', pp. 201-4 for a more detailed discussion of rabbit farming.

gables with emblems within.⁶⁰ On each storey of each side there are three windows, themselves trefoil-shaped with patterns comprising triangles within. The total number of windows, twenty-seven, may be reached by a fittingly Trinitarian calculation: 3^3 . Each side has an inscription of thirty-three letters in the cornice. Between the ground floor and the first floor, an inscription runs around all three sides, giving the year in which the lodge was begun and Tresham's initials — '1593 TT'. At the central point of the roof, where the ridges meet, there is a chimney, triangular in shape, topped with a trefoil, and bearing thirty-three trefoils in total. There is also lower ground floor, half-subterranean, making three storeys in total.⁶¹ Tresham's commitment to incorporating the number three in every conceivable way is what makes this building so extraordinary.

The lodge was Tresham's personal homage to the Trinity, and the import of the trinitarian theology embodied within it lies in the deeply personal significance it held. He heard it with the first person singular of the verb 'to be' in his name, 'Tres-am'; he and his wife addressed each other as 'Good Tres'. The statement split across two lines above the doorway, '*TRES TESTIMONIUM DANT*', evokes 1 John 5:7 — '*Quoniam tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in caelo; Pater, Verbum et Spiritus Sanctus; et hi tres unum sunt* [And there are three who give testimony in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost. And these three are one]' — but it is also a pun on Tresham, 'Tres', who is giving his testimony on earth.⁶² The doorway, six-and-a-half feet

⁶⁰ 35 Eliz. Caps. I, II. L.F.R. Jones, 'The Works of Sir Thomas Tresham', *Architectural Association Journal* 64/724 (1948), pp. 44-8, at p. 46; Isham, 'Sir Thomas Tresham and his Buildings', pp. 15-6. Gotch, *Complete Account* insisted on 33 feet and 4 inches, but other commentators have preferred the measurement of 33 feet and 3 inches first provided by Rev. H. Ward, 'Report of the Architectural Society of the Archdeacons of Northampton', *A Report of the Papers Read at the Joint Meeting of the Architectural Societies of the Archdeacons of Northampton and the County of Lincoln, held at Stamford, May 22, 1850*, 9/1 (Stamford, 1850), p. 85. Peter Davidson observes that the extra inch probably comes from modern measuring equipment and that 33 feet 3 inches was probably the intention, P. Davidson, 'Recusant Catholic Spaces in Early Modern England', in R. Corthell et al. (eds.), *Catholic Culture in Early Modern England* (Notre Dame, IN, 2008), pp. 19-51, 48 n. 15. An alternative explanation is that 33 feet 4 inches is correct, there being 12 inches in a foot, so that the measurements may be expressed as $33 \frac{1}{3}$.

⁶¹ Gotch, *Complete Account*, p. 23; Fairey, 'Mapping Status', p. 167; Fairey also provides a full architectural description: *ibid.* pp. 166-97.

⁶² Quoted in Isham, 'Sir Thomas Tresham and his Buildings', p. 15.

tall, is topped with '33.33', misread by some commentators as '55.55'. The repetition of the number three, though in keeping with the general scheme, is enigmatic. The fact that the first part of 1 John 5 without the further descriptor '*in caelo*' has thirty-three letters may be purely coincidental, but it seems unlikely given the precision with which each quotation has been selected. The Tresham arms, consisting of six trefoils, are above. It may also be noted that the doorframe with the carving around the arms and inscription resembles a keyhole.⁶³

Carved unpainted religious emblems and Scriptural quotations in the stone on the sides of the building signified Tresham's faith to all who passed by. The north face reads '*QUIS SEPARABIT NOS A CHARITATE CHRISTI*' and sends a message of perseverance and triumph over earthly trials if one reads on from the verse:

Who then shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation? Or distress? Or famine? Or nakedness? Or danger? Or persecution? Or the sword? As it is written: For thy sake we are put to death all the day long. We are accounted as sheep for the slaughter. But in all these things we overcome, because of him that hath loved us. For I am sure that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor might, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.⁶⁴

The deaths suffered by England's Catholic martyrs, like Tresham's building, were to be an example. Thus if one reads on from the verse on the central gables, '*RESPICITE NON MIHI SOLI LABORAVI*', the builder, Tresham, and the faithful who endure persecution were to be reminded of the greater project: 'See that I have not laboured for myself only, but for all that seek discipline. Hear me, ye great men, and all ye people, and hearken with your ears, ye rulers of the church'.⁶⁵ They would have the ultimate victory at the resurrection. Around the top of the windows the invocation '*MENTES TVORVM VISITA* [Visit the minds of Thy people]' from the hymn to the third person of the Trinity, *Veni Creator Spiritus*.⁶⁶ On the architrave, interrupted by nine gargoyles where the gables meet, there are six groups of three figures: '^SS ^SD ^DS /

⁶³ Davidson, 'Recusant Catholic Spaces', p. 33.

⁶⁴ Isham, 'Sir Thomas Tresham and his Buildings', p. 16; Romans 8:35-9.

⁶⁵ Quoted in Isham, 'Sir Thomas Tresham and his Buildings', p. 17; Ecclesiasticus 33:18-19.

⁶⁶ *ibid.*, p. 16.

QEE QEE QVE' standing for '*Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth / Qui Erat Et Qui Est Et Qui Venturus Est* [Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabaoth, which was and is and is to come]'. The words are from Revelation and are directed to the first person of the Trinity, but the first line also invokes the Mass.⁶⁷

The quotation on the south-east side, '*APERIARTVR TERRA & GERMINET SALVATOREM* [Let the earth be opened, and bud forth a saviour]', may evoke the Advent prose, '*Rorate, caeli, desuper, et nubes pluant justum* [drop down dew, ye heavens, from above, and let the clouds rain the just]'. Reading ahead to the following verse as was Tresham's custom with Scriptural quotation, it also precedes a warning, 'Woe to him that gainsayeth his maker'. Indeed, the emphasis in this Biblical passage on divine justice may also reinforce confidence in the power of God to repair earthy injustices.⁶⁸ The third legend in the frieze of the entablature reads '*CONSIDERAVI OPERA TVA DOMINE ET EXPAVI* [I have considered Thy works, O Lord, and was afraid]', and continues with a statement of God's power, perhaps sounding a warning.⁶⁹

A carving of the seven-branched candlestick and stone with the seven eyes of God evokes the Biblical prophecy of Zachariah, whose visions console the the exiled people of God after the fall of Jerusalem. It might be compared to the situation of English Catholics awaiting the restoration of the faith to their homeland. In its recollection of the Creation, the number seven represents completion. Above each of these badges on the gables is a number comprised of four digits. The numbers above the seven-branched candlestick (3898) and the stone with the seven eyes of God (3509) seem opaque, but there is a possible interpretation based on a system of numerological playfulness used by Tresham elsewhere. The suggestion is a cautious one, because numbers and letters can be manipulated to mean almost anything, and we can never know what was in

⁶⁷ Gotch, *Complete Account*, p. 24.

⁶⁸ Isaiah 45:8-9.

⁶⁹ Gotch, *Complete Account*, p. 26. Paraphrase of Habakuk 3:2 from Augustine, *City of God, Volume V: Books 16-18*.3, trans. E.M. Sanford and W.M. Green, Loeb Classical Library, 415 (Cambridge, 1965), pp. 480-81.

Tresham's mind, but by following strictly the other examples left by him we can eradicate some of the risk. If we read each four-digit number as two numbers, so 3898 becomes 38 and 98, and 3509 becomes 35 and 9, and add those two numbers together to give 136 and 44, we find the number of letters in the relevant parts of the corresponding Scriptural verses for each emblem. Zachariah's seven-branched candlestick, '*Vidit ecce candelabrum aureum totum et lampas ejus super caput ipsius et septem lucernæ ejus super illud et septem in fusoria lucernis quæ erant super caput ejus* [I looked, and behold a candlestick all of gold, and its lamp upon the top of it: and the seven lights thereof upon it: and seven funnels for the lights that were upon the top thereof]' has 136 letters, the sum of 38 and 98. Likewise the stone with the seven eyes of God has 44, the sum of 35 and 9, in the Latin: '*dedi coram Jesu: super lapidem unum septem oculi sunt* [(the stone that) I have laid before Jesus: upon one stone there are seven eyes]'.⁷⁰

On the south-west side the dove, emblematic of peace as well as the Holy Spirit, surmounts the globe encircled by a serpent. On the other badge on that side the right hand of God emerges from the sun to pick up a globe with thumb and forefinger. There are two dates: 1595 above the dove, and 1580 above the hand of God. The second likely relates to the year when Tresham met Edmund Campion and Robert Persons, when he was convinced to pursue recusancy, and when he first suffered for the faith. The import of the year 1595 is harder determine, but probably refers to the completion of the bulk of the work building the lodge, including the chimney, windows, floors, as attested by George Levens' accounts for July 1594 to January 1595.⁷¹

Two representations of God the Son feature on the north side: the hen with her chicks, and the self-wounding pelican feeding her young. These images were part of the Protestant iconography

⁷⁰ Zachariah 4:2 and 3:9.

⁷¹ The lodge was completed two years later, in 1597, but it seems that it was worked on intensively for the six months following the commencement of work on 20 July 1594; BL Add. MS 39832 fols. 19r-32v; *HMCRC* iii, xxxvi-xxxvii.

employed for Elizabeth, and Tresham may have been reclaiming it for the Catholic faith.⁷² The image of the hen with her chicks from the Gospel of Matthew matches that chosen by Tresham for a painted cloth in his chamber at Ely in 1597:⁷³

Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them that are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered together thy children, as the hen doth gather her chickens under her wings, and thou wouldest not? Behold, your house shall be left to you, desolate. For I say to you, you shall not see me henceforth till you say: Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.⁷⁴

The central chimney has a shaft comprised of triangular faces and topped with a trefoil. It is devoted to the mass, adorned with the *IHS* monogram, cross, and nails; the *agnus dei*; and the chalice.⁷⁵ Each side has the date 1595 above the emblem, the date in which the chimney was finished. The *agnus dei* is above '*ECCE* [behold]', invoking the moment in the mass when the host is elevated as the priest utters '*Ecce agnus dei, ecce qui tollis peccata mundi* [behold the lamb of God, behold him who takes away the sins of the world]'. Likewise, the word '*SALUS* [salvation]' under the chalice, directs us to the utterance of the priest as he prepares to drink from the chalice, '*Calicem salutaris accipiam* [I will take the chalice of salvation]', reminding the observer that salvation lies in the Mass, in the Catholic Church.⁷⁶

The prominent *IHS* badge uses the commonplace abbreviation for the name of Jesus in Latin, but, together with the cross and nails, symbols of the Passion, it was also the emblem of the Society of Jesus. Tresham's use of the badge reclaimed this commonplace symbol for non-Jesuit Catholics. By this stage, Tresham had distanced himself from the Society; his opposition to

⁷² See A. Walsham, "A Very Deborah?" The Myth of Elizabeth I as a Providential Monarch', in S. Doran and T. Freeman (eds.), *The Myth of Elizabeth* (Basingstoke, 2003), pp. 143-170.

⁷³ A. Eburne, 'The Passion of Sir Thomas Tresham: New Light on the Gardens and Lodge at Lyveden', *Garden History*, 36/1 (2008), pp. 114-34, p. 117; F. Young, 'The Bishop's Palace at Ely as a Prison for Recusants, 1577-1597', *BCH*, 32/2 (2014), pp. 195-218 gives a full account of the decorations commissioned by Tresham at Ely, pp. 206-10. Tresham's notes on this, along with notes on geometry and on the use of numbers to represent words, are a remarkable survival (BL Add MS 39831, fols. 2r-71v) but there has not been space to discuss them here.

⁷⁴ Matthew 23:37-9.

⁷⁵ Davidson, 'Recusant Catholic Spaces', p. 33; see also Fairey, 'Mapping Status', pp. 210-11.

⁷⁶ Isham, 'Sir Thomas Tresham and his Buildings', p. 18; Davidson, 'Recusant Catholic Spaces', p. 33, Fairey, 'Mapping Status', p. 241.

Spanish invasion set him at odds with the Jesuit Henry Tichborne, who called him ‘an atheist’ in 1598. Yet he recognised the contributions of continental Jesuits to Catholic theological scholarship and gave a number of Jesuit-authored works to the library at St. John’s College, Oxford around the same time.⁷⁷ Underneath the badge is ‘*ESTO MIHI*’, which begins the phrase ‘*Esto mihi in Deum protectorem, et in domum refugii, ut salvum me facias: quoniam fortitudo mea et refugium meum es tu; et propter nomen tuum deduces me et enutries me* [Be thou unto me a God, a protector, and a house of refuge, to save me: for thou art my strength and my refuge; and for thy name’s sake thou wilt lead me, and nourish me]’, the psalmist’s plea to God to deliver him from affliction.⁷⁸ There is an obvious parallel here with a Catholic experiencing persecution. The combined outcry of the badge and inscription seems to be Tresham asking for consolation and protection, but also promising to persevere under the cross. In this way it was unmistakably oppositional. A similar phenomenon has been observed in seventeenth-century Ireland, where the IHS monogram was employed on buildings as a symbol of Irish Catholic resistance to English Protestant occupation and persecution. In both cases, however, the use of these devotional symbols to adorn buildings also represents the continuation of a widespread medieval practice.⁷⁹

As with his other buildings, Tresham furnished the lodge with heraldic devices. Just as the heraldry of the Rothwell market cross represented the ties binding the governing elite, that of the Triangular Lodge embodied family. There are eighteen shields on the corners of the upper windows, all of which correspond with the quarterings on Tresham’s arms of twenty-five quarterings dated 1585: Tresham, Harrington, Aigles, Parr, Crophull, Ros, Verdon, Vernon, Bigod, Marshall, de Clare, MacMorrough, Fitzhugh, Staveley, Marmion, Gernegan, St. Quintin,

⁷⁷ See ch. 5 and, for Tichborne, n. 33.

⁷⁸ Psalm 30:3-4.

⁷⁹ C.J. Donnelly, ‘The I.H.S. Monogram as a Symbol of Catholic Resistance in Seventeenth-Century Ireland’, *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 9/1 (2005), pp. 37-42.

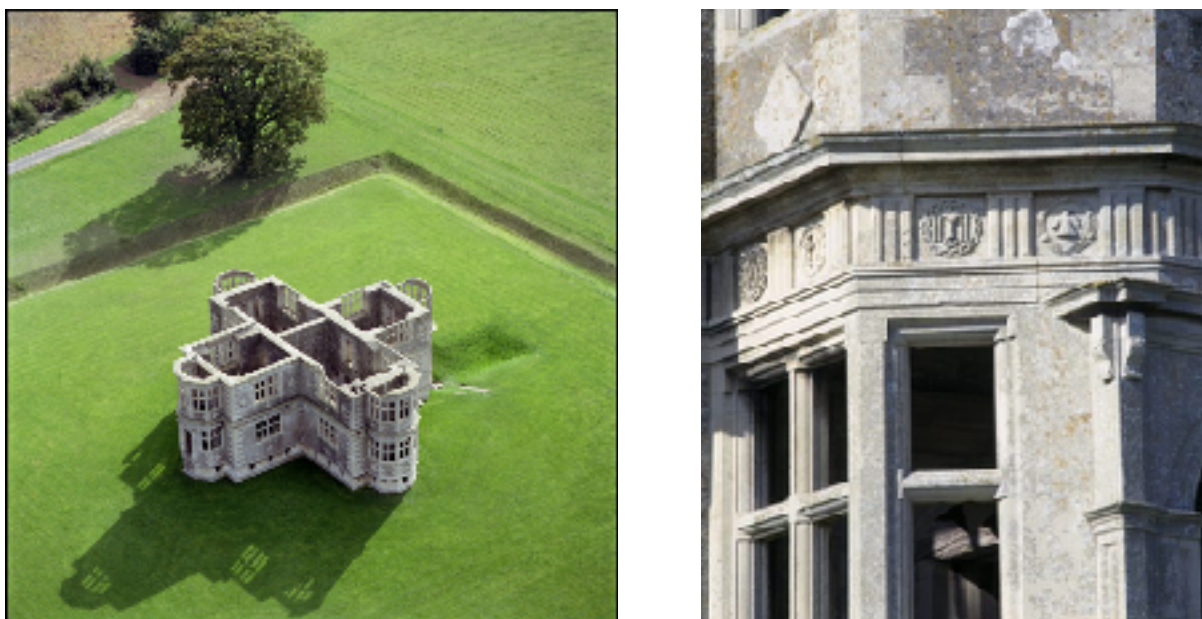


Fig. 9 *Lyveden New Bield* from the air and at close-range. Images from the National Trust.

and Salisbury.⁸⁰ These were families to whom Tresham owed his ancestry. The windows of the ground floor have shields at their corners celebrating the coming together of families through marriage. In particular, they mark the recent marriages of Tresham's daughters Frances and Elizabeth to Edward Stourton, Lord Stourton, and William Parker, Lord Morley and Mouteagle respectively. The crests and arms of the three families grace the windows.⁸¹ Inside the lodge, Tresham celebrated his own marriage with the quartered arms of Tresham and Throckmorton.

The piety and confidence of the Triangular Lodge render Tresham an example for his coreligionists, but they are also confirmation of his resistance.⁸² Such a statement of Catholic determination is a permanent legacy, a memorial, and a bold rejection of the regime's attempts to disempower Elizabeth's Catholic subjects.

⁸⁰ Visible in figs. 1 and 11. Identified using Gotch, *Complete Account*, plate TR LO 9, H. Ward, 'The Triangular Lodge at Rushton'; *General Armoury*.

⁸¹ Ward, 'The Triangular Lodge', p. 94.

⁸² Cogan, 'Building the Badge of God' recognises the significance of Tresham's buildings as badges of faith, but sees them as markers of coexistence rather than resistance.

IV: Lyveden New Bield (begun c. 1594, unfinished)

Tresham intended Lyveden New Bield (fig. 9), the latest and most mysterious of his buildings, as his 'garden lodge', within a scheme where building and gardens were equally important.⁸³ The garden lodge was probably begun in around June 1594 but was never finished. It does not seem to have been worked on consistently between 1594 and 1605, but we know that 'at least the basement level and part of the floor of the Lodge had been completed' by July 1597, that Tresham complained about its slow progress in October 1597, that regular payments for work at Lyveden were made in 1599, 1600, May 1602, and February and July 1603, and that work was due to recommence in March 1605 after an unspecified lapse.⁸⁴ The Treshams owned the land and an old manor house on it from around the mid-fifteenth century onwards, and in 1540 were styling themselves 'of Leveden' despite Rushton being the main residence. There has been some confusion in the extant letters as to whether Tresham and his servants were referring to the manor house or the garden lodge.⁸⁵ The lodge takes the form of a Greek cross, with each side measuring twenty-three feet, but the building is only one part of the scheme on a forty-four-acre site. Tresham also designed a series of gardens, each replete with symbolism, through which a visitor would ascend before arriving at the building. The whole project was 'devoted in singular intensity to Christ's Passion and to the Blessed Virgin Mary'.⁸⁶ Unlike the Triangular Lodge, the New Bield was largely hidden by the surrounding woods, and if John Bridges, writing in the late-seventeenth century, is to be believed, was not visible from the road.⁸⁷ In its secluded location and heavy symbolism, therefore, it invites the visitor into an interior world.

⁸³ BL Add MS 39831, fols. 66r-73v, at fol. 66r, Tresham to George Levens and John Slynne from Ely, 9 October 1597.

⁸⁴ Eburne, 'The Passion of Sir Thomas Tresham', pp. 126-7.

⁸⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 116, 126; M. Jourdain, 'Sir Thomas Tresham and His Symbolic Buildings' in A. Dryden (ed.), *Memorials of Old Northamptonshire* (1903), pp. 129-144, p. 141.

⁸⁶ Eburne, 'The Passion of Sir Thomas Tresham', pp. 115-7, quotation at p. 115; see also Jourdain, 'Sir Thomas Tresham and His Symbolic Buildings', p. 142.

⁸⁷ Gotch, *Complete Account*, p. 33.

Following a journey — both real and imagined — through layers of symbolically-charged gardens, Tresham's guests, whoever they may have been, were to have arrived at the lodge. Andrew Eburne suggested multiple purposes: as a place to eat (if not a formal banqueting house), a place for guests to stay, and as a place from which to admire the grounds. He also posited the idea that it may have been a place to celebrate the mass, but there is no evidence for this.⁸⁸ Sir Gyles Isham had a less determinate sense of the purpose, that 'the New Building was not a residence, but a place for shelter, and a place of occasional resort', and this seems to complement the secluded gardens and lodge best.⁸⁹ We know little of Tresham's pattern of hospitality, apart from the fact that his imprisonments prevented him from entertaining, but the study of his accounts undertaken by Mary Finch suggest that when he did entertain, he did so generously, as befitted a gentleman.⁹⁰ He once boasted of hosting forty, or even a hundred guests.⁹¹

The Lyveden project was architecture and nature in harmony, and cannot be understood without reference to the gardens. The gardens at Lyveden were sufficiently impressive and well-known to induce Sir Robert Cecil to have Mountain Jennings sent to see them in advance of designing new gardens for Hatfield House.⁹² Unlike Tresham's other building projects, an architect, possibly John Thorpe, designed the New Bield. Thorpe was a celebrated architect who had also been employed on building projects at Kirby, Holdenby, and Burghley, so if Tresham engaged his services for Lyveden he was looking for the best in the county.⁹³ Work on the house was overseen by John Slynne, Tresham's keeper, and his steward George Levens was to plan the

⁸⁸ Eburne, 'The Passion of Sir Thomas Tresham', p. 129.

⁸⁹ Isham, 'Sir Thomas Tresham and his Buildings', p. 28.

⁹⁰ Finch, *Wealth*, p. 81; F. Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1990).

⁹¹ Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 139.

⁹² Eburne, 'The Passion of Sir Thomas Tresham', p. 131.

⁹³ Isham, 'Sir Thomas Tresham and his Buildings', p. 25; Gotch, *Complete Account*, p. 34 and 44. Gotch's evidence is the discovery of untitled plans for a building resembling Lyveden New Bield in a manuscript book belonging to John Thorpe, now at Sir John Soane's museum. An annotation by Thorpe claims that he laid the first stone of the building in 1570, which differs from the accepted chronology by some twenty-five years. This has led other scholars to doubt Thorpe's involvement. See Jones, 'The Works of Sir Thomas Tresham', p. 44.

gardens.⁹⁴ Much of the work was undertaken while Tresham suffered further imprisonments at Ely and the Fleet, and for this reason letters survive which show Tresham organising from a distance the laying out of the gardens, including the selection of plants. Though both Protestant and Catholic believers found solace and spiritual renewal in nature, the imaginative process of design was consolatory for Tresham and he had in mind a space which reflected his own faith.⁹⁵ He was heavily involved in both the design and execution, and the result was an intensely personal scheme which builds on the tradition of symbolic gardens as meditative and contemplative spaces, allowing for journeys to be imagined and pilgrimages to be recreated.⁹⁶

The imagined visitor would ascend through six terraces rising to the lower orchard, their focus guided upward from manor to lodge along walks ‘planted with elms and sycamores’ which integrated the manor, lodge, and landscape in harmony.⁹⁷ Each phase of the garden scheme was revealed gradually so that the visitor was constantly discovering, increasing their understanding as they progressed. The lower orchard, ‘bordered by the high terrace of the moated orchard’ exhibited Tresham’s appreciation for and knowledge of ‘fruit and fruit cultivation on a grand scale’, such that Robert Cecil called it ‘one of the fairest orchards that is in England’ on hearing about it from Mountain Jennings in August 1605.⁹⁸ Symbolically, it has been suggested that it evoked ‘the order and fecundity of the Garden of Eden’, or perhaps Gethsemane,

for which St John’s word **κηπος** (*kepos*) might be translated as “orchard”. Contemporary accounts located Gethsemane midway up the Mount of Olives and associated it with the tomb of the Virgin Mary: both that topography and the Marian association may have seemed especially pertinent at Lyveden.⁹⁹

Tresham asked for several varieties of pear, apple, and plum trees to be brought for his orchard, and he had already had ‘walnut, warden pear, medlar, black cherry, and plum’ trees planted.

⁹⁴ Eburne, ‘The Passion of Sir Thomas Tresham’, pp. 120, 128; Gotch, *Complete Account*, p. 34.

⁹⁵ For examples from both sides of the confessional divide, see A. Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 249–52.

⁹⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 182–4.

⁹⁷ Eburne, ‘The Passion of Sir Thomas Tresham’, p. 120.

⁹⁸ BL MS Lansdowne 89, no. 48, quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 121, 133 n. 33.

⁹⁹ Eburne, ‘The Passion of Sir Thomas Tresham’, p. 121.

There was evidently a well-stocked nursery, from which Tresham directed his stewards to transfer trees.¹⁰⁰ This moated orchard had mounts at each corner, stepped to the north and spiral to the south. Aerial photographs reveal that 'the entire central square of the orchard was planted in a series of ten concentric circular rings', some of which were 'planted with standard roses and raspberries' and juniper trees in 1604, the whole representing 'order and fecundity, beauty and productivity'.¹⁰¹ These may have been walked along paths set in labyrinth form, providing an established Christian form for meditation and prayer symbolising pilgrimage and recalling Palm Sunday when Christ entered Jerusalem. The eventual arrival at the lodge culminated in Tresham's act of devotion to the Passion and the Blessed Virgin Mary through the decorative schemes employed.¹⁰²

Provision was made for the entertainment of Tresham's family and friends, after their edification, in the form of a bowling green. Further reward came in the view of what Tresham called his 'new gardening quarter (which is reserved for a quincunx of quince, peach, damson trees, et cetera)' and damask and red roses with strawberries 'growing under them'.¹⁰³ The garden bore fruit in other ways beyond immersive spiritual experience and hospitality: in 1609, the widowed Lady Tresham offered Robert Cecil, who had so admired the garden four years earlier, fifty trees from the Lyveden orchard for Hatfield. Cecil had responded to a petition in March asking him to intercede for Lady Tresham with the proctor Andrew Lamb, who was pursuing her in the courts of Chancery and the Exchequer even though she was already paying the statutory payments for recusancy. Lady Tresham wrote that 'I doe owe the beginning of my quiett' to

¹⁰⁰ *ibid.*, p. 122, quoting BL Add MS 39831, fol. 72v.

¹⁰¹ *ibid.*, pp. 123-5.

¹⁰² *ibid.*, p. 129.

¹⁰³ BL Add MS 39831, fol. 67r, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 131. For the significance of the quincunx, a common planting scheme in this period, see J.S. Finch, 'Sir Thomas Browne and the Quincunx', *Studies in Philology*, 37/2 (1940), pp. 274-82.

Cecil, who seems to have allowed her to live at Lyveden with a measure of protection.¹⁰⁴ Cecil was thanked for his ‘many fauours’ and induced to lend further support with the gift of trees.¹⁰⁵

Inside the lodge, there were two floors and a basement. On the ground floor, the entrance hall was planned to be separated from the great hall by ‘the usual handsome wood screen’, and kept secure by a bar across the door into a ‘long recess in the wall’. Gotch described an expansive bay window accessed through a passage behind the fireplace, but it is not clear how this worked.¹⁰⁶ A staircase probably crossed a large window in the south wing, and in the east wing was a parlour with a view of Bradshaw Wood. The archway commemorated Tresham’s marriage, with the Tresham and Throckmorton shields on the soffit of the archway. The upper storey contained two bedrooms and a ‘great chamber’ above the hall. In the basement there was a large kitchen with a vast fireplace and two flues.¹⁰⁷

On its lower metope frieze of the building itself Tresham made use of a similar series of hieroglyphs to those he employed on the Triangular Lodge, with a clear focus on the Passion.¹⁰⁸ Of the seven, the first recalls the chimney of the Triangular Lodge: a ‘the Pillar, the Cross with Crown of Thorns, the Ladder, the Sponge & Spear with a Heart between them, a Cord (or scourge) in form of an S, the Nails’. The monogram ‘*I.H.S.*’ with ‘*ESTO MIHI* [Be unto me]’ in a band around it and trefoil at the top — for Tresham and for the Trinity — are a similar yoking of Tresham to the Passion of Christ on the Triangular Lodge. Next there is an olive wreath (for victory) surrounding the $\chi\rho$ (*chi-rho*, for Christ) monogram, with the letters ‘*E T N*’ signifying the imperative ‘In this sign, conquer’ in Greek. It was held to have been a sign witnessed by

¹⁰⁴ TNA SP SP 14/44, fol. 100r, Lady Tresham to Sir Robert Cecil 20 March 1609.

¹⁰⁵ Eburne, ‘The Passion of Sir Thomas Tresham’, p. 131. TNA SP 14/48, fol. 186r, Lady Tresham to Cecil, 27 October 1609.

¹⁰⁶ Gotch, *Complete Account*, p. 34.

¹⁰⁷ *ibid.*, p. 35.

¹⁰⁸ See Davidson, ‘Recusant Catholic Spaces’, p. 34; *OED* s.v. ‘hieroglyph’, 2.a. ‘A figure, device, or sign having some hidden meaning; a secret or enigmatical symbol; an emblem’.

Constantine, who subsequently converted. It reassured Christians of victory against their enemies. The pouch containing Judas's thirty pieces of silver followed, recalling the betrayal. Fourth, 'a twisted Cord circumscribing swords, halberds torches & a lantern. To one of the swords is adhering Malchus's ear' refers the observer to Jesus's arrest and the attempt of his disciple Simon Peter to protect him by cutting off the ear of Malchus, servant to the Jewish High Priest Caiaphas. The next badge displays instruments of the humiliation and death of Jesus: the scourge, the pillar with the cock who crowed three times on top of it, the crown of thorns, and the sceptre of reeds are encircled by a wreath of twisted linen. The sixth badge is a variation on the first: the ladder, cross with crown of thorns, hammer and pliers, scourge and spear within a crown of thorns, perhaps recalling the taking down of Jesus' body from the cross following the crucifixion. Finally, the 'seamless Garment between three Dice' with a band containing 'Helmets & Gauntlets' represent the soldiers who cast lots for Christ's clothes, thus fulfilling the prophecy.¹⁰⁹

Much of the decorative scheme was left unfinished, but it was probably planned to be elaborate. On the windows of the upper floor there are 56 blank lozenges. The upper entablature bears a frieze whose legends were to declare a long Latin inscription around the length of the building, but it is now incomplete. Using those supplied by Bridges, who observed the building in a less worn state, Gotch completed many of the gaps in square brackets to reveal lines in praise of Mary:

*IESVS. MVNDI. SALVS.—GAVDE. MATER. VIRGO.¹¹⁰ MARIA.—VERBVM.
AVTEM. CRVCIS. PEREVNTIBVS. QVIDE[M. STVLITIA. EST.¹¹¹—
IESVS. BEATVS.] VENTER. QVI. TE. PORTAVIT.—[MARIA. VIRGO.
SPONSA. INNVPTA.] T. EAM. ALT [BENEDIXI]T. TE. DEVS.
IN. Æ[TERNVM. MARIA.—MIHI. AVTEM. A]BSIT GLORIARI. NISI.
IN. CRVCE. DOMINI. NOSTRI. XP.¹¹²*

¹⁰⁹ Gotch, *Complete Account*, plate LNB 12; Ps. 21:19, cf. John 19:24, Matthew 27:35, Mark 15:24, Luke 23:34. See also Jones, 'The Works of Sir Thomas Tresham', p. 48.

¹¹⁰ These words featured in the tract of the Masses said to Mary throughout the liturgical year, Isham, 'Sir Thomas Tresham and his Buildings', p. 28.

¹¹¹ *ibid.*, p. 28; 1 Corinthians 1:18.

¹¹² Isham, p. 28; Galatians 6:14.

Jesus the salvation of the world. Rejoice, O Mary Virgin-mother. But the word of his Cross is even foolishness to those perishing.
 Jesus, blessed is the womb that bare thee. Mary, Virgin, unwedded spouse. God blessed thee for ever, O Mary.
 God forbid that I should glory save in the Cross of our Lord Christ.¹¹³

The inscriptions were arranged so that on each iteration of 'IESVS' and 'MARIA' the words would have featured symmetrically, placed on either side of the bays, and each marked with a trefoil.¹¹⁴ Since the numbers of letters in words were evidently significant to Tresham, it is worth noting that the completed inscriptions would have had 81 letters, that is to say nine times nine, and that Tresham seems to have made slight alterations to the text in order to make it fit this scheme.¹¹⁵ As he had done with the Triangular Lodge, Tresham gave the beginning of a verse whose second half may prove controversial. The verse Gotch translated as 'But the word of his Cross is even foolishness to those perishing' finishes 'but to them that are saved, that is, to us, it is the power of God', and might imply a warning to those outside of the Catholic Church.¹¹⁶ It promised eventual victory, if not in this world then the next.

Conclusion

Tresham's buildings span two formative periods of his life: the period before he encountered Campion, before he began to suffer for the faith, and his last decade, the period during which he had resigned himself to persecution under Elizabeth, suffered imprisonment, and so looked to the future in hope and in exasperation. His works are characterised by an appreciation of the power of the visual and the material, and his fascination with emblems and symbolism. Here, Tresham participated in elite cultural activities to assert his status, to display his faith, and to defy what he saw as persecution. The buildings of the 1590s, planned in prison, were jointly

¹¹³ Gotch, *Complete Account*, p. 38.

¹¹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 39.

¹¹⁵ Isham, 'Sir Thomas Tresham and his Buildings', p. 31.

¹¹⁶ Davidson, 'Recusant Catholic Spaces', p. 34.

concerned with legacy and resistance, preoccupations which they shared with the other major project of this period, Tresham's libraries, and it is to this that we now turn.

V

SIR THOMAS TRESHAM AND HIS BOOKS

Sir Thomas Tresham bought books in abundance: as a collector and donor of books, he is impressive by the standards of his time and in particular as an individual whose finances were stretched. Tresham's significance as a book-collector has been recognised by historians of the book, but, together with his role as a reader and giver of books, it is the least well-known facet of his life.¹ This chapter attempts to set that right, placing Tresham's books and what he did with them in the context of his life and his world. It builds on the work of Nicolas Barker and David Quentin in reconstructing from extant volumes and documents in the family papers Tresham's personal library to explore the central concerns of this thesis: the identity and culture of English Catholicism.

Tresham's books are found in two separate libraries, neither of which bears his name. One, that of St. John's College, Oxford, is institutional, the home of 124 books Tresham bought for the new library there between 1598 and 1603. The other is private, at Deene Park, Northamptonshire, where Tresham moved his personal collection to join the existing Brudenell family library in the late 1590s before his daughter Mary married Thomas Brudenell, the heir to Deene, in the summer of 1605. The two libraries have different histories and provide differing insights. This is hardly surprising, since to Tresham they were distinct projects. Each merits a degree of description, but there is not space here to give a thorough account of all aspects of these fascinating collections: priority is given in this analysis to the themes relevant to this thesis. A collection of nine printed books and pamphlets was discovered bundled up with the Tresham Papers. They were donated to the British Library along with the Tresham Papers, but the collection has not been kept together. These works do not receive extensive treatment in this

¹ D. Pearson, *English Book Owners in the Seventeenth Century: a Work in Progress Listing* (2007, latest version 2016), online, s.v. Brudenell; J.L. Black (ed.), *PLRE 167-260*, vol. 8, *Private Libraries in Renaissance England: a Collection and Catalogue of Tudor and Early Stuart Book-Lists*, gen. eds. R.J. Fehrenbach and E.S. Leedham-Green (Binghamton, 2014), no. 251, hereafter *PLRE*.

analysis because we cannot be sure that they were owned by Tresham rather than another member of his household, or that Tresham even had sight of them. It will, however, be pertinent to make some observations about the ways in which this group of texts can be situated in the context of Tresham's books because they come from his household.

I: St. John's College, Oxford

Context

On 1 February 1597 Tresham wrote from his house at Hoxton to his 'very deere beloued good frend m^r d^r Case' about the fulfilment of his 'new-yeares gift promise' of books to a new library at St. John's College.² John Case was a leading authority on Aristotle and natural philosophy, and a former fellow of the college, but had by this time resigned his fellowship. Case nevertheless continued to teach, privately, in rooms rented nearby, preparing boys for university and taking on undergraduates from his old college. His rooms were recognised 'as on a level with the halls' by the University.³ Tresham's letter alluded to a tacit understanding of a shared world-view: 'My meaning in no wyse is to giue any bookes that may proue offensiuue for me in geving or for yee in receaving'.⁴ If this was a reference to the Catholic faith, it would have been imprudent to be explicit.

St. John's was a Catholic foundation of the reign of Mary I. At the end of his London Mayoralty in December 1554, the merchant taylor Sir Thomas White bought the land and buildings of the Cistercian House of St. Bernard's from Christ Church, Oxford 'practically as a gift', on the

² St. John's College MSS ADMIN.I.A.2, Tresham to Case, 1 February 1597; N. Ker, *Oxford College Libraries in the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford, 1959), pp. 513-5, prints the letter and quotations here come from this text, replicated in appendix II. E. Malone, 'Case, John (1540/41?-1600)', *ODNB*. For the custom of the New Year's gift, see F. Heal, *The Power of Gifts: Gift Exchange in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 60-84, esp. pp. 67 onwards. N. Zemon Davis, 'Beyond the Market: Books as Gifts in Sixteenth-Century France: The Prothero Lecture', *TRHS*, 33 (1983), pp. 69-88, esp. pp. 81-5, discusses book donation.

³ 'St. John's College', in H. Salter and M. Lobel (eds.), *A History of the County of Oxford*, 17 vols. (1954), iii, pp. 251-264, online edn., *BHO*; Malone, 'Case, John'; C. Schmitt, *John Case and Aristotelianism in Renaissance England* (Kington ON, c. 1983), pp. 77-105.

⁴ Ker, *Oxford College Libraries*, p. 514.

condition that he would establish a college there within three years.⁵ He secured a licence to found the College of St. John the Baptist, patron saint of tailors, in 1555. The College statutes, inspired by those of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, professed a commitment to the doctrines of the Catholic Church, and

[t]he object of the foundation was to “strengthen the orthodox faith, in so far as it is weakened by the damage of time and the malice of men” and especially “to help theology, much afflicted of late, as we see with sorrow and grief”. The college was to provide educated clergy who could hold their own in argument with Lutherans and Calvinists.⁶

White followed the recent example of his neighbouring founder Sir Thomas Pope at Trinity College, who required that ‘senior members of the college should be ordained priests within four years of taking their master’s degree’, though White went further in requiring fellows’ ordination within three years.⁷

In the years between the foundation of St. John’s, amid Catholic renewal, and Tresham’s donation, many Oxford-educated Catholic scholars had left for religious exile on the continent. Since the purpose of a university education was to provide learned divines and loyal, orthodox clergy to instruct the laity, the presence of Catholic fellows posed a grave risk to the Elizabethan polity. Similarly, some of the changes made by the crown made a role in the University untenable for many of its Catholic members, and deeply unattractive for Catholic parents looking to educate their sons. Around a hundred fellows of Oxford colleges left Oxford in the first decade of Elizabeth’s reign, including those replaced as heads of houses by candidates deemed more appropriate. The move did not stifle the English Catholic response to reformed religion. Instead, it ‘had the unforeseen effect of establishing what was to become the chief centre of scholarly opposition to the policies of the government of Elizabeth, in a community of

⁵ ‘St. John’s College’.

⁶ *ibid.*, quoting E.A. Bond, *Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1853), iii, p. 36.

⁷ C. Cross, ‘The English Universities, 1553–58’, in E. Duffy and D. Loades (eds.), *The Church of Mary Tudor* (Farnham, 2006), pp. 57–76, p. 72.

learned Catholics in exile at Louvain'.⁸ Some of those who left in the early years of Elizabeth's reign had returned and been martyred or imprisoned, and some had fled, never to return.

In 1581 the University had instituted a series of amendments to the rules which technically governed matriculation and graduation. These culminated in the Matriculation Statute in November 1581, which required that matriculands over the age of sixteen take the Oath of Supremacy.⁹ Boys aged between twelve and sixteen had to subscribe to the Oath, and those under twelve matriculated with the expectation that they would take the Oath at sixteen. While this was a clear marker of the seriousness of the government's concern for the religious conformity of the members of the University, it did not preclude Catholic participation.¹⁰ One of the results of the new measures was that the heads of colleges and halls now had virtual control over University admission, and this control might manifest itself differently depending on the religious proclivities of the individuals. A sympathetic college head, for example, might omit certain parts of the Oath, or turn a blind eye to a Catholic student who spent two to three years at the University, without matriculating or taking a degree, under the tutelage of a sympathetic scholar.¹¹ The new rules governing matriculation may have made it more difficult for Catholics to participate formally in the University, but they did not extinguish recusants there altogether.¹²

The potential for laxity should not undermine the implications of the changes made to the University of Oxford. Colleges and halls were certainly under pressure, and it became more difficult to hold Catholic beliefs, more still to practise recusancy, under the chancellorship of Sir

⁸ J. McConica, 'The Catholic Experience in Tudor Oxford', in T. McCoog (ed.), *The Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and the Early English Jesuits* (Woodbridge, 1996), pp. 39-66, at p. 45.

⁹ J. McConica, 'The Rise of the Undergraduate College', in idem (ed.), *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. 3, *The Collegiate University* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 1-68, at pp. 49-51; J. Kerrigan, *Shakespeare's Binding Language* (Oxford, 2016), pp. 69-70.

¹⁰ L.W.B. Brockliss, *The University of Oxford: a History* (Oxford, 2016), p. 192 notes some ambiguity in the wording of the statute about requirements for boys between the ages of twelve and sixteen.

¹¹ McConica, 'The Catholic Experience', pp. 58-9.

¹² Brockliss, *University of Oxford*, p. 192 is more confident about the efficacy of the Matriculation Statute, claiming that, under it, 'the last recusants disappeared'.

Christopher Hatton, from September 1588 onwards. Undoubtedly feeling the threat of Spanish invasion, Hatton ensured stricter enforcement of University regulations on religious conformity. From January 1589 those taking degrees had to be able to 'recite the articles of faith and religion by heart' and to 'give an account of them in a scriptural sense' in the presence of university officials. Hatton was said to be furious when he found that 'these clumsy additions were ignored' in practice, and James McConica ascribed to Hatton responsibility for 'yet bolder initiatives in seeking out Catholics, one of which coincided with the foregoing measures and resulted in a spectacular act of terror and quadruple martyrdom within Oxford' when four men were arrested by university officers in the Catherine Wheel Inn on 18 May 1589.¹³

Tresham's own education is poorly-documented, but we know that he matriculated at the Middle Temple in 1560.¹⁴ In early 1603 he wrote to the Bishop of Durham, Tobie Matthew, calling to mind 'our young years of Christ Church in Oxford'.¹⁵ This places Tresham there in the 1560s, but there is no record of his matriculation. Tresham had not been among the students of St. John's, so why did he involve himself in its progress? Religious institutions were among the typical recipients for books left in wills in the medieval period and beyond, but this was a donation given in Tresham's lifetime.¹⁶ His Catholicism is the most obvious answer, but other connections may also have influenced him. As the *alma mater* of Edmund Campion and Gregory Martin — the primary translator of the Douai-Rheims Bible — St. John's was already linked to contemporary English Catholic scholarship. Campion and Martin had left the college in response to religious change in 1569 and 1568 respectively.¹⁷ If Anthony Wood is to be believed, Tresham sent his son, Francis, to St. John's College or Gloucester Hall, or both.¹⁸ We

¹³ McConica, 'The Catholic Experience', pp. 60-61.

¹⁴ *Register of Admissions to the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple*, vol. 1, *Fifteenth Century - 1701*, ed. H.A.C. Sturges, 3 vols. (1949), p. 25.

¹⁵ *HMCR* iii, p. 116.

¹⁶ Zemon Davis, 'Beyond the Market', p. 86.

¹⁷ G. Kilroy, *Edmund Campion: a Scholarly Life* (Farnham, 2015) discusses Campion's scholarly reputation at Oxford and further afield; T.M. McCoog, 'Martin, Gregory (1542?-82)', *ODNB*.

¹⁸ Nicholls, 'Tresham, Francis'.

might assume that Francis, aged about fourteen when the Matriculation Statute was introduced, followed the shadow-like course of education at the University which was made possible for recusants by sympathetic tutors — Case, perhaps — and college heads. Wood placed Francis as a non-founder at St. John's — that is to say, he paid his own way rather than receiving a scholarship or becoming a fellow — and a circumstantial link between Christ Church and St. John's might be observed in the very same Tobie Matthew who corresponded with Tresham.¹⁹ As a canon of Christ Church, Matthew was in the *de jure* pool of candidates for the presidency of St. John's; he served as President of St. John's from 1572 until 1577.²⁰

Advice literature on library building, such as that of Gabriel Naudé, counselled 'that the collection was to be built up by gifts enticed from friends and by purchases' and should be then made available to readers.²¹ Such was the case with the library at St. John's, where personal connections were central to Tresham's generous donation. In his letter to John Case, Tresham made reference to previous correspondence, written by Case and passed to Tresham by 'our good frend' Matthew Gwynne. Gwynne, a founder at St. John's, was a prominent figure in Elizabethan scholarly court circles. He was granted a year's leave of absence from the college to travel abroad with Fulke Greville on royal business. He was also 'a significant Latin playwright' and was, with Greville, co-editor of Sir Philip Sidney's *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia*.²² In 1605 St. John's gave Gwynne £10 in recognition of his efforts to secure donations of books from Tresham and Sir Thomas Duckett, and Gwynne also gave the library a manuscript of his own.²³ Tresham also asked to be remembered 'in frendlyest wise be comended to yo^r good wife and to

¹⁹ See M. Nicholls, 'Tresham, Francis (1567?-1605)', *ODNB*; A. Hegarty, *A Biographical Register of St. John's College, Oxford, 1555-1660* (Woodbridge, 2011), pp. 9, 22, 31-2, 62-3 and 459-60; J. Foster (ed.), *Alumni Oxonienses, 1500-1714* (Oxford, 1891), online edn., *BHO*, s.v. 'Francis Tres[h]am', hereafter *Alumni Oxonienses*; A. Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, 2 vols., (1813), i, pp. 753-4, hereafter *Athenæ Oxonienses*.

²⁰ W.J. Sheils, 'Matthew, Tobie (1544?-1628)', *ODNB*.

²¹ Zemon Davis, 'Beyond the Market', p. 88.

²² See H.R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1558-1640* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 93, 227-9, 235, 315.

²³ ADMIN.I.A.2; Fuggles, *A History*, pp. 58 and 68; Hegarty, *Biographical Register*, pp. 62-3; *Alumni Oxonienses*, s.v. 'Warner, Bartholomew'; I. Wright, 'Gwinne, Matthew (1558-1627)', *ODNB*.

Mr Do^r Warner and his wife'. This was Bartholomew Warner, the husband of Case's stepdaughter Elizabeth Dobson, St. John's alumnus, and Regius Professor of Medicine from 1597 to 1612. We cannot know how these four men came to know each other, but their otherwise undocumented association places Tresham within an intellectual milieu which sits apart from the other evidence for his life.

By the time Tresham wrote to Case about donating books to St. John's he had suffered greatly for his faith. He bemoaned his 'many, and many yeares aduersitye, to terme it truly, my exceeding impayred, my very poore and worldly contemned estate, aboding vndoubted indications of disabillitye in requiting, and recompensing matter of meanest mouement' and referred to his social and financial atrophy a second time as 'my present inspeakeable distressed estate'.²⁴ This humble opening — *captatio benevolentiae* — was a common trope, but its strength is also a reflection of Tresham's genuine regret that he could not do more for his friend Case, for the library, and that his loss of social status had wounded him deeply. Since libraries were 'symbols of status and power', the donation may have offered an opportunity to compensate for a weakened estate and unsatisfied ambition.²⁵ Tresham followed this with reference to the faith that may have bound them together: '*Fiat voluntas dei* [God's will be done] whom I dayly beseech of his grace to assist me, wherein he comandeth me, and then to command me what his holy will pleaseth. *non ego, sed dei gratia mecum* [yet not I, but the grace of God with me]'. As is typical of Tresham's use of Biblical quotation, this final phrase should direct us to the verse before it, and may imply memory of personal experience: '*...sed abundantius illis omnibus laboravi* [but I have laboured more abundantly than all they]'.²⁶

Contents

²⁴ Ker, *Oxford College Libraries*, p. 514.

²⁵ Zemon Davis, 'Beyond the Market', p. 88.

²⁶ *ibid.*, 1 Corinthians 15:10.

Tresham donated 124 works in 203 volumes to the new library at St. John's between 1598 and 1603. The donation to the library remains *in situ* apart from seventeen works which were probably replaced by later copies and *opera omnia* — a practice recommended by the college's founder Sir Thomas White — under the presidency of William Laud in the 1610s.²⁷ Three of these have remained in Oxford: the fourth volume of Francisco Suarez's commentary on Aquinas, is in the Bodleian Library, Adam Wodeham, *Supra IV Libros Sententiarum* [*On the Four Books of the Sentences*] is at Christ Church, and a Christophe Plantin polyglot *Biblia Sacra* is at Magdalen College.²⁸ The books Tresham gave were chiefly religious, and, most importantly, those by Christian (rather than pagan) authors can be called Catholic. They represented a wide range of authors: few names are duplicated. They include Bibles, Biblical scholarship, scholastic works, canon law and Church history. Tresham also gave the complete works of Cicero.²⁹ The books appear to have been purchased especially for the donation, having no prior connection to Tresham, except for sets of works by Thomas Aquinas, Gregory of Valencia, and Alfonso de Tostado, which Nicolas Barker surmises were owned by Tresham because they are bound in the same style as those of his books at Deene.³⁰

The books are bound in calf with a triple blind rule frame on the sides and some have traces of having been chained with hasps. The bindings bear one of Tresham's stamps with arms 'per saltire in chief three trefoils slipped two and one in base three trefoils slipped one and two', the date 1598 and the motto '*credo*' (fig. 10).³¹ The trefoil was Tresham's symbol, perhaps chosen for its triadic nature, an apt combination of a pun on his name and the Holy Trinity writ large in his Triangular Lodge. The stamp was testament to Tresham's faith, rejecting the option of one which marked his social position and family line as used in other of his books at Deene.

²⁷ BQ, *Library*, p. 216.

²⁸ *ibid.* appendix 6 is a catalogue of the donation to St. John's. See nos. 110 (Suarez), 122 (Wodeham), and 21 (Plantin).

²⁹ BQ, *Library*, appendix 6, no. 72: Manuzio, *M. Tullius Cicero Mannucciorum commentariis*.

³⁰ *ibid.*, p. 469.

³¹ *ibid.*, p. 469; *British Armorial Bindings*, online, s.v. TRE006.

Tresham may have commissioned the stamp especially for the donation, given that it bears the date 1598, the year the first books were given. The positioning of numbers and short-titles on the fore-edges of the books in the library suggest that they were kept standing up, spines in.³² The books are clean of annotations, a sign of their institutional use and the decorum of students and fellows who either refrained from marking them or did not read them.



Fig. 10 'Credo' binding stamp of Sir Thomas Tresham (1598). Author's photograph.

All the books are inscribed on the front flyleaves or title pages by the same hand 'carefully modelled on roman print'.³³ The most important feature of the Aquinas and Gregory volumes is that, unlike all the others, they have an '*et amicorum*' inscription — '*T. Tresami M. & Amicorum*' — rather than the more conventional '*ex dono*' recording the donor in the form prescribed by the founder Sir Thomas White and ubiquitous in donated books.³⁴ The former is more personal; the subtle distinction between genitive and ablative cases in the two types of inscription is

³² BQ, *Library*, p. 469.

³³ *ibid.*, appendix 6, nos. 112-13 (Aquinas), 117 (Valencia) and 115 (Tostado).

³⁴ For White's orders for the library, see Fuggles, *History*. *Ex libris* may also be used: see M.F. Suarez, SJ and H.R. Woudhuysen (eds.), *The Oxford Companion to the Book* (Oxford, 2010), s.v. '*ex libris*', '*ex dono*', and '*et amicorum*'; G.D. Hobson, '*Et Amicorum*', *The Library*, 5th ser., 4 (1949), pp. 87-99; J. Scott-Warren, 'Reading Graffiti in the Early Modern Book', *HLQ*, 73/3 (2010) pp. 363-81; H. Smith, "Rare poems ask rare friends": Popularity and Collecting in Elizabethan England', in E. Smith and A. Kesson (eds.), *The Elizabethan Top Ten* (Farnham, 2013), pp. 79-100.

significant: '*et amicorum*', is an ownership mark referring to the inscriber *and his/her friends*, whereas '*ex dono*' is a provenance mark linking the book to the library it was from or the donor who provided it. Tresham's use of '*et amicorum*' in his own books will be even more important in the analysis of his books at Deene. Use of the formula may be a simple consequence of Tresham's ownership of the books discussed above, since it was his custom to use it for his own books, but its implicit promises of friendship and the sharing of knowledge, twin epitomes of collegiality, seem apt in the context of a new college library.

A striking feature of the books Tresham selected for donation to St. John's was their novelty. Only sixteen of the donated editions had been published before, or around the same time as, Tresham's birth.³⁵ The vast majority of the rest had been published during Elizabeth's lifetime, and a large proportion — fifty-seven works — in the decade or so prior to their donation. Several received St. John's ownership inscriptions on their title pages remarkably soon after their publication, either in the following year or even in the same year. There are examples of this for each year between the first donation in 1598 and the last in 1603, with six books being received in 1602.³⁶ Two were received in 1603, including Palagius, *De Statu et Planctu Ecclesiae* [*Of the Condition and Plight of the Church*], which was inscribed in Tresham's own hand.³⁷ Tresham was evidently concerned with the best and most recent Catholic scholarship, keen that the students of St. John's should be engaging with current Catholic thought, and that there would be provision for sound Catholic learning in England's oldest university.

The donation and Catholic education in Oxford

John Case's initial request to Tresham was for the works of Aquinas and Tostado, and reflected contemporary interest in Biblical scholarship and scholasticism: the colleges of Merton and

³⁵ BQ, *Library*, appendix 6, nos. 4, 13, 22, 23, 43, 51, 55, 56, 59, 61, 79, 80, 82, 93, 121, 122, published between 1494 and 1545.

³⁶ *ibid.*, nos. 31 (printed 1601-02, donated in 1602), 71 (1598), 42 (1600), 90 (1599), 35 (1601), 50, 75, 97, 99, 102, 119 (1602).

³⁷ *ibid.*, nos. 56 and 86.

Magdalen also added sets of the *Summa* of Aquinas to their libraries at this time, as well as the ‘fashionable’ Tostado, acquired by Merton, Magdalen, and the Queen’s College in the 1590s.³⁸ These interests are reflected in the rest of Tresham’s donation to St. John’s: thirty-three works are by scholastic authors, translators, or editors and ten are commentaries on Aquinas. Biblical scholarship and Scripture loom larger still: there are eleven Bibles or sections of Bibles and thirty-four works of Scriptural exegesis or commentary. These include Latin Bibles and a concordance, a Hebrew concordance Bible, two polyglot Bibles and individual sections thereof printed by Christophe Plantin — the *Biblia Regia* — Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros — the *Complutensian* — as well as a polyglot psalter printed at Genoa by Petrus Paulus Porro.³⁹ Collected works in *summa* or *opera omnia* form were invaluable to scholars, and made apposite choices for a college library. Tresham gave twenty-five such works: Alexander of Hales; St. Ambrose; St. Anselm; Augustinus Triumphus; Bede; St. Bonaventure; Pierre Crespet; John Fisher; Enrique Henríquez; Stanislaus Hosius; Hugh de Sancto Charo; Hugh of St. Victor; Isidore of Seville; St. John Chrysostom; Cicero; Silvestro Mazzolini; Thomas More; Nicholas of Cusa; Origen; Peter of Blois; Richard of St. Victor; Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda; Stanislaus Sokolowski; St. Thomas Aquinas; and Alfonso de Tostado de Madrigal.⁴⁰

Tresham’s donation was also in keeping with the tradition of rigorous Christian humanist education and scholarship established at Oxford under Queen Mary, with the efforts of recent martyrs as its inspiration. When in the last weeks of 1555 Cardinal Reginald Pole became Chancellor of the University, newly purged of its most vocal Protestant scholars, Catholic education was his foremost priority. Pole’s chancellorship was supported by generous gifts from Mary, and it was his wish that the university should ‘rever[t] to the tradition of Christian humanism, free from all taint of heresy’.⁴¹ Tresham built on this principle when he made his

³⁸ Fuggles, *History*, pp. 61-2.

³⁹ BQ, *Library*, appendix 6, nos. 21, 22.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, nos. 1, 2, 6, 8, 15, 25, 33, 49, 53, 60, 61, 62, 63, 66, 72, 73, 76, 78, 83, 89, 95, 102, 106, 112, 115.

⁴¹ Cross, ‘The English Universities’, pp. 69, 72.

donation around forty years later by including the *opera omnia* of two Henrician martyrs both executed for opposing Henry's supremacy in 1535: that of Cardinal John Fisher, newly printed in 1597, and of Sir Thomas More, printed at Louvain in 1566.⁴²

Donation of Catholic books to a university college library was audacious, and by housing the works St. John's left itself open to suspicion. Many of the books Tresham donated were written by Jesuits, and the College already had a connection to the Society through two of their best-known alumni — the Jesuits Edmund Campion and Gregory Martin. Yet the influence of Tresham's political stance against invasion can also be interpreted in the absence of works by English Jesuits. Tresham opposed the policy of Spanish invasion and had distanced himself from the Society. Henry Tichbourne, SJ, denounced him as an 'atheist' and 'a friend to the state' in February 1598, the year the donation began.⁴³ Tresham bought sixteen works for the college by Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, and German Jesuits: Giovanni Bisciola, Jan David, Enrique Henriquez, Blasius Viegas, Gregorio de Valencia, Francisco Toledo, Manuel de Sá, Alfonso Salmerón, Nikolaus Serarius, Juan Maldonado, Luis de Molina, Benedictus Pererius, Juan de Pienda, Jacob Pontanus, Francisco Ribera, and Blasius Viegas. The absence of English Jesuit authors may have been politically-motivated, but Tresham's interest in Spanish and Italian works is visible in his own library, too. Aquinas, whose *Summa theologiae* was one of the two books Case requested from Tresham, had been named 'official theologian' by the Jesuit General Chapter in 1593, and was something of a beacon for post-Tridentine Catholic scholarship. He was made a Doctor of the Church in 1567, 'a title hitherto restricted to eight traditional patristic teachers', and his *Summa* was established as 'the central theological resource for Catholicism'.⁴⁴ No other author was as well-represented as the Franciscan Johann Ferus, chiefly associated with

⁴² BQ, *Library*, appendix 6, nos. 76 and 49; G. Kilroy, 'Within these Walls: the Secret World of Sir Thomas Tresham', in M.T. Jones-Davies (ed.), *L'Interiorité au Temps de la Renaissance* (Paris, 2005), pp. 103-35, at pp. 132-5 observes the donation's Catholic orthodoxy.

⁴³ TNA SP 12/262 fol. 63v, Henry Tichbourne SJ. to Thomas Derbyshire SJ., 2 February 1597/8.

⁴⁴ B. McGinn, *Thomas Aquinas' Summa Theologiae: a Biography* (Princeton NJ, 2014), p. 154.

a memorable sermon on ‘Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar’s’ at the sacking of Mainz in 1552.⁴⁵

Expertise

The evidence of Tresham’s letter to Case reveals his considerable expertise in every aspect of book-collecting, from purchasing books in St. Paul’s Churchyard to binding and storing them. On the library’s contents, he listed authors in groups ordered by priority. Most of the works and authors listed in the letter can be traced to the extant Tresham books in the College library. In the order he lists them, Tresham intended to give works by Aquinas, including his *Summa theologiae*; Luis de Molina; Francisco Suarez; Gregorio de Valencia; the Plantin polyglot Bible; Benedictus Pererius; Bibles printed by Robert Estienne (or Stephanus); Sisto da Siena; Bede; Anselm; the works of Tostado; Origen; St. John Chrysostom; St. Oecumenius; Hugo de Sancto Charo; Hugh of Saint-Victor; Diego de Estella; Martín de Azpilcueta’s manual of casuistry, the *Consiliorum sive responsorum*; Caesar Baronius; the collection of patristic works by Marguerin de la Bigne, *Sacrae bibliothecae Sanctorum Patrum*. Nine of the references are identifiable, but are not in the catalogue: a Latin manuscript Bible; Tertullian; Cyprian of Carthage; St. Gregory the Great and Gregory of Nazianzus; Clement of Rome or Clement of Alexandria; Cyril of Alexandria; St. John of Damascus — all Church Fathers — then Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus; Theophylactus of Ochrid; Bernard of Clairvaux, and Nicholas of Lyra.⁴⁶ A reference to ‘Honeadus’ is opaque.

The donation became much larger than expected. St. John’s did not have a *Biblia regia* — the eight-volume polyglot Bible printed by Plantin and dedicated to Philip II of Spain — as Tresham had thought, so he duly provided one. Tresham called Case’s attention to two authors closely

⁴⁵ G. Cleary, ‘Johann Wild’, in *The Catholic Encyclopaedia* (New York, 1912), online edn.

⁴⁶ BQ, *Library*, appendix 6, in the order given above, nos. 113, 75, 109-11, 116-7, 112, 21-22, 87-8, 17-8, 105, 15, 6, 115, 83, 66, 82, 61, 62, 41, 10, 112, 68. See H. Old, *The Reading and Preaching of the Scriptures in the Worship of the Christian Church*, 7 vols. (Michigan and Cambridge, 1998-2010) iii, 52-3; J. Summit, *Memory’s Library: Medieval Books in Early Modern England* (Chicago and London, 2008).

associated with England's Catholic history, Bede 'our natif countriman' and Anselm 'a Bishop of this Realme', whose works were so important that he would give them 'as no parcell of that hundered pounds chardge'. He gave Latin editions of the *opera omnia* of both, printed at Basel in 1563 and Cologne in 1573 respectively.⁴⁷ Tresham was donating books to a cause that had become necessarily continental in its textual and clerical production. There were secret presses in England and Wales, and there were English missionary priests, but the main presses and schools of the Catholic cause were on the continent and the clergy were now spending their formative years abroad. The colleges educating the next generation of Catholic scholars, clergy, and gentlemen had been driven out of the English universities and beyond the seas. In giving works by early English luminaries, Bede and Anselm, and recent apologists, Fisher and More, Tresham may have been trying to reinforce the tradition of homegrown Catholic scholarship.⁴⁸

Tresham was similarly knowledgeable about the care of the books, evaluating the various options available and making recommendations. Stringing was to be preferred over clasping 'in respect of reddylyer repaying them'. Different colour leather and leaves would help to distinguish the books from one another on the shelves, and false coverings would protect the leather bindings. False coverings were cheap, durable, easily replaced by a tailor, and were far superior to covering desks with less durable cloth vulnerable to dust and moths. Tresham admitted that he had perhaps offered excessive detail — '[m]y particularising hath prolonged my letter into endless lines' — but the thought he had given to how he would make the donation as useful and long-lasting as possible is an example of the seriousness of cultivating libraries, and of Tresham's expertise in particular.⁴⁹

II: Deene Park, Northamptonshire

⁴⁷ BQ, *Library*, appendix 6, nos. 15, 6.

⁴⁸ *ibid.*, nos. 49, 76.

⁴⁹ Ker, *Oxford College Libraries*, p. 515.

Deene Park, lying eleven miles from the Treshams at Rushton Hall in north-east Northamptonshire, has been owned by the Brudenell family since 1514. The joint library endeavour at Deene began a few years before the marriage of Tresham's daughter Mary to Thomas Brudenell in mid-1605. The sixteen-year-old Thomas Brudenell lost his father in 1599 and it was henceforth clear that he would inherit Deene on the death of his uncle Robert. This came on 20 October 1606, but in the intervening years Thomas styled himself 'de Deene' and it was perhaps in 1599 that arrangements began to be put in place for a Tresham-Brudenell marriage. The two Thomases, Tresham and Brudenell, were evidently close. On the death of his new father-in-law, Brudenell wrote to Sir Griffin Markham that 'I have gotten a wife, but have lost her father, for Sir Tho. Tresham died a month past. Our loss is great, either public or private in my judgement, for diverse dependencies that were noble in their ends'.⁵⁰ The books owe their survival to the care taken to preserve them by their earliest owners onwards. Bindings protect the pages within them, as well as looking elegant. As was common, Tresham and Brudenell used armorial bindings to claim 'ownership and authority', and in so doing 'rendered the book an emblem of lineage and pedigree ... the book bound with family arms performed, we might say was enclosed within, a nexus of aristocratic codes and values which shaped its meaning'.⁵¹

Transmission

The Tresham-Brudenell library was catalogued by Nicolas Barker and David Quentin, with a preface by the late Edmund Brudenell, in a magnificent Roxburghe Club volume in 2006. Combining books listed in Tresham's own lists and inventories with those owned by earlier generations of Brudenells — those still on the shelves at Deene, and those now lost — it lists

⁵⁰ HMC, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury ... preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire*, 24 vols. (1883-1976), xvii, p. 463, quoted in J. Wake, *The Brudenells of Deene* (1953), p. 104. Markham's brother George matriculated at Caius in the same term as Brudenell, having been schooled together at the Markhams' house in Leicestershire. See J. Venn et al., *A Biographical History of Gonville and Caius College*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1897-1912), i, p. 147.

⁵¹ K. Sharpe and S. N. Zwicker (eds.), *Reading, Society and Politics in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 5. See BQ, *Library*, pp. 149-77.

1,887 volumes.⁵² The library represented by the catalogue is in part reconstructed. Some of the books do not survive, or are now elsewhere, including those that have been identified through research by Barker and the compilers of the British Armorial Bindings database.⁵³ Providing an exact figure for the size of the Tresham-Brudenell library as it was up until Tresham's death in 1605 is difficult, but it was unusually large, and is remarkable for its survival and integrity. Nicolas Barker saw close points of similarity with the Arundel-Lumley library, also a Catholic father and son partnership, though it was larger, as we might expect for a noble family, and had more manuscripts.⁵⁴

The library was threatened at least three times. First, in a raid on Tresham's house at Hoxton in 1584, when sixteen incriminating Catholic books were taken as well as painted crucifixes.⁵⁵ The books were pastoral and devotional, including the Rheims New Testament, a primer for the '*Officium Beate Marie Virginis* [Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary]', *Of Prayer and Meditation* by Luis de Granada, Laurence Vaux's *Catechisme*, and Persons' *The First Booke of the Christian Exercise*.⁵⁶ It is the first appearance in government records of Tresham as a collector of Catholic — and therefore seditious — books.⁵⁷ The house was searched again in 1585, and a list of books confiscated includes reference to lost manuscripts of great interest. One of the books confiscated during this search was a work of Marian devotion, 'A Garland of Our Blessed Virgin',

⁵² BL Add. MS 39830, fols. 154r-66r.

⁵³ BQ, *Library*, p. 191. Books now held elsewhere are nos. 425 at Sir John Soane's Museum; 939.5 at Edinburgh University Library; M. de Sá, *Notationes in Totam Scripturam* (Antwerp, 1598), is at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, S.5.48.

⁵⁴ BQ, *Library*, p. 95-6. The Arundel-Library had around 2,600 volumes. See A. Boyle, 'Henry Fitzalan, Twelfth Earl of Arundel: Politics and Culture in the Tudor Nobility' (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 2002); S. Jayne and F. Johnson, *The Lumley Library: the Catalogue of 1609* (1956); A.H. Anderson, 'The Books of Thomas, Lord Paget (c. 1544-1590)', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 6/4 (1975), pp. 226-42; E. Potten, 'A Great Number of Usefull Books', *Library & Information History*, 25 (2009), pp. 33-49.

⁵⁵ TNA SP 12/172, fol. 169r, quoted in Anstruther, *Vaux*, pp. 150-151.

⁵⁶ The books listed are identified in E. Havens, 'Printers, Papists, and Priests: Roman Catholic Print Culture and the Religious Underground in Elizabethan England' (unpublished PhD diss., Yale Univ., 2010), appendix 7; *PLRE*, nos. 256-9.

⁵⁷ Two acts defined Catholic books as seditious and prohibited the import and ownership of them in 1569 and 1570: 13 Eliz. Caps. I, II.

and two were devoted, remarkably, to Mary, Queen of Scots, '*Tranquilitatis Animi Preservatio et Monumentum ad Sereniss: d. Mariam Scot: Reginam &c* [A Protection and Monument of the Tranquility of the Soul to the Most Serene Mary, Queen of Scots]'; '*Pie Afflicti Animi Mediationes Divinae Remedia ad Principem Mariam Scot: Reg:* [The Pious Meditations of a Troubled Soul and their Divine Cures, to the Foremost Mary, Queen of Scots]'.⁵⁸ That Tresham should have owned manuscripts hymning Mary allows us to probe further the imperfect nature of his fidelity to the Elizabethan regime and his views of its legitimacy. Even allowing for the truism that ownership does not mean agreement, Tresham having acquired these manuscripts should give us pause. The works of Persons, Granada and Vaux had been replaced since the 1584 search and were confiscated again in 1585. As Earle Havens has observed, the edition of Persons' *Christian Exercise* Tresham bought thereafter, and the only one in the catalogue of his books, was Edmund Bunny's version for Protestant devotion, with the most Catholic parts excised.⁵⁹ Perhaps Tresham had become frustrated by repeated confiscations of the work so bought an acceptable version of it. Other works taken in 1585 included 'A Devout Treatise &c. in English', probably that of Erasmus, translated by Margaret Roper (née More) as *A Deuoute Treatise vpon the Pater Noster*; a work dedicated to Reginald Pole by Lorenzo Davidico, *Gioiello del Vero Christiano* [The Jewel of the True Christian], primers, liturgies and devotional works, Cuthbert Tunstall's work on the Real Presence. Another work, the translation of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* by Thomas Stapleton — who added notes on forty-five differences between Protestantism and Catholicism — was an example of the appropriation of Anglo-Saxon authors for apologetic ends.⁶⁰

A later raid was far more damaging. During 'the late wars' — the Civil Wars — Brudenell's books were confiscated along with other objects that identified him as a practising Catholic. He

⁵⁸ TNA SP 12/172, fol. 169r.

⁵⁹ This observation is made in Havens, 'Printers', appendix 9, p. 431, n. 42.

⁶⁰ *ibid.*, appendix 9, nos. 3, 4, 18-19, 1, 2, 5, 4, 8, 6, 9-10, 13, 16-17, 21, 14, 15 respectively, pp. 431-7. See also p. 431, n. 42, on the dating of the two Tresham lists.

successfully petitioned Parliament for their return on 24 April 1660.⁶¹ We do not know where Brudenell's treasures were kept meantime, but they were likely dispersed and the integrity of the collection thus impaired. Brudenell's successful petition only allowed him to 'make search' for his books, and he bemoaned that he had regained one from a bookseller at St. Paul's Church Yard: it was a piecemeal repatriation.

There is some evidence about Tresham's books in his family papers. Barker and Quentin's catalogue collates this, and it contains: an invoice; a note of binding costs; a list of priced books; a list of books for binding; two inventories with only partial duplication, listing books by subject and format; books in English; books in duplicate; books for Tresham's 'closett drawer' and 'left on the shelve / table in yo[u]r closett' by his steward George Levens. The main catalogue also provides a concordance of the books listed in the inventories, a guide to those books that Tresham actually owned. The lists were put together either by Tresham himself or by Levens and come down to us in four hands of professional amanuenses or secretaries, two chancery and two italic. They list nearly 500 books, and date from 1582 to c. 1600. Comparison of the various books listed in these documents has led Barker to conclude that Tresham 'was in the habit of parting with books and replacing them with whatever edition was currently available'.⁶² Counting all of the entries across the inventories as reproduced reveals a total of 1,756 books, but Barker accounts for only around 500 books, suggesting that there was perhaps more duplication than there appears, or that Tresham's was a fluid collection with books coming and going as he shared them with friends in the tradition of *et amicorum*. In any case, the works at Deene traced to the Tresham Papers are those most intimately connected to Tresham, and are at the centre of this study. The analysis that follows builds on Barker's work, and relies on his expertise in identifying and explaining the bibliographical features of the books, before moving

⁶¹ *LJ*, xi, p. 139.

⁶² BQ, *Library*, pp. 65-71 and appendices 1-4.

to original analysis to interpret the significance of the library and its contents in the context of Tresham, his life, and the experience of Catholics in Protestant England.

The catalogue of the library includes few manuscripts and some books have since been lost. It is possible to recover something of the library's prior holdings by consulting the catalogues of rare books and manuscripts sold by later generations of the Brudenell family. One significant manuscript sold by the family and bought by the Bodleian in 1968 is the subject of the following chapter.⁶³ The picture of what was sold is one of considerably earlier manuscripts as well as some eighteenth and nineteenth-century works, however, and it seems that most of the sixteenth and seventeenth-century holdings were retained. Of the manuscripts sold at auction in the late twentieth century, ten have ownership marks by Thomas Brudenell, and the works are more likely to have been owned by him than Tresham. These include an Italian translation of *De monarchia Hispanica discursus* [*A Discourse on the Spanish Monarchy*] by its author Tommaso Campanella; an early seventeenth-century devotional commonplace book bound with a collection of prayers and meditations called 'Contemplations'; various '*relationi* [relations]' of Venetian ambassadors from the reigns of Mary I and Rudolf II, Holy Roman Emperor; a manuscript summarising papal finances, c. 1605; a copy of the political pamphlet written by Francis Bacon for Burghley, *Certayne Observacions uppon a Libell published in the Yeare of 1592...* with 'erroneous' added after the first word of the title; the anonymous undated tract *Humile Significatione* [*A Humble Suggestion*] advising the then Pope about converting heretical princes to the Catholic faith, and a series of 150 political and moral maxims in Italian and Latin; various papers bound together concerning Venice and its diplomatic relations; Walsingham's instructions to his nephew Anthony Mildmay dated 11 July 1578 bound with two autograph signed letters from George Dethicke to Sir Thomas Brudenell in 1613, and from Francis

⁶³ This manuscript is the subject of ch. 6.

Brudenell to William Dunbar in the late seventeenth century.⁶⁴ None of the items sold at auction mentions Tresham, except that which concerns us in the following chapter.

Contents

Moving from the sources for the library to the books themselves, this analysis adopts the eleven categories that Tresham used for his books in the longer of his two inventories. This inventory listed 721 books under subject headings: theology (218), history (125), philosophy and dialectic (63), rhetoric (47), '*De Re Publica*' (50), military (16), letters (61), dictionaries and grammar (43), maps and cosmography (22), architecture, geometry, and arithmetic (42), and poetry (34).

Within these categories, the books were organised in a descending order according to format, but were probably shelved in reverse. Barker estimates that '[t]hese proportions were probably maintained in the library overall'.⁶⁵ Tresham's categories were similar to those found in the library of another Catholic father and son-in-law partnership — the Arundel-Lumley library, comparable in size and scope — but Tresham had more subdivisions.⁶⁶

The analysis in this chapter focuses on Tresham's theological books and the personal connections visible in his activities as a bibliophile, but in order to picture the wider collection, the contents of the other sections are summarised first. History, the second largest of Tresham's categories, contained continental translations of the classical works essential to a humanist education. Tresham owned Pliny's *Naturalis Historia* [*Natural History*], and, by classical historians, Thucydides *Historia de bello Peloponnesiaco* [*History of the Peloponnesian Wars*], Tacitus' works in French, and the Latin *Histories* of Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Dio Cassius,

⁶⁴ Sotheby's catalogues for sales held at London: 20 February 1967, p. 58, lots 228 (Campanella), 229 ('Contemplations'), p. 59, lot 234 and p. 61, lot 239 (*relationi*), p. 62, lots 240 (papal government), 241 (pamphlet), 242 (*relatione*); p. 64, lots 246 (Venice) and 248 (Walsingham). For another Dunbar, perhaps a relation, see ch. 4. *The Works of Francis Bacon, Baron of Verulam, Viscount St. Alban, and Lord High Chancellor of England*, 10 vols. (1803), iii, 40-105.

⁶⁵ BQ, *Library*, p. 98.

⁶⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 96-8; See Jayne and Johnson, *The Lumley Library*.

and a Latin translation of Herodotus.⁶⁷ He also had translations of Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* [*History of Rome*] in Spanish, Italian, and French.⁶⁸ Bede, translated by Stapleton, provided English ecclesiastical history, and the works of Josephus gave the history of the Holy Land.⁶⁹ Tresham's library offered political history in eleven books of Machiavelli: the *Discorsi* [*Discourses on the First Decade of Titus Livius*] in Italian, French, and Latin; *Istorie Florentine* [*Florentine Histories*]; *Il Principe* [*The Prince*] in Italian, French, and two Latin editions; *Libro dell' Arte della Guerra* [*The Art of War*]; as well as his comedy, *Clizia*.⁷⁰ The library had Italian historians and accounts of discoveries of lands to the east and west, including some written by Jesuit missionaries who had ventured east to India, China, and Japan. There was some British history, which was better-represented than is credited by Barker. Tresham had Polydore Vergil, catalogued elliptically as 'Virgilius [many editions]', including his *Anglica Historia*; Carion, *Chronicon Chronicorum* [*Chronicle of Chronicles*] and the chronicles of Fabian and Stowe.⁷¹ Research by Felicity Heal on the reading notes of George Levens, Tresham's steward, reveals that Tresham likely owned the expanded 1587 edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles*, too.⁷² On the study of history, Tresham had Jean Bodin, *Artis Historicae Penus* [*Storehouse of the Art of History*] and literary works by Boccaccio including *Decameron* in Italian and French.⁷³

The smaller categories as Tresham organised them nevertheless carried respected authorities whose works were important elements for scholarly libraries in this period. Among Tresham's

⁶⁷ *ibid.*, p. 100, nos. 1748 (Thucydides), 1443 (Polybius), 600 (Diodorus), 599 (Dio), 932 (Herodotus), 1711 (Tacitus).

⁶⁸ *ibid.*, nos. 1127-30.

⁶⁹ *ibid.*, nos. 194, 190, 193 (Bede); 1023 (Josephus).

⁷⁰ *ibid.*, nos. 1157, 1161, 1158, 1165, 1159, 1160, 1162, 1164, 1168-9, 1166, 1156. Translations of titles come from *Machiavelli: The Chief Works and Others*, ed. and trans. A.H. Gilbert, 3 vols. (Durham, NC, and London, 1989).

⁷¹ *ibid.*, nos. 1838, 1821, 399, 687, 1692.

⁷² [R. Holinshed], *The First and Second Volumes (third volume) of Chronicles Comprising ... the Description and Historie of England ... Ireland ... and ... Scotland*, by R. Holinshed, W. Harrison, and Others, *Newlie Augmented and Continued by I. Hooker and Others* (1587); F. Heal, 'Readership and Reception', in *idem*, Archer, and Kewes (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's Chronicles* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 355-72, at pp. 360, 366. For comparison, Lumley owned two copies: *ibid.*, p. 360. Levens' notes on Holinshed are in BL Add. MS 39838, fols. 43r-87v.

⁷³ BQ, *Library*, nos. 295-6.

'*libri philosophici et dialectici*' he included thirteen works of Aristotle, all in translation, in Latin, French, and Italian, including *Les Politiques* [Politics] and *Ethicorum ad Nicomachum* [Nicomachean Ethics], and commentary by Francisco de Toledo.⁷⁴ He had plenty of Cicero, including multiple editions of *De Officiis* [On Offices]; *Epistolarum Familiarum* [Letters to Friends]; *Opere Morali* [Moral Works]; *Rhetorica*; *De Natura Deorum* [On the Nature of God] bound with *Fragmenta*.⁷⁵ He had Seneca's *Epistolas Familiares* [Letters to Friends] in Catalan; his works on morality and tragedy in an edition designed for commonplacing, *in locos communes alphabetico ordine digesti* [common places arranged in alphabetical order]; a French translation, *Les Oeuvres Morales* [Moral Works]; a Spanish edition of five tracts about providence and religious life, and a Basel *Opera Omnia*.⁷⁶ Tresham had an Italian collection of moral writings by Plutarch, his *Moralia* in French (as for Seneca) and Latin; and *Ethica* [Ethics]; *Les vies des hommes illustres* [Lives of Famous Men] was also translated into French.⁷⁷ Tresham's library was weak on medieval thinkers: beyond Bede, there was little beyond two collected editions of Petrarch.⁷⁸ John Case, whose friendship was fundamental to the gift of books to St. John's, was the author of four works on Tresham's shelves, *Speculum Moraliu* on Aristotle, *Sphaera Civitatis*, his *Summa* of Aristotelian dialectical scholarship, and his *Thesaurus Œconomiae*.⁷⁹ Oddly, Tresham placed Edward Weston's *De Triplici Hominis Officio* [On the Threefold Duty of Man], written 'against atheists, politiques and sectarians', in this category, possibly because its author had been tutored by Case.⁸⁰

The library provided for the education of gentlemen of any confession. Cicero and Livy taught rhetoric in Latin. The works of the Greek rhetoricians Aeschines, Demosthenes, and Isocrates,

⁷⁴ *ibid.*, p. 101, nos. 78-95; 88, 86, 1755-6.

⁷⁵ *ibid.*, nos. 460, 466, 463, 467, 472, 459.

⁷⁶ *ibid.*, nos. 1623, inscribed '*Tresami et amicorum*' and, later, 'TB' for Brudenell; 1624, 1626, 1631, 1629.

⁷⁷ *ibid.*, nos. 1432, 1436, 1438, 1434, 1437.

⁷⁸ *ibid.*, no. 1401.

⁷⁹ *ibid.* pp. 101-2; nos. 406-9 (Case), all published in Oxford by J. Barnes in 1585, 1588, 1592 and 1597 respectively.

⁸⁰ *ibid.*, p. 102; no. 1861, E. Weston, *De Triplici Hominis Officio, ex Notatione ipsius Naturali, Morali, ac Theologica* (Antwerp, 1602). See P. Milward, 'Weston, Edward (1565?-1635)', *ODNB*.

and this historian Herodotus came in Latin editions, and this reminds us that there are precious few Greek texts — and none beyond Scripture — in Tresham's library: it is unlikely that Tresham knew much Greek.⁸¹ Practical resources continued from rhetoric to '*De Re Publica*', under which Tresham had the *Statutes* to inform local arbitration. He likely understood the nature of government in the wider sense according to Plato's *Republic*, Aristotle's *Politics*, Machiavelli's *The Prince*, and the description of the Roman constitution in Polybius' *History*.⁸² Military instruction came from Machiavelli, *Dell' arte della guerra* [*The Art of War*], and Blundeville, *The Arte of Rydyngge* along with Claudio Corte, *Il Cavallerizzo* [*Horsemanship*] taught about horsemanship and courtly behaviour. As essential reference works, dictionaries and grammars 'always occupied a great deal of the care and productive energy of the book trade'; Tresham had multiple copies and editions, and tools for Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, and Greek, such as William Thomas, *Principal rules of the Italian grammer* and multi-lingual dictionaries like John Barrett's *An alvearie or quadruple dictionarie*. William Thomas was in fact a Protestant reformer, but this work was pragmatic, with 'unpolemical objectives'.⁸³ There were also works relating to particular authors such as Nizoli, *Thesaurus Ciceronianus* [*Ciceronian Thesaurus*] and phrase books such as Noel Barlement, *Phrases Sex Linguarum* [*Phrases in Six Languages*].⁸⁴ Works such as these underscore the twin principles of language-learning: communication with foreigners and the better-understanding of books when translations were either not available, or seen as inferior or only supplementary to the authentic texts. Tresham's cartographical and cosmological books included works considered to be commonplace in gentry libraries in this period, including the 'keystone' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* [*Theatre of the World*]. Tresham counted William Camden's *Britannia* within this category.⁸⁵

⁸¹ For Cicero and Livy see n. 72, above. BQ, *Library*, p. 103.

⁸² *ibid* p. 104. I am grateful to George Woudhuysen for the observation about Polybius (BQ, *Library*, no. 1443).

⁸³ M. Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter with Tudor England: a Cultural Politics of Translation* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 211.

⁸⁴ BQ, *Library*, pp. 105-8, quotation at p. 107.

⁸⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 109-10.

In its mathematical and architectural holdings, the Tresham-Brudenell library was superior, perhaps unsurprisingly. Works on every aspect of geometry and mathematics, including three standard works on trigonometry, had a practical relevance to Tresham's architectural designs. Further work on triangles proliferated, a clear relation to the Triangular Lodge.⁸⁶ As far as the inventories show, Tresham's poetry section was largely Italian and Spanish, a recurrent and provocative theme in his library. The poetry section in the second inventory of Tresham's books is modest, leading Barker to ponder that 'it reads like, and perhaps is, an afterthought', but Italian verse was superior for sixteenth-century consumers, and Tresham's collection thus reflects broader trends. Tresham's poetry collection comprised chiefly Italian verse, including Boccaccio's *Decameron* as well as Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, and Sannazzaro's *Arcadia* and *De partu virginis*. There are also collections of Latin, Italian, and French poetry. There is only one work by an Englishman: John Shepreve, his *Hyppolitus Ovidianae Phaedrae Respondens* [*Hyppolitus Responding to the Phaedra of Ovid*] in academic Latin.⁸⁷

Imperfect loyalism

Below the surface, the loyalism of Tresham's collecting practices is as complex as that which has emerged throughout this thesis. The expectation that his books may have been scrutinised by hostile eyes may explain the choices Tresham made in the texts he owned, but there are nevertheless glimpses of criticism in his reading. Tresham's books reflect the Catholic tradition of doctrine and religious learning, contemporary politics, and the views he formed during his practice of illicit religion. In keeping with his claims of civil obedience, collections of Bibles, the Church Fathers, and Biblical scholarship sustained private study and devotion rather than fuelling engagement with contemporary religious controversy. The purpose was both devotional and scholarly: Bible-reading was a prominent feature of both Protestant and Catholic piety, but reading Scripture in multiple tongues also supported language acquisition. Contemplating

⁸⁶ See pp. 186-93, above.

⁸⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 116-7; nos. 76 and 155-9; Boccaccio: nos. 288-291.

Scripture with the aid of learned commentaries in the home, perhaps before devotional images such as the Tresham's crucifixion scene, could requite something of lost parish life, though even the Word could not provide the sacraments. The catalogue lists no fewer than thirty-two Bibles, of which eighteen correspond with Tresham's inventories, and a further two are annotated by him. These twenty Bibles (or parts of Bibles) include two in French (one New Testament only), one Greek New Testament, thirteen in Latin (five complete Bibles, three New Testaments, two Old Testaments, two psalters, and one concordance), one Italian New Testament, two in Spanish (one psalter and one New Testament), and the Complutensian Polyglot.⁸⁸ The collection of Bibles included a large Plantin *Biblia Sacra* — for which Tresham paid a staggering 43 shillings and 4 pence in March 1584 — and these were complemented by the Church Fathers.⁸⁹ Recent works included those by Surius, Jansen, Tapper, Stanislas Hosius and Marguerin de la Bigne. Liturgical works, including breviaries, missals, rituals, and books of hours, are present in the library but only one early sixteenth-century breviary appears in Tresham's inventories: the others have Brudenell provenance, though one post-Tridentine breviary has 'trysame' on the verso of the title page.⁹⁰

Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century works in Tresham's library follow this tradition of commentary and Biblical or patristic scholarship. There are works of refutation by Catholic authors, but they are explications of orthodox doctrine, not invective. Similarly, the ire of the polemical texts is directed against Luther and Calvin, not at the persecution in late-Elizabethan England. Even if Tresham's interpretation of Catholic theology avoided the particularly English problems, his ownership of Catholic books of any sort was still dangerous, but Tresham resisted

⁸⁸ *ibid.*, p. 99, and nos. 243-5, 248, 251-3, 255-7, 261-3, 265-6, 268-72.

⁸⁹ *ibid.*, no. 248 and p. 98.

⁹⁰ *ibid.*, nos. 949, 1120-1126 1122, 338.

the *de facto* legislative association of his Catholicism with treason.⁹¹ Tresham's ownership of literature less directly relevant to his own situation as a Catholic gentleman was therefore unproblematic in his eyes, and though this was untenable from the government's perspective it should be interpreted as consistent with the loyalism that Tresham professed. Exploration of Tresham's theological library reinforces his loyalist reputation, but it also reveals more about his political interests than can be found in the other sources for his life.

Those works in the catalogue representing the Catholic response to Protestant heresy were, with a few exceptions, concerned with continental figures rather than the English context. Tresham owned some of the earliest statements of the Catholic position from the reign of Elizabeth. He had William Allen's *Defense...Catholike Churches Doctrine Touching Purgatorie*, and Robert Persons, *A Booke of Christian Exercise*, in its Protestantized edition by Edmund Bunny. Allen's *Defense* was a restatement of Catholic doctrine on a particular subject and Persons' *Christian Exercise* a work of devotion whose cross-confessional value is evident in its adaption for use by Protestants, even if this was partly refutative. The works themselves do not belong to the genre of controversy, though their authors and institutions were certainly controversial and feared by the government. The most challenging text in political terms was Edmund Campion, *Rationes Decem*. Tresham had first been punished by anti-Catholic legislation for his connection with Campion, who had in turn been arrested, examined and later executed as a result of the arguments made in *Rationes* as well as for his missionary presence in England. The government knew of and had acted upon Tresham's connection to the author of the work, and it might be interpreted as the text most symbolic of Tresham's relationship with the state. It is hardly surprising that this was one of the very few examples of Catholic polemic among Tresham's

⁹¹ The literature on Catholic writing in this period is enormous. Keystones are A.C. Southern, *Elizabethan Recusant Prose, 1559-1582* (1950); P. Milward, *Religious Controversies of the Elizabethan Age* (1977); D. Woodfield, *Surreptitious Printing in England, 1555-1640* (New York, 1976); N.P. Brown, 'Paperchase: the Dissemination of Catholic Texts in Elizabethan England', *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700*, 1 (Oxford, 1989); P. Collinson, A. Hunt, and A. Walsham, 'Religious Publishing in England, 1557-1640', in J. Barnard, D.F. McKenzie (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain IV: 1557-1695* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 29-65.

books. The debate surrounding recusancy is not represented in Tresham's library, and though he had ample choice for martyrologies written for the English context he seems to have eschewed them all.⁹² A marked contrast is visible in the Thomas Jollet's manuscript in the following chapter, which includes Tresham among a large Catholic martyrology.⁹³

Tresham owned four works by Gregorius de Valencia, one of several favoured Spanish theologians in his library. *Defensio Disputationis contra Fundamenta Duarum Sectarum* [*A Defence of an Argument against the Foundations of the Two Sects*] resembles fiery polemic inconsistent with overtures of loyalism, but the dispute was with Jakob Heerbrand, a Lutheran professor at Tübingen, written while Valencia was a professor at Ingolstadt. Valencia was not a friend to Protestantism, but those of his works in Tresham's collection were not directly concerned with religious politics in England.⁹⁴ A more virulent text was Georg Eder's *Malleus Haereticorum*, which as a 'handbook for heresy-hunters, develop[ed] a typology of heresies ... contrasting the disobedience throughout history with the loyalty of the Fathers to the unity of the Church'.⁹⁵ The work was approved by Valencia and dedicated to Pope Gregory XIII.⁹⁶ Like Valencia's *Defensio*, Eder's work was written for a Latinate continental audience, and concerned the extirpation of heresy in the context of the long-fought battle between his True Church and those who sought to destroy it. In this case, Anabaptists, not Elizabethan England, were the subject, but Eder's work was popular and influential.⁹⁷ Like Tresham, Eder was a layman, but he

⁹² BQ, *Library*, nos. 385, 31, 1355. A. Walsham, "'Domme Preachers'? Post-Reformation English Catholicism and the Culture of Print', *P&P*, 168 (2000), pp. 72-123, at p. 99 n. 101. Walsham provides a concise summary, excerpted here: A. G. Petti, 'Richard Verstegan and Catholic Martyrologies of the Later Elizabethan Period', *BCH*, 5/2 (1959-60), pp. 64-90; J. T. Rhodes, 'English Books of Martyrs and Saints of the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Century', *BCH*, 22/1 (1994), pp. 7-25; Robert Persons, *De Persecutione Anglicana* (Paris, 1582); William Allen, *A Briefe Historie of the Glorious Martyrdom of xii Reverent Priests* ([Rheims], 1582), STC 369.5; Thomas Worthington, *A Relation of Sixtene Martyrs: Glorified in England in Twelve Monethes* (Douai, 1601), STC 26000.9.

⁹³ See appendix V, esp. p. 292.

⁹⁴ BQ, *Library*, nos. 856-8, 8560.

⁹⁵ *ibid.*, no. 642; I. Backus (ed.), *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West: from the Carolingians to the Maurists*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1997), i, p. 737.

⁹⁶ E. Fulton, *Catholic Belief and Survival in Late Sixteenth-Century Vienna: the Case of Georg Eder (1523-87)* (Aldershot, 2007), p. 133.

⁹⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

was also a scholar by profession — he was employed by the university at Vienna for most of his life and was elected rector eleven times, which afforded him ‘considerable legal and administrative status’, but he also enjoyed court patronage from the Wittelsbach Dukes.⁹⁸ Significantly for the reception of his writings, Eder was also a doyen of the Society of Jesus — ‘his lifelong mentors and supporters’ — and was associated with influential members such as Peter Canisius.⁹⁹

Through a small number of works on religion and politics in France, Tresham observed the results of religious division and conflict across the Channel. He had two editions of contemporary Franco-Flemish history by the Huguenot Lancelot Voisin de la Popelinière, *La Vraye et Entière Histoire des Troubles et Chose Memorables ... depuis l'an 1562* [*The True and Complete History of the Troubles and Memorable Things ... since the Year 1562*]. Bodin’s account of the indivisibility of sovereignty, *Les Six Livres de la République* [*The Six Books of the Republic*] countered Huguenot theories of resistance, and in particular the idea that some laypeople — including foreign princes — could overthrow a tyrannical monarch.¹⁰⁰ Philippe du Plessis Mornay, a major exponent of this view, was the subject of other critical works in Tresham’s library. Mornay had sought refuge in England following the Catholic slaughter of Protestants on St. Bartholomew’s Day in Paris, 1572. He represented the interests of Henri IV of France in England, though the king’s conversion to Catholicism in around 1593 wrought the end of this relationship.¹⁰¹ Against Mornay, Tresham owned Anastase Cochelet, *Repetitions ... en Forme d’Homilies contre du Plessis Mornay* [*Rehearsals of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, in the Form of Homilies against Du Plessis Mornay*] published at Antwerp in 1602. Two pamphlets discovered with the Tresham Papers in 1828 also treat the French Wars of Religion from the Catholic side: Charles, Cardinal de Bourbon’s *A Declaration of the Causes that have Moved the Cardinal of*

⁹⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 1, 5.

⁹⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 123, 6–7.

¹⁰⁰ M.P. Holt, *The French Wars of Religion, 1562–1629* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 101; BQ, *Library*, nos. 1057–8, 296.

¹⁰¹ BQ, *Library*, no. 495. See, for example, *ibid.*, nos. 528, 944.

Bourbon... to Oppose themselves to those which by all Meanes do Seeke to Subuert the Catholike Religion and the Estate (1585) and a translation of another French tract of 1585, *A Declaration Set Forth by the French Kinge, Sheewing his Pleasure Concerning the New Troubles in his Realme*.¹⁰²

France was of potential interest to Tresham because of its status as a destination for English Catholics for whom exile was the solution to Protestant England.¹⁰³ But France was not always the final destination, and exiles might move around Catholic Europe, perhaps when their circumstances changed. One such exile was Thomas Fitzherbert, whose *Treatise Concerning Policy and Religion* appears as a foil to Tresham's cultivated loyalism, and may have been the last work Tresham acquired.¹⁰⁴ Fitzherbert had assisted Campion in his preparation of *Rationes Decem*, and had been among the laymen who gave aid to Campion and Persons upon their arrival in England; his friendship with Persons continued thereafter. We do not know whether he encountered Tresham as part of this. Fitzherbert left England for France with his wife in 1582, travelled in his widowerhood to Spain, Brussels, and Italy, and was the English secretary to Philip II from 1596. He was ordained priest at Rome in 1602 and wrote the *Treatise* there, dedicating it to his son. The work is not a condemnation of Protestantism *per se*. The preface praises James, echoing the general optimism of the early years of his reign: 'the first frutes of his happie raigne ... doe already promise us, to the everlasting honour, and benefit of al the three nations, and the eternizing of his majesties glorious memory'.¹⁰⁵ Fitzherbert claimed to write for

¹⁰² See appendix III.

¹⁰³ For English Catholics in Paris, see K. Gibbons, *English Catholic Exiles in Late Sixteenth-Century Paris* (Woodbridge, 2011). A fuller bibliography for exile is at p. 258 n. 58, below. For French propaganda in England, see L.F. Parmelee, 'Printers, Patrons, Readers, and Spies: Importation of French Propaganda in Late Elizabethan England', *SCJ*, 25 (1994), pp. 853–72.

¹⁰⁴ BQ, *Library*, no. 725; Barker casts doubt on the date of the first edition, *ibid.*, p. 77. See T.H. Clancy, 'Fitzherbert, Thomas (1552-1640)', *ODNB*; S. Tutino, *Law and Conscience: Catholicism in Early Modern England, 1570-1625* (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 177–86.

¹⁰⁵ T. Fitzherbert, *The First Part of a Treatise Concerning Policy and Religion* [2nd edn., 1615], facsimile reprint, *English Recusant Literature, 1558-1640*, 175 ([Menston], 1974), p. 339, quoted in P. Arblaster, *Antwerp and the World: Richard Verstegan and the International Culture of Catholic Reformation* (Leuven, 2004), p. 88. The same quotation is at pp. 427–8 in the first edition (1606) owned by Tresham and discussed here.

the ‘confutation of Macchiauillian, & Atheistical politikes,’ a similar claim to that of Weston’s *De Triplici*, and the advice he gave on matters of state employed the language of loyalism:

And therfore the only point of state, which I wold haue you to learne, or at least to practise, is, to serue God and your prince, with al duty and loyalty, yeelding (as our Sauour commandeth) *To Cesar that which is Cesars; and to God, that which is Gods.*

Fitzherbert framed his treatise as non-partisan, beyond confessional boundaries, appealing to Protestant *and* Catholic readers to unite against *politiques*:

my meaning is not in this first part to handle any matter of religion now in controuersy betwixt protestants & Catholiques, neither yet in the latter, any furdur than the same shal be necessarily conioyned with matter of policy; Only I desire such protestants or puritanes as shal read this part, to hold me excused, if for the confusion of their common enemies, and ours (I meane Atheists, for such are the Politikes whom I especially impugne).¹⁰⁶

A *politique* was one who put policy before religion, who advocated toleration instead of the primacy of true (Catholic) religion and the extirpation of heresy.¹⁰⁷ Tresham, in his requests to be allowed to practise his religion according to his conscience while obeying the successive Protestant governments of Elizabeth and James, was compromising the quest for Catholic government — the only good kind. What did Tresham’s ownership of the work portend? Like the collection of French books, this was likely part of an active engagement with the wider problem of the relationship between Church and state.

The scarcity of English Catholic authors in Tresham’s book lists seems to support the civil obedience he espoused. Works in the vernacular were not common, but so few of Tresham’s theological books are by contemporary English authors that it seems more deliberate than coincidental. Tresham’s English Catholic writers belong to the early response to the Reformation - criticisms of Luther and his supporters. From the reign of Henry VIII, Tresham had the king’s

¹⁰⁶ Fitzherbert, *Treatise*, at sigs. a4v, a2v and e3v.

¹⁰⁷ H. Höpfl, *Jesuit Political Thought: the Society of Jesus and the State, c. 1540-1630* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 125-31; A. Gajda, ‘The Gordian Knot of Policy: Statecraft and the Prudent Prince’, in M. Smuts (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook to the Age of Shakespeare* (Oxford, 2016), pp. 286-305, esp. pp. 299-304, discusses Fitzherbert in the context of contemporary debates about statecraft.

own anti-Lutheran letters, the *Literarum, quibus Henricus Octavus Respondit ad Quendam Epistolam M. Lutheri* [Letters by which Henry VIII Responded to a Certain Letter of Martin Luther] and three individual works by Thomas More: *A dyaloge of syr T. More. Wherin be treatyd dyuers maters, as of the veneration & worshyp of ymagys*, the second version of the *Responsio ad Lutherum*, published pseudonymously as *Eruditissimi viri Guilielmi Rossei Opus... Refellit Insanas Lutheri Calumnias* [The Work of the Most Erudite Man William Ross ... Refuting...the Insane False Accusations of Luther]; and *The Confutation of Tyndale's Answer* in its original edition and as part of the humanist edition of More's Works, *Lucubrationes*. He did not own any of the works written by More during his imprisonment.¹⁰⁸ Instead, the works of Tresham's English authors reinforced the central doctrines of the Catholic Church while it was still the established Church in England. From the reign of Edward VI, Tresham had Richard Smith, *De Coelibatu Sacerdotum* [On the Celibacy of Priests]. Tresham's edition of More's works, the *Lucubrationes* printed by the Froben press at Basle in 1563, has been associated with More's humanist reputation; its apparent purpose was to correct the errors of other editions and to demonstrate the highest standards in printing. It may be significant that Tresham favoured the edition of a noted Erasmian press rather than two Catholic editions, the English Works of 1557 or the Latin *Opera Omnia* of 1565, for his private library, but he gave the latter to St. John's — as a college library it was a natural home for a Latin edition.¹⁰⁹

Tresham's opposition to Spanish invasion and claims to civil obedience may partially explain the absence of counter-Reformation martyrological works; it has been persuasively argued that the depictions of executions of Catholics in England encouraged military action from the

¹⁰⁸ BQ, Library, nos. 926 and 1254-1256. For the *Responsio ad Lutherum*, see J. Headley, 'More against Luther: on laws and the magistrate', *Moreana*, 15-16 (1967), pp. 211-24, esp. p. 211. On More and the 1534 Treason Law, see G. Elton, *Policy and Police: the Enforcement of the Reformation in the Age of Thomas Cromwell* (Cambridge, 1972), esp. pp. 401-19.

¹⁰⁹ The Arundel-Lumley library also had the *Lucubrationes*: Jayne and Johnson, *The Lumley Library*, no. 2253. J. McConica, 'The Recusant Reputation of Thomas More', *Report of the Canadian Catholic History Association*, 30 (1963), pp. 47-61, at p. 55, and idem, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics under Henry VIII and Edward VI* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 285-6 discusses the various editions of More's works.

continent.¹¹⁰ His anti-invasion stance provoked the denunciation of ‘atheist’ from the Jesuit Henry Tichbourne in 1596.¹¹¹ Despite his hostility to Spanish invasion, Tresham demonstrated a serious interest in Spanish books, a major divergence between his library and that of Arundel and Lumley, its most similar contemporary.¹¹² This may be connected to his younger brother William, who spent two decades mostly in the Spanish Netherlands after he fled England for Paris in 1582. Before leaving, William left his books in Tresham’s care, whose fraternal love was recorded in an inscription in the copy Tresham had given him of Nannini, *Orazioni in Materia Civile e Criminale* [*Speeches in Civil and Criminal Cases*], an Italian collection of speeches from classical authors: ‘*Al suo molto amorevole fratello S. G. Tresamo* [to his very loving brother Signor Guilelmo Tresham]’.¹¹³ Yet there was only one Spanish work among William Tresham’s books, the chronicle of Florian de Occampo. Though Tresham owned Castiglione’s *Il Cortegiano* [*The Courtier*] in Spanish, this was in addition to copies in English, French, and Italian.

Tresham’s Church was universal, and its continental apologists were appropriately visible in his library. Books demonstrated recognition of post-Tridentine doctrine, including a sermon preached by Diego Pavia de Andrade along with the text of the catechism decreed by the Council of Trent.¹¹⁴ There were also ‘[a]n enormous number of small works of piety’ in foreign languages, including Passavanti, *Lo Specchio di Vera Penitenza* [*The Mirror of True Penitence*], Bourgeois, *Les Soulas et Confors de l’Ame Chrestienne* [*The Solace and Comfort of the Christian Soul*] and Dore, *Les Allumettes du Feu Divin* [*The Kindling of Divine Fire*].¹¹⁵ Tresham had a clear favourite, however, in the Dominican friar Luis de Granada, ‘whose sermons and mystical writings, in Latin, Spanish and Italian, account for over twenty books in the inventory and still

¹¹⁰ Walsham, ‘Domme Preachers’, p. 99.

¹¹¹ See p. 213, above.

¹¹² BQ, *Library*, p. 96.

¹¹³ *ibid.*, nos. 580, 1274–5, 1298, 1392; 372; 523; 1165; 1686. See also L. Jardine, *Francis Bacon: Discovery and the Art of Discourse* (1974), esp. pp. 35–6.

¹¹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 100; BQ, *Library*, nos. 1257, 269, 1659, and 31.

¹¹⁵ *ibid.*, nos. 1363, 329, 622.

to be found at Deene'.¹¹⁶ There was another link between Tresham and Spain. His son, Lewis, married the daughter of Maria Perez de Recalde, a Spanish widow now settled in London and married to the alderman John Moore. Probably because of this match, Lewis was given royal permission to travel to Spain, and so his father wrote to Giles Porter — a Midlands Catholic with even more pronounced Spanish connections — to ask if he would help Lewis, a newcomer to Spain with scant language skills.¹¹⁷ Further evidence about the relationship between Tresham and Porter, and between Lewis and his brother-in-law, a religious in Spain, would likely explain Tresham's Spanish books, but these connections alone are suggestive.

It was not unusual for Catholics to own Protestant books.¹¹⁸ Tresham's acquisition of Protestant works refuting Catholic texts is perhaps less surprising when we take into account the fact that these often included the Catholic works printed alongside the refutation, so it may have been a conveniently legitimate way of acquiring the texts he was really interested in. This surely explains his ownership of a work by the virulent Protestant polemicist William Fulke, *De successione ecclesiastica* [*On Ecclesiastical Succession*], which contained the text of the work it refuted, Thomas Stapleton's *Successionis ecclesiasticae defensio amplior* [*A Fuller Defence of Ecclesiastical Succession*]. These works were part of a string of refutation tracts by Fulke and Stapleton.¹¹⁹ Other works iterated debates between reformers, such as Theodore Beza's *Tractatus pius et moderatus* [*A Devout and Temperate Disquisition*], which attacked Thomas

¹¹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 100, and nos. 832-854, but 832, 839, 841, 842, 844, 846, 849-851 were not Tresham's. Luis de Granada was one of a handful of Catholic authors with an enthusiastic Protestant reception. Editions of his devotional works, with Catholic sentiments excised, shaped Protestant devotion, see Walsham, 'Domme Preachers', esp. pp. 104-8 and *idem*, 'Luis de Granada's Mission to Protestant England: Translating the Devotional Literature of the Spanish Counter-Reformation', in T. Bela *et al.* (eds.), *Publishing Subversive Texts in Elizabethan England and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth* (Leiden, 2016), pp. 129-54.

¹¹⁷ *HMCR* iii, pp. 147-8.

¹¹⁸ *BQ, Library*, p. 97.

¹¹⁹ *ibid.*, no. 767. Earlier tracts enacting the debate between Fulke and Stapleton were: Fulke, *Two Treatises Written against the Papistes* (1577) STC 11458; Stapleton, *Principiorum Fidei Doctrinalium Demonstratio* (Paris, 1578) ARCR.i 1150; Fulke, *Ad Stapletoni Controversiam Cauillationes Responsio* (1579) STC 11418.

Erastus' argument that the state rather than the Church should enact excommunication.¹²⁰

Tresham's interest in this debate may have been piqued by the question of whether a secular government could legislate on religious behaviour, and its applicability to his own situation. In other cases, Tresham owned the Protestant rebuke but not, as far as we can tell, the original Catholic work. For example, he had John Fielde, *A Caveat for Parsons Howlet*, but not the work it railed against, Robert Persons' tract on recusancy, *[C]ertayne Reasons why Catholiques Refuse to Goe to Church*.¹²¹

Despite the apparent absence of Catholic martyrology in Tresham's library, he owned John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, the hallmark of Protestant martyrology, and one of its sources, the *De bello civili gallico religionis cause suscepto* [*On the French Civil War, Begun for Religion's Sake*] of Richardus Dinothus, whose account of the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre Foxe borrowed. Foxe's book was a favourite of the Elizabethan regime; every cathedral was supposed to have a copy and many parish churches purchased it. It may have provided Tresham with inspiration to sustain his resistance, subverting the book's evangelical purpose.¹²²

Et amicorum

The passage of books between kin, coreligionists, and educational patrons was a significant feature of the cultivation of the library at Deene. Examining the provenance of the books and uncovering the personal stories behind them reveals the importance of book-collecting and reading to Tresham and his circle, the status that books held in gentry culture more broadly, and

¹²⁰ BQ, *Library*, no. 239. On the debate between Beza and Erastus, see C. Gunnoe, *Thomas Erastus and the Palatinate: a Renaissance Physician in the Second Reformation* (Leiden, 2011), pp. 202-5.

¹²¹ BQ, *Library*, no. 710. It was a response to a pseudonymous R. Persons, *A Brief Discours Contayning Reasons why Catholiques Refuse to Goe to Church* (Douai [East Ham], 1580) STC 19394, ARCR.ii 616. See also C. Marsh, *The Family of Love in English Society, 1550-1630* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 110, and P. Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (Oxford, 1990), p. 14.

¹²² BQ, *Library*, no. 743. This observation is also noted in Walsham, 'Domme Preachers', p. 123. For an example of the use of martyrology to sustain and defend, see pp. 257-60, below. A fuller biography is at p. 228 n. 92. For Foxe see E. Evenden and T. Freeman, *Religion and the Book in Early Modern England: the Making of Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs'* (Cambridge, 2011).

the otherwise unrecorded relationships that existed between individuals. These relationships are epitomised by the popular ownership inscription favoured by Tresham: *et amicorum*. Meaning that the book was a possession of its owner ‘and of [his/her] friends’, it made a promise that it would be shared.¹²³ It is found in the majority of Tresham’s books, and many of those owned by Brudenell. For Catholic families whose ancestors had led lives of piety and service, books could keep alive tradition and prestige. The first book which passed from Tresham to Brudenell was Giovanni Bosio, *Gli statuti della sacra religione di S. Giovanni Gierosolimitano* [*The Statutes of the Holy Order of St. John of Jerusalem*], representative of Tresham’s grandfather and namesake, sometime Prior of the restored Order of St. John of Jerusalem under Mary I. The Bosio was evidently a source of great pride in the devotional and social pedigree of the family.¹²⁴ Begun by Tresham and continued by Brudenell, the shared title-page inscription in Thomas de Hibernia, *Flores doctorum*, testifies to the affection shared by father and son-in-law. At the bottom it reads ‘1.^o febr. 1583. Tho: Tres-ame prisoner. [in Tresham’s hand] &/ Tho Brudenell per filiā filius & Virtutis tuæ Admirator [Thomas Brudenell, son through your daughter & admirer of your virtue] } 1611 [in Brudenell’s hand]’ and up the right-hand-side Tresham, styled as ‘T.T. pr[isoner].’ He left Deuteronomy 32:7 as a legacy for his putative heir:

Memento dierum antiquorum, cogita generationes singulas: interroga patrem tuum, et annuntiabit tibi: majores tuos, et dicent tibi.

Remember the days of old, think upon every generation: ask thy father, and he will declare to thee: thy elders and they will tell thee.¹²⁵

The passage of William Tresham’s books into the library at Deene as a safe haven illustrates one of the ways in which books moved between collectors. In a society where neighbours were often relatives, where two families had been entwined over generations by marriages between them, the lines between friends and family were blurred. Families with long associations, whether by marriage or proximity, perpetuated bonds in various ways, including the exchange of books. Tresham’s Catholic ancestors seem to have been a minor source for his books, but no evidence

¹²³ See p. 210 n. 34, above.

¹²⁴ BQ, *Library*, pp. 56–7, no. 301.

¹²⁵ Title-page pictured in *ibid.*, p. 51.

has yet come to light of books coming to Tresham through probate. Tresham received a book that had once been owned by his great-aunt, Joan, sometime nun at Syon, and which came to him from Sir Thomas Colwell, a family acquaintance. The inscription '*Sum Thomae Colwell & amicorum quondam Johanne Monialis de Syon*' in Dom Pietro di San Fridiano, *Fundamento della vita Christiana* [*Foundations of the Christian Life*] tells of the book's history and the connections of friendship between its owners.¹²⁶ The others recorded the close connections between families whose names have been central to this study, for they are members of Tresham's circle: John Perkins, *A Profitable Booke ... Treating of the Lawes of England*, was marked by William Tresham and had previously been owned by George Vavasor, a relation, as had Joannes Caesarius, *Dialectica ... accessit huic Ioannis Murellii Isagoge* [*Logic...to which is Added the Introduction of John Murellus*]; Claudio Corte, *Il Cavallerizzo* [*Horsemanship*] was from William Catesby; Machiavelli, *Discours ... sur la premiere decade de Tite Live* [*Discourses on the First Decade of Titus Livius*] was once owned by a Throckmorton; a herbal by Carolus Stephanus came from Vaux.¹²⁷ Ownership marks by Thomas Brudenell describe growing closeness with his putative in-laws. In an exquisite volume of Livy, Brudenell copied the form and content of Tresham's inscription '*Tresami et amicorum*', as '*Tho: Brudenelli & amicorum suorum & Tresamorum* [of Thomas Brudenell & of his friends & those of Tresham]'. Tresham gave one of his brother William's books, on military strategy in Italian, to a grateful Brudenell, who wrote '*Quondam Tho Tresame militis postea Ao: 1600: Tho: Brudenell* [Sometime of Thomas Tresham knight, after 1600 of Thomas Brudenell]'.¹²⁸ Possibly, Tresham was helping Brudenell to improve his Italian. Despite having been exchanged between faithful coreligionists from established Catholic families, these titles symbolise the concerns of the gentry: rhetoric, dialectic, English law, ancient politics and history, horsemanship, and botany. Tresham's books narrate the relationships of those closest to him, but also serve to underline the social ties and

¹²⁶ *ibid.*, no. 619.

¹²⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 84-5; nos. 1392 (Perkins); 372 (Caesarius); 523 (Corte); 1158 (Machiavelli); 1686 (Stephanus).

¹²⁸ *ibid.*, p. 57.

responsibilities which drew them together, alongside the faith which was not always at the forefront of their interactions.

Reading and marking

The study of marginalia to inform the history of reading has influenced scholars of the early modern period significantly.¹²⁹ Marginalia — loosely defined here to include marks and underlining in the text as well as material in the margins — can be revelatory when they indicate favourite passages, a reader's response, and systems for cross-referencing or committing to memory. They can be potent vehicles for a reader's engagement with the text, and with the book as a material object. Their potential, however, rests on the volume's condition, their prevalence, and their relevance to the text or obvious context. Tresham's reading follows the pattern observed by Richard Cust in his study of Sir John Newdigate, that unlike the gentlemen of the 1620s, men of Tresham's generation had an 'outlook [which] was shaped much more by the Stoical belief in self-improvement and positive reform through active political engagement'.¹³⁰ It is only possible here to examine a few examples of Tresham's direct engagement with the texts he owned, but the analysis demonstrates the ways in which Tresham read to help think about his position in relation to Church and state, as well as to learn. The fruits of this approach are suggestive, and invite further study.

¹²⁹ L. Jardine and A. Grafton, 'Studied for Action: how Gabriel Harvey Read his Livy', *P&P*, 129 (1990), pp. 30–78; R. Darnton, 'First Steps Toward a History of Reading', *The Australian Journal of French Studies*, 23 (1986), pp. 5–30; K. Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: the Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (New Haven and London, 2000); A. Blair, 'Note Taking as an Art of Transmission', *Critical Inquiry*, 31 (2004), pp. 85–107; W. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia, PA, 2008); T.P. Anderson and R. Netzley, *Acts of Reading: Interpretation, Reading Practices, and the Idea of the Book in John Foxe's Actes and Monuments* (Newark, 2010); A. Cambers, 'Readers' Marks and Religious Practice', in J. N. King (ed.), *Tudor Books and Readers: Materiality and the Construction of Meaning* (Cambridge and New York, 2010), pp. 211–31; J. Halls, 'Aristotle and Dudley: what can Books Tell us About their Owners?', *The Historian*, 108 (2010), pp. 24–27; G. Baker and A. McGruer (eds.), *Readers, Audiences and Coterie in Early Modern England* (Newcastle, 2006); S. Orgel, *The Reader in the Book: A Study of Spaces and Traces* (Oxford, 2015); See also the recent project: *The Archaeology of Reading*, online.

¹³⁰ R. Cust, 'Reading for Magistracy: the Mental World of Sir John Newdigate' in J. F. McDiarmid (ed.), *The Monarchical Republic of Early Modern England: Essays in Response to Patrick Collinson* (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 181–200, at p. 184. For another model, see Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions*.

Some of Tresham's books mark particular moments in his life. He inscribed the title page of his eight-volume set of Bede's complete works with '*Aug. 18 - 1584 - Tresame prisoner*', and around the arch at the top of the image the inscription '*Miri; ecce; crateram: T.T.M* [Wonderful; behold; the vessel: Thomas Tresham Knight]' declared the wisdom the work contained alongside the identity of its owner. Another work read in prison, Cicero's *Epistolarum familiarum* bears the title page inscription '*mens reponit onus. Tho. Tresame prisoner Feb. 15. 1582*', quoting a mournful phrase from Catullus, *Paene insularum*: 'O what is more beautiful than loosened cares, when the mind lays down a burden, and tired by foreign toil we come to our own home, and lie upon [our] longed-for bed'.¹³¹ In his copy of another work by Cicero, excerpts of the *Epistole* (in Italian) from the Aldine press at Venice, Tresham inscribed his ownership on the title page with '*principiis consentiant exitus. Tho Tresame pris[oner]*'. This was itself a quotation from the work, the final clause of Cicero's plea to his recipient to 'liberate the commonwealth forever from despotic rule. *Let the end chime with the beginning*'.¹³² Other volumes illustrate some of the ways he used his books. Tresham wrote *aides memoires* in the margins such as '*hoc notandum*' and cross-references such as '*video Constantin ...*' in his copy of a work by Nicholas Sander celebrating the bloody response of the Duke of Alba to Dutch iconoclasm in 1568. In this case, Tresham was noting a particularly shocking instance of religious violence, and the example may indicate a sense of conflict about the acts committed by Catholic rulers. His cross-reference took him back to Constantine's suppression of paganism. Other textual interactions were more prosaic; occasionally, he wrote corrective notes, such as '*non apparet in psalmo 98*' next to an apparently misquoted verse.¹³³

¹³¹ BQ, *Library*, no. 463, Catullus, poem 31 '*Paene insularum*', in *Catullus. Tibullus. Pervigilium Veneris*, trans. F. W. Cornish et al., Loeb Classical Library, 6 (Cambridge, MA, 1913).

¹³² BQ, *Library*, no. 465, Cicero. *Letters to Friends*, vol. 3, *Letters 281-435*, ed. and trans. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, Loeb Classical Library, 230 (Cambridge, MA, 2001), p. 173.

¹³³ BQ, *Library*, no. 1586, Nicholas Sander, *De Typica et Honoraria Sacrarum Imaginum Adoratione Libri Duo* (Louvain, J. Foulerus, 1569) pp. 9v, 75r, and 97v, held at Deene Park; T.F. Mayer, 'Sander [Sanders], Nicholas (c. 1530-1581)', *ODNB*.

Tresham's books do not always provide insight into his thinking. One of his Latin Bibles is heavily-annotated, but reveals little about how Tresham used it in his devotional life. The title page bears the salutary '*sit nomen domini benedictum* [blessed be the name of the Lord]' and a few pages in there is a more strongly Catholic statement which reads like, and perhaps was, a motto: '*Catholicus fortis modestus* [Catholic, steadfast, modest]'. Some details in Tresham's Latin marginal notes have been lost in trimming the leaves for binding. His general scheme was to summarise the content of the pages — the prefatory leaves abridged the Creation, for example — and the annotated pages bear only one or two notes each, though they take up much of the page. Several books are clean of annotations, however, implying certain preferences. In the Old Testament, Genesis, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, 1-4 Kings, 1 Esdras, Tobias, Daniel, and Malachi are annotated, but the rest of the books are left clean. In the New Testament, Acts, 2 Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, 1 Timothy, Titus, Philemon, 2-3 John, and Jude are blank. Two books in particular stand out as receiving the most attention, though the notes are summaries: Judges and Revelation.

The Gospels receive only a handful of notes each, but one annotation is exceptional. It reveals, strikingly, Tresham's critical views of the state, a departure from the avowed loyalism of his statements and the associated absences of English polemic in his library. Though there is no evidence for his ownership of it, he quoted, significantly, from William Allen's *A True, Sincere, and Modest Defence* in the margin of the Gospel according to St. Luke (chapter 22), the only note in English. The quotation condemns tyranny and makes the division between spiritual and temporal power rejected by the Elizabethan state: 'all tyrannical domination used amonge princes is forbid to all Christian magistrates both spiritual and temperall and not any

superiority, or regiment over others'.¹³⁴ Here was Tresham taking Allen's criticisms and perhaps applying them to his own situation. Allen had already invited the connection, when he called Tresham and Vaux 'the true noble confessors of Christ' for hearing Mass in Lord Vaux's cell in the Fleet 1582.¹³⁵

Conclusion

The emergent picture of Thomas Tresham through his books is one of erudition and generosity, but also of a man actively engaged in the religious politics of his age. There are glimpses of frustration, moments when in private contemplation he raged against the government which continued to punish him, most noticeably the quotation of Allen in his Bible. His books include textual recourses of believers of both confessions: Scripture, patristic authors and commentaries, and medieval divines. The lack of consolatory literature is perhaps the hardest absence to understand, in the light of Tresham's experience, but he perhaps found solace in other forms — through Scripture, through devotional art like his crucifixion scene, by donating books for the education of future generations of Catholics, and in the buildings that are the stone testaments to his faith. A discussion of legacy is fixed by hindsight, and demands caution: we know that Tresham was in his final decade when he donated books to St. John's and transferred his library to the next generation at Deene, but he may not have done — though if he was in poor health following years of imprisonments, he may have suspected that time was short. Yet in both cases Tresham was looking forward. He was a prolific and informed collector who made a concerted effort to ensure the superlative education of a new English Catholic generation: scholarship, as well as piety, was to further the Catholic cause in England.

¹³⁴ *Biblia Sacra* (Antwerp, Plantin, 1580), pp. 691-2, held at Deene Park. The relevant verses are underlined and marked with a cross in the margin: '*Reges gentium dominantur eorum: et qui potestem habent super eos, benefici vocantur. Vos autem non sic: sed qui major est in vobis fiat sicut minor: et qui praecessor est, sicut ministrator*' (Luke 22:25-6). Tresham quotes from William Allen's response to William Cecil's *Execution of Justice*: W. Allen, *A True, Sincere and Modest Defence, of English Catholiques that Suffer for their Faith both at Home and Abrode* (Rouen, 1584), p. 104.

¹³⁵ See pp. 109-10, above.

VI 'FLOWERS OF FATHERS'

In the first decade of the seventeenth century a devout Catholic layman compiled a vast two-volume manuscript of 1,745 folio pages. Its contents might be termed 'encyclopaedic', indexing the traditions and doctrines of the Catholic Church with a host of miscellaneous material besides, though it is not exhaustive, not finished, and its creator is enigmatic.¹ It was compiled in the first decade of the seventeenth-century following the accession of James I and the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, assembled in order to defend Catholics and their faith against the assaults of Protestant heresy, to console Catholic readers and to encourage their continued resistance to Protestantism. Material in the dedicatory epistles and in musical inclusions suggest that the manuscript had a domestic purpose. Perhaps because its size and range makes it seem a forbidding source, the manuscript has not yet received the substantial scholarly attention it deserves, and consequently its witness to the English Catholic community and the ways through which it found expression have not been recognised.² Uncertainty about the work's authorship, preventing an ascription of the compilation to a prominent member of the Catholic gentry, has perhaps meant that it has not been used substantially in the studies of important Catholic families which are otherwise so valuable to those who seek to better

¹ Previous commentators on the manuscript have also used this term: G. Kilroy, *Edmund Campion: Memory and Transcription* (Aldershot, 2005), p. 14 called it 'a Catholic encyclopaedia'; P. Jensen, *Religion and Revelry in Shakespeare's Festive World* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 72 described it as 'an encyclopaedia of English Catholic belief'.

² A notable exception is Kilroy, *Edmund Campion*, chs. 1 and 5. Brief references are made in: J. Childs, *God's Traitors: Terror and Faith in Elizabethan England* (2014), pp. 5, 76, 114-117, 119, 122-3, 350-1; 378 n. 5; A. Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy, and the English Literary Imagination, 1558-1660* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 12; idem, *Oral Culture and Catholicism in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 125; C. Holmes, 'Witchcraft and Possession at the Accession of James I: the Publication of Samuel Harsnett's *A Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures*', in J. Newton and J. Bath (eds.), *Witchcraft and the Act of 1604* (Leiden and Boston, 2008), pp. 69-90, at pp. 72-3; Jensen, *Religion and Revelry*, p. 72. Dr. Emilie Murphy has focused on the musical elements of the manuscript: E.K.M. Murphy, 'Adoramus te Christe: Music and post-Reformation English Catholic Domestic Piety' in J. Doran et al. (eds.), *Religion and the Household*, 50, *SCH* (Woodbridge, 2014), pp. 240-53; idem, 'Musical Self-Fashioning and the "Theatre of Death" in Late Elizabethan and Jacobean England', *Renaissance Studies*, 30/3 (2016), pp. 410-29, at pp. 411, 420, 425-9.

understand English society, culture, and politics in this period.³ Coming from the household into which Tresham's library was incorporated and containing material relating to Tresham and his circle, the manuscript provides an unusual opportunity to examine the perception of Tresham by other lay Catholics in the years immediately following his death. This chapter re-introduces this rich source to the scholarly community, makes a new argument for the authorship and dating of the work, and treats in depth the material relating to Tresham and other pertinent content.

I: Materiality and Bibliography

Provenance and Composition

The Bodleian Library purchased the manuscript at auction on 20 February 1969 from the Brudenell family of Deene Park, Northamptonshire, and it has since been referred to as the 'Brudenell Manuscript'.⁴ It is not the only manuscript owned, or once owned, by the family, and this analysis therefore adopts a more specific name, the 'Jollet Manuscript'. It is clear that the Brudenells owned the manuscript in 1653 and that it was still in their possession and in use in around 1678.⁵ The pastedowns of the second volume contain a document pertaining to the recusancy of Mary Brudenell (1561-1606) dating from 1603 to 1606. A receipt found in the back matter of the same volume situates the manuscript at Deene on 3 February [16]78, referring to sums paid for local trips to Desborough and Oundle. It is addressed to Mr. Thomas Dunbar at Deene, though biographical details for him are uncertain. Another Dunbar, Ann, wrote a letter to her husband which is to be found with the receipt. That she was the wife of Thomas is likely

³ M.C. Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion, c. 1550-1640* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 237 n. 130 cites the manuscript as the principal source for the respective speeches of the first and second viscounts Montagu in the Parliaments of 1559 and 1604.

⁴ Hofmann and Freeman, *Catalogue Twenty-One: English Historical Manuscripts Before 1700* (Jan. 1968). I am grateful to Ted Hofmann for sending me a copy of the catalogue, and to H. R. Woudhuysen.

⁵ *Summary Catalogue of Post-Medieval Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford. Acquisitions 1916-1975* (Oxford, 1991), ii, 721, no. 46532.

but not confirmed. A third Mary (1610-85), daughter of Sir Thomas and Mary Brudenell, married Sir John Constable, second Viscount Dunbar (d. c. 1688) in January 1636, though there were no relatives called Anne or Thomas.

The work is a unique example of manuscript publication and represents a substantial endeavour undertaken by an unlikely compiler. It sets down for posterity the central doctrines and traditions of the Catholic Church as received through the New Testament, the early Church, and Catholic divines. Glosses on verses from Scripture are copied from the Rheims New Testament, often quoting the Church Fathers.⁶ A fascinating array of contemporary material illustrating the ways in which the central tenets of the Catholic faith had been practised complemented this body of theology and ecclesiology. The work was intended to prove consolatory to its anonymous dedicatee, but would also stir him or her to persevere in adherence to the Church, though the temporal penalties were great. To this end, the compiler included several lists of names memorializing Catholics who had suffered martyrdom and other forms of persecution.⁷ In and of itself, the manuscript is also a vehicle for resistance in textual form, and the compiler's determination to shield his identity is an understandable act of self-preservation.

Due to the particular context of its creation and the editorial decisions taken by its compiler, the work might be read as a manifesto for English Catholicism after the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot in November 1605 and the upheavals which followed. The manuscript was compiled with the experience of Catholic persecution under Elizabeth I which was found to have continued under James I despite initial hopes of toleration. With the end of temporal suffering now indeterminate, this period of persecution was redefined. Instead of turning his reader's thoughts to the restoration of Catholicism, the compiler characterized the age as the precursor to the Second Coming, when Christ and His angels would bring their followers to joyful

⁶ See, for example, Bodl. MS Eng. th. b. 1, fol. 11r (hereafter Jollet MS).

⁷ *ibid.* b.2, fols. 103r-137r (martyrs) and 395r-413r (victims of persecution). See appendices IV and V.

resurrection and eternal fulfilment. Such a promise was intended to diminish earthly suffering and focus the reader's attention on the rewards of paradise. This statement raises an important point about millenarian thought in this period: scholars have often attributed it to trends in reformed theology, particularly Puritanism, but it can evidently be found in English Catholicism, too; one of the books of the Bible annotated by Tresham was Revelation.⁸

Form

The manuscript consists of 1,745 folio pages, of which 190 are blanks, across two volumes. Each volume measures 44 by 29cm but neither retains its original binding.⁹ As such, some marginal glosses are missing where the leaves have been trimmed. The main body of the text is within ruled compartments in a continuous secretary hand, with the same writer using an italic hand for marginal notes and some names and quotations. There are two occasional annotating hands which differ from the main hand, but their contribution is sporadic and restricted to a handful of minor interventions. The appearance of the writing on the page makes it unlikely that the books were bought ready-bound because lines of text do not slope greatly or show changes in spacing towards the inside margins. Plausibly, the individual gatherings were bound together before the text was added, and then all sewn together. The volumes have been rebound too tightly to ascertain the size of the gatherings themselves without causing damage. The work contains several illuminations and images, pasted in or copied from earlier works, and ruled compartments, all of which contributes to its resemblance to late medieval manuscripts — a link to the pre-Reformation Church. Rubrication is extensive though not always consistent, and some miniatures and historiated initials have been pasted in.¹⁰ The manuscript is unfinished,

⁸ See p. 240, above. For Catholicism and millenarianism see, for example, K.R. Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain, 1530-1695* (Oxford, 1979); C. Stoakes, *English Catholic Eschatology, 1558-1603* (unpublished PhD thesis, Univ. Cambridge, 2016).

⁹ Hofmann and Freeman, *Catalogue Twenty-One* describes a contemporary binding in a poor state of repair; it was repaired and rebound by its purchasers (see below). The number of pages given takes into account mis-numbering in the second volume and corrects for this. Other accounts follow the numbering given in the manuscript: 1,795 pages.

¹⁰ *Summary Catalogue*, ii, 721-2, nos. 46532-3. See, for example, Jollet MS b. 1, fol. 41r (coloured initial) and b. 2, fol. 649r (historiated initial).

though the compiler's prefatory material suggests that he had a completed text in mind. What is left undone, too, suggests accident rather than design. Absent initials, incomplete dates and names, and faint outlines of initials where larger figures had been planned all lend themselves to time-related constraints.¹¹ The hand is probably not authorial. Slips in biographical accuracy and unfinished rubrication suggest a scribe unfamiliar with the content and accustomed to completing the decoration in phases. The hand is extremely consistent, with crossings out restricted to one or two occasions, and the overall presentation is unelaborate but very well-executed, indicating a professional hand.¹² Images pasted in include a crucifixion scene which has come loose, revealing a portion of the Preface to the Blessed Virgin Mary from the Propers of the Mass on the reverse, and there are several blank spaces with remnants of paste where images have been lost.¹³

Dating

The Bodleian *Summary Catalogue* dates the composition of the manuscript between 1605 and 1608, but there is good reason to adjust these dates.¹⁴ Watermark evidence suggests that the paper used was from Narbonne between 1604 and 1611.¹⁵ Internal evidence — namely references to contemporary events and the dates ascribed to works quoted — dates the content as late as 1609, and a reference to Robert Persons as still living gives a *terminus ad quem* of April 1610.¹⁶ Eyewitness accounts date from 1585 to 1606 and the contributions titled '*auctor huius operis*

¹¹ E.g. *ibid.* b. 1, fols. 3r; 155r; 269v; b. 2 fols. 403r and 413r.

¹² For an introduction to the literature on scribal culture, see H.R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1558-1640* (Oxford, 1996); P. Beal, *In Praise of Scribes: Manuscripts and their Makers in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1998); H. Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1993).

¹³ Jollet MS b. 1, fol. 289r.

¹⁴ *Summary Catalogue*, ii, 721, no. 46532. This dating is taken up in Kilroy, *Edmund Campion*, p. 13. Hofmann and Freeman, *Catalogue Twenty-One*, gives the compilation dates as 1600-1608.

¹⁵ C.M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes: Dictionnaire Historique des Marques du Papier dès leur Apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1907), ii, p. 655, no. 13216.

¹⁶ Jollet MS b. 1, fol. 581r (Theophilus Higg[on]s, 1609); fol. 569r.

[author of this work]' or variations thereof are from 1600-1608.¹⁷ Assuming that the work was compiled soon after Tresham's death, recorded with unusual precision and touching delicacy, on 11 September 1605, a tentative start date offered here is late 1605.¹⁸ In order to take into account the time required to compile a work of this size this analysis will work within the largest possible window: late 1605 to early 1610.

Contents

The collection indexes material explicating Catholic doctrines and traditions in the form of 93 'books' in alphabetical order, from 'Of Almes' to 'Of Zeale'.¹⁹ Jollet adhered to the same five-part structure in each of the books, explaining that he had called for his defence five 'squadrons': New Testament verses; glosses on them from the 'most learned devynes of the Colledge Rheimes'; Church Councils; Church Fathers and theologians; and the quotation of Protestants, 'a methode very neccessarie for theis tymes'.²⁰ Though Jollet took his marginal glosses from the Rheims New Testament, he made his own translations of Scripture from the Vulgate, which implies a dim view of the not un-controversial decision to produce a vernacular translation of the Bible but an acceptance that comprehension was key.²¹ The decision to give the verses in translation directs us to the purpose of compilation: to provide what we might crudely term a 'resource' for a lay domestic audience whose Latin may be imperfect. The length of each book varies hugely. The shortest entries cover only a few pages, whereas the longest, 'Of the Eucharist', runs to 150 pages, though some of these are blank.

¹⁷ Hofmann and Freeman, *Catalogue Twenty-One*. Contributions by the compiler are found in Jollet MS b. 1, fols. 83r ('*Author huius collectionis*'); 159v ('*Author. huius collectionis*'); 229v ('*Author huius operis A. 1601*'); 543v ('*Author. Huius. Operis. Tho.*'); 579v ('*Aucthor A. 1600*') and b.2, fols. 49r ('*Author huius operis. A. 1600*'); 197v ('*Author A^o1608*'); 431r ('*Auctor*'); and 493r ('*Aucthor*').

¹⁸ Jollet MS, b. 1, fol. 571v.

¹⁹ Appendix VI is a summary of the contents.

²⁰ Jollet MS, b.1, fol. 9r-v.

²¹ See A. Walsham, 'Unclasping the Book? Post-Reformation English Catholicism and the Vernacular Bible', *JBS*, 42/2 (2003), pp. 141-66; L.E.C. Wooding, *Rethinking Catholicism in Reformation England* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 183-7.

Contemporary material is chiefly to be found in the book 'Of Things Contingent', whose organisation departs from the aforementioned structure. The contents are outlined here to illustrate contemporary Catholic experiences and influences which were duly commemorated. It contains, in this order: a summary of the examination of Vaux, Tresham, and Mr. Edward Griffin by Sir Walter Mildmay; an account of a disputation in the Fleet between Tresham and Doctor Edmund Lilly of Balliol College, Oxford, with the text written either side of Tresham's bookplate; a fuller account of a disputation between Tresham and Lilly; and a letter from Tresham to Lilly. Key Parliamentary speeches relevant to the relationship of the government to English Catholics follow: the speech of the first Viscount Lord Montagu in the Parliament of 1559; the speech of Montagu's grandson and heir, Anthony Maria Browne (1574–1629), in the 1604 Parliament; the speech of John Feckenham in the 1559 Parliament; and the sermon given by John White at the funeral of Mary I.²² Curiously, the manuscript is our main source for the text of the speech given by the first Viscount Montagu. The speech, opposing the introduction of statutes pressing Catholics to conform and lamenting the attendant erosion of Catholic worship, is one of the landmarks of Elizabeth's reign. T.E. Hartley, in his foundational *Proceedings in the Parliaments of Elizabeth I*, took the text of Montagu's speech from the manuscript, a decade before the publication of the relevant Bodleian *Summary Catalogue*.²³

The book 'Of Things Contingent' proceeds with a tract by Stephen Gardiner entitled *A Discovery of Ceirteyne Vanities and Lewde Phantasies against the Catholique Churche our Mother: w[hi]ch are not Prooved by the Professours Thereof*. Two letters of Stephen Gardiner,

²² Jollet MS b. 2, fols. 821r–897v. See H.E. Salter and Mary D. Lobel (eds.), *The Victoria History of the County of Oxford*, vol. 3: *The University of Oxford* (1954), s.v. 'Balliol College', pp. 82–95; J.D. Elzinga, 'Browne, Anthony, first Viscount Montagu (1528–92)', *ODNB*; W. Cobbett, T.C. Hansard *et al.*, *The Parliamentary History of England from the Earliest Period to the year 1803*, 36 vols. (1806–20, 1806), i, pp. 656–89 (1559), 1042–44 (1604). C.S. Knighton, 'Feckenham [Howman], John (c. 1510–1584)'; K. Carleton, 'White, John (1509/10–1560)', *ODNB*.

²³ T.E. Hartley (ed.), *Proceedings in the Parliaments of Elizabeth I: 1558–1581* (Leicester, 1981), pp. 7–11; see also T.J. McCann, 'The Parliamentary Speech of Viscount Montagu against the Act of Supremacy, 1559', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 108 (1970), pp. 50–7; Questier, *Catholicism and Community*, pp. 117–123.

hitherto unknown to scholars, are to be found in the manuscript.²⁴ Further documents in this book include questions posed on the Sacrament; an account of a miracle at Darlington; a letter from the priest-spy Anthony Tyrrell to Elizabeth I; an account of events at the house of the Spanish Ambassador on 17 August 1606; a response to the pamphlet *Romish Positions*; and an indulgence granted by Pope Boniface IX.²⁵ Also of interest but found in another 'book' is an account of the heavenly appearance of the face of the Jesuit martyr Henry Garnet in a blood-soaked piece of straw collected from his execution. Such examples served to confirm the beliefs of Catholic readers, proved their authenticity to detractors, and to stun non-believers into the sorts of internal deliberations which might precipitate conversion.²⁶

II: Authorship

The first commentators on the manuscript have taken the compiler's efforts to conceal the identity of his patron and the subversive nature of his work as evidence of his pseudonymity, though recent scholars have cast doubt upon this.²⁷ It has been conjectured that Tresham was the author of the manuscript's content, which was then transcribed by his daughter Mary Brudenell after his death, but the identification of Mary Brudenell as scribe does not fit the manuscript's chronology.²⁸ Mary married Thomas Brudenell, heir to Deene, in the summer of

²⁴ S.J. Weinrich, 'Two Unpublished Letters of Stephen Gardiner, August-September 1547 (Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Eng. th. b. 2)', *JEH*, 67/4 (2016), pp. 819-33.

²⁵ C.D.C. Armstrong, 'Gardiner, Stephen (c. 1495x8-1555)', *ODNB*; P. Holmes, 'Tyrrell, Anthony (1552-1615)', *ibid*; see also J. Strype, *Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1824), iii, pt. 1, pp. 615-639; T.M. McCoog, 'Garnett, Henry (1555-1606)', *ODNB*.

²⁶ Jollet MS b.2, fols. 135r-v (Garnet). Kilroy, *Edmund Campion*, pp. 15-16, 8-22, 24, 30, 36, discusses the accounts of martyrdom in the manuscript. For Garnet's straw, see J. Gerard, *The Condition of Catholics under James I: Father Gerard's narrative of the Gunpowder Plot*, ed. J. Morris (1871), p. 297; H. Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, 7 vols. (1875-83), v, pp. 127-8, 199-201, 304.

²⁷ Jollet as pseudonym: *Summary Catalogue*, ii, 721, no. 46532; Kilroy, *Edmund Campion* argues for Jollet as pseudonymous and Tresham as the author pp. 13-15. Hofmann and Freeman, *Catalogue Twenty-One* has Jollet as the author and describes his work as an 'autograph manuscript'; Childs, *God's Traitors*, p. 378, n. 5 and Murphy, 'Adoramus te, Christe', pp. 244-6 both suggest that Jollet may be the author's real name; Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy, and the English Literary Imagination*, p. 12 refers to 'Thomas Jollet's theological manuscript'.

²⁸ Kilroy, *Edmund Campion*, p. 13.

1605; her father died in September of that year. A document in the pastedowns of the second volume concerned the recusancy of a Mary Brudenell of Deene, yet this Mary was not Thomas Brudenell's wife but his aunt; the document covers the period 1603 to 1606 — including two years before Thomas Brudenell's marriage — until the death of Mary Brudenell (1561-1606), wife of John Brudenell. It was on the death of his uncle John that Thomas Brudenell inherited Deene in 1606.

It is argued here that while the compiler intended to remain anonymous, two inscriptions by an owner of the volume revealed his identity, and the argument for authorship posited here thus rests on palaeography and chronology. The first inscription which concerns us is at the back of the second volume in an italic hand not found in the main body of the manuscript. It reads:

'Scriptor qualis erat si quis de nomine quærat [/] Cunctis noscatur Thomas Jollet sic nominatur

[Of what kind the writer was, if someone should ask about [his] name / let it come to be known [to] all, Thomas Jollet, thus he is called].²⁹ The hand is found only in another inscription at the

beginning of the first volume claiming ownership: 'This and its second tome doe belong to me -

S.D.V. aprill the, 27. ano, Domini 1653'.³⁰ The identical hand and style, and the fact that both

inscriptions rhyme, suggests that S.D.V. — plausibly a formulation of Second Viscount Dunbar

in Latin with the position of 'V' shifted to rhyme with 'three' — revealed the author's identity

while recording his ownership of the volumes.³¹ This could not have been Jollet's intention.

While moments of self-reference pepper the work, they uphold his anonymity. Jollet introduced

his own contributions in the same style as those of other authorities, with a title or name and a

date at most, but never gave his surname.

²⁹ Jollet MS b. 2, fol. 949r; Murphy, 'Adoramus te Christe', p. 244; Kilroy, *Memory and Transcription*, p. 13.

³⁰ *ibid.* b. 1; *Summary Catalogue*, vol. 2, p. 721, no. 46532. Date only in one volume.

³¹ John Constable (1615-88), second viscount Dunbar, married Mary Brudenell, the daughter of Sir Thomas Brudenell and Mary Tresham, in or before January 1637, Cokayne, *Peerage*, iv, p. 513.

The book 'Of Conversion' sheds light on Jollet's own circumstances. In a section where he answered Protestant claims to be the True Church under the headings '*positio*' and '*oppositio*', he wrote twice that he did not have access to his books and that this had shaped his choice of content. This appears to apply only to this short section of the manuscript, however, where he omitted to quote his sources and referred to the vehicle for his opinions as 'so narrowe a leafe': a claim to brevity which cannot be made of the rest of the work. He argued that being deprived of access to the Fathers undermined his opponents' cause, and that if his detractors wanted a fair debate then they would have to set him at liberty:

And although reasons are like vnto peeces of *Arras* which being crumppled together have no evidence of bountie or proportion: in which regarde I might refuse to bring them forthe in so narrowe a leafe; where I cannot be suffered to haue helpe of my bookes to vnfolde them: yet because this very interdicting of the Auncyent ffathers of the Church to haue accesse vnto mee, is a playne conviction that they are guiltie to the rottenness of their cause, & have the ffathers in iealousie: I will therfore send forth my reasons bounde & vnordered as they are after their pursuyte, that if they offer to make a stande & to strike: they shall with their streakes but vnloose their bondes & of necessitie giue mee occasion to enlarge my meaninge & bestreight their cause the more.³²

Taking Jollet's separation from his books as evidence that he wrote this section of the manuscript while in prison, it is possible that he compiled the whole work while without liberty, and that he managed to 'obtaine so muche favoure, as to haue the vse of [his] books'. Nevertheless, this supposition must remain conjectural.³³ We learn from this section that Jollet was a convert, and that he 'defended openly in Cambridge, 10 poynts of Catholique oppinion' — perhaps Edmund Campion's *Rationes Decem* — 'before I was a Catholique', but there is no record of anyone of his name having attended the university.³⁴

Having established that the name Thomas Jollet is unlikely to be pseudonymous, it makes sense to move towards identification. Though no obvious candidates present themselves, the consultation of official records of Catholics yields some results. A tentative candidate, one

³² Jollet MS b.1, fol. 237r.

³³ *ibid.*, fol. 293v.

³⁴ *ibid.*, fol. 293r. This does not mean that he did not attend, however.

Thomas 'Jollett' of Edmonton appears in the Middlesex Sessions Records under the Process Register of Indictments, Gaol Delivery Record and General Sessions of the Peace for recusancy between June 1608 and March 1619. More shockingly, his wife, Helen, was delated in Michaelmas 1619 for scandalously taking the body of her recusant husband and burying it — ineffectively, with a leg protruding out of the earth — at Hornsey cemetery. Jollett's social status was seemingly fluid. He was described as a yeoman in 1608 and 1609, but as a gentleman between 1615 and 1619, excepting 1618, when he was listed as a yeoman again.³⁵ Jollett of Edmonton was active during the years of the manuscript's compilation, and was known to the authorities as a determined recusant. Nothing else is known of his life, of how he moved from yeoman to gentleman; of his connection to Deene Park; of how he knew Tresham; or whether he came across any of the missionary priests whose efforts are recorded in his manuscript. If new evidence should come to light, it may be possible to confirm Jollett of Edmonton as the compiler, or to exclude him entirely. The unanswered questions are problematic, but they are doors waiting to be opened, not blocked up for ever. In the absence of this evidence, he will be treated, conjecturally, as a potential candidate for identification as the same Thomas Jollet whose authorship was recorded, against his wishes, by an early owner of the manuscript.³⁶

Tresham

Material within the manuscript pertains to Tresham and his Catholic kin, particularly Vaux. The presence of Tresham throughout the manuscript has led some modern commentators to suppose that Tresham had a hand in the early stages of its conception, even though he had died by the time the material came to be set down in this form, but the preceding argument has cast doubt on this. If the manuscript had been compiled *in memoriam*, why was Tresham not hymned in the prefatory epistles? Nevertheless, as a witness to the lives of Tresham and his circle by another Catholic layman in the years after their deaths, the Jollet Manuscript demands

³⁵ J.C. Jeaffreson (ed.), *Middlesex County Sessions Records*, vol. 2, 1603-25 (1887), pp. 115, 131, 134, 144, 147, 211-12, 236.

³⁶ The spelling 'Jollet', as is used in the manuscript, will be used here.

attention. The inclusion of long pieces of text by and about Tresham and Vaux — and Tresham in particular — is striking. Jollet had a lengthy first person account of the exorcism of Sara Cheney at Lord Vaux's house at Hackney copied into the manuscript, but there is no suggestion that he himself was the eyewitness. Jollet also quoted Tresham as an authority on Scripture:

In hoc et ipse studeo sine offenculo, conscientiam habere ad deum, et ad homines semper. that is to saye: In this booke (to wytt the newe testament) so I studye without any offence, having my conscience to god & men. In his imprisonment at Bugden. 9. July. 1588.³⁷

The quotation is positioned halfway down a blank page, and Jollet gave Tresham's status as 'prisoner' rather than 'knight' as he is elsewhere described. That he should give precedence to Tresham, a layman whose education appears to have come from a very brief spell at Christ Church, Oxford, and then at the Inns of Court, suggests a personal confidence in Tresham's theological learning as well as his religious conviction, while emphasising an endearing humility which casts a shadow over Tresham's jailers.³⁸ A reference to Tresham in the list 'of those that have suffred any detriment in bodie landes or goodes' also conveys Jollet's respect for him, and suggests that he knew him well enough to record the date of his death precisely. While other names have been embellished with basic, often incomplete biographical detail, Tresham was given a more detailed and effusive description than anyone else: 'the myrror of wisdom, learning & stoute resolution, after many yeres induraunce & often inprysonments: died at his house at Rushton the 19. of September: 1605'. Tresham received a similarly personal tribute in the book 'Of Fathers and Doctors and men of famous memorie', which includes an incomplete table of names and short biographies over eleven leaves:

THOMAS TRESAMUS. Knight. a man of rare wisdom and learning, having paid for his Recusancy (as it is said) 9000^{li}. & suffred much: a man most remarkable, and stoute in defense of the Cath. cause: England lost her Jewell when he died at his Mannor of Rushton the xi. of september. 1605.³⁹

III: Purpose

³⁷ Jollet MS b.2, fols. 485r-91r, 695v.

³⁸ HMCRI iii, pp. 115-6, Tresham to Tobie Matthew, 15 January 1603.

³⁹ Jollet MS b. 2, fol. 413v; b.1, fol. 571v. 11 September is correct, but we can forgive Jollet the eight days.

Natalie Zemon Davis wrote that '[d]edications to friends and family establish a context for the subject of the book, the kind of circle where and the spirit with which the book should be read and its contents discussed'.⁴⁰ Thomas Jollet wrote his 'treatise' as a gift for a patron whose identity he studiously omitted from the opening *Epistle Dedicatorie* and *Epistle to the Reader*.⁴¹ It was to be a private, domestic material object, useful for devotion as for edification.⁴²

Jollet styled himself as a humble but faithful 'temporall man', and invoked the story of King Artaxerxes of Persia, who graciously received the gift of a lowly craftsman without disdaining the paucity of his offering. The use of *captatio benevolentiae* conforms to conventions of introductory material and reflects the trope of the humble author, but the mention of the work as a gift and the submissive language, with Jollet writing that 'perhaps my state & habilitie would not contemne the bountye of a liberall mynde', suggest a patron-client relationship.⁴³ The text of the *Epistle Dedicatorie* is Jollet's testament to the purpose of his Leviathan task:

so I [BLANK] devoted to your service, doo perswade my self, that you will not refuse to accept this present from the handes of a temporall man, that by his industrie hath exhausted yt from the cleere spring of a pure & Catholique fountayne conuaied by the Conduyts of grace & habitacles of the holy ghoste, runneth throughout the regions of Christianitye, whose Current sweetely nourisheth all those fayre flowers, plentifully springing vpp from tyme to tyme in the gardeine of the Catholique Church: & such as are either through the drought of Egipt, parched with a contynuall heate of affliction, or wried vnder the intollerable burthen of a contagious tyme maye fynde some sweet repose in the midst of their pressures, with greater confidence to endure the combate: & with ioye in the end to tryvmph in the victorye.⁴⁴

Certain features in Jollet's explanation of his purpose in the opening epistles are worth drawing out for their relevance to the rest of the manuscript. The unbroken line of the universal Catholic Church, its traditions, its doctrines and its proponents are encapsulated in a suitably literary

⁴⁰ N. Zemon Davis, 'Beyond the Market: Books as Gifts in Sixteenth-Century France: The Prothero Lecture', *TRHS*, 33 (1983), pp. 69-88, at p. 78. See also J. Scott-Warren, *Sir John Harrington and the Book as Gift* (Oxford, 2001).

⁴¹ *Summary Catalogue*, vol. 2, p. 721, no. 46532; Kilroy, *Edmund Campion*, pp. 13 and 72.

⁴² Murphy, 'Adoramus te Christe', pp. 246-51 demonstrates that the music in the manuscript and its mise-en-page was there to be used in a domestic devotional setting.

⁴³ Jollet MS b. 1, fol. 3r.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*

metaphor of a stream running from its source through time and across nations, feeding the world on its way. The reference to the drought of Egypt alongside the language of water calls to mind Joseph at the time of famine, whom the noted convert Tobie Matthew would later invoke in his *Missive of Consolation* as sent by God to set up a 'Granary of this spiritual food'.⁴⁵ Both writers wrote to provide some relief from the pressures of 'a contagious tyme', with Jollet explaining 'Wherefore deare Reader I haue for thy comfort collected ech severally to worke thy contentment, to revyve thy mynde & solace thy soule, to strengthen them both in faithe & to animate thee to *perseveraunce* which is the periode of *perfection*'. Yet Jollet's consolation was supposed to be far more restorative, not to make the burden easier to bear but to serve as an interlude 'in the midst of their pressure' to restore their confidence to continue fighting, before the final triumph.⁴⁶

Within the first page of writing Jollet conveyed his awareness of the impressiveness of his endeavour: 'though the paynes herein taken have beene great, & in some sort admyrable, yet I requyre no other meede then your gracious [BLANK] acceptaunce the sequell of my desire'.⁴⁷ He wrote to console his reader and to strengthen his or her resolve, but he too was a beneficiary of his written ministry. Jollet was among the ranks of persecuted English Catholics, as he told us in the book 'Of Persecution' when he included his own name in its own box and comparatively large upper case lettering within a list of those who had also suffered.⁴⁸ There is no reason to imagine that Jollet did not find the process of compilation — surrounding himself with the 'fflowers of ffathers' — to be itself consolatory.

⁴⁵ T. Matthew, *A Missive of Consolation: sent from Flanders, to the Catholikes of England* (Louvain, 1647), sig. A3r.

⁴⁶ Jollet MS b.1, fol. 7v.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, fol. 3r.

⁴⁸ *ibid.* b.2, fol. 405v, reproduced as appendix V. It is worth noting that this list, which will receive further attention, is organised by rank in descending order, with Jollet's name among the last. This further supports the theory that Jollet was not a member of the gentry.

Jollet wrote for both consolation and combat, two seemingly distinct purposes which were intertwined by justification in the eyes of a community which identified itself as persecuted. Just as the Catholic Church had always fought the so-called enemies of truth who sought to assail the faithful with unity in doctrine and tradition as her armour, so too would Jollet combine theological authority with memorialisation to stir up his reader to persevere. The *Epistle to the Reader* reflects this aim self-consciously: Jollet placed such violent language as ‘assault against the enemyes of truthe’; ‘the heade of heresies is & euer hath beene crushed’ alongside the explicitly pastoral metaphor of his being ‘moved [...] to gather theise fflowes of ffathers in the gardeine of vnitie’.⁴⁹ On his paper battlefield, Jollet argued that Catholics were duty-bound to both eschew heretic company themselves and to ‘induce men to abandone the companie of such carelesse companyons’ as heretics and those who flit between faiths for personal gain, for which purpose

dyvers Auncient & learned ffathers have left to posteritie, many worthy treatises composed against the heretiks of their tymes, to thend men might with greater care & vigilancy note them & such like, & so avoide them; as all true Catholiques do & euer have donne.⁵⁰

The reader of Jollet's work was called to join him in noting down the ways Protestant heretics manifested their false doctrine, and their names, in order to warn others against them. But his nervous reader was not to worry about the heretical material quoted within the manuscript. This was ‘a methode very neccessarie for theis tymes’, to reveal the controversial nature of their doctrine, and would prove

the contradictions & dissentions which ech of them held againstt other, their mortall warrs & iarrs, their Rebellions, their pride, their llycentious life, their scurrilitie, their Crueltie, their Inconstancye, their vaynglory, their Adulation, their machivilian policye, their lying their desperation, and their vnprovided deathes & miserable endinges.⁵¹

It is perhaps due to Jollet's conviction that the Second Coming was near that he implied disdain for religious toleration as insufficient, too concessionary to heretics, and too dangerous, both for

⁴⁹ *ibid.*, fols. 7r - 9v.

⁵⁰ *ibid.*, fol. 7v.

⁵¹ *ibid.*, fol. 9r. See pp. 260-1, below.

society and the individual. In his book 'Of Heretiks', he drew his reader's attention to the inevitability of civil unrest as brought about by heresy: 'As Rebellion is the bane of Civill commonwealths & kyngdomes, & peace and concord the preservation of the same [...] schisme, heresie division & diversytie of faithe or fellowships in the service of god, [is] the Calamytie of the Churche'. Heretical company was to be eschewed as far as possible to avoid contagion, and so Jollet advised 'Receave him not into the house'. Though he accepted that sometimes, 'the Communitye or most parte' — that is to say the requirements of society — necessitated greeting heretics, eating and drinking with them, and discussing worldly affairs, 'we must avoid them as much as we maye, because their famylaritie is many wayes contagious'. From Jollet's absolute condemnation of heretical 'speeches, preachinges & writinges' as 'pestiferous, contagious', we can assume that he did not advocate occasional church attendance to alleviate the burden of recusancy fines.⁵² In glossing a verse from Matthew's Gospel affirming the presence of God among groups of two or three who meet in His name, Jollet was careful to distinguish between 'Catholic assemblies' and 'conventicles of heretiks', the former reinforcing the unity of the Catholic Church, and the latter perpetuating sectarian heresy, as Jollet saw it.⁵³ It constituted a defence of domestic Catholic worship, either Mass, prayer, preaching, or even meetings of missionary priests as an alternative to occasional conformity.

IV: Remembering the faithful

Lists

Jollet harked back to the Church's tradition of martyrs in the form of his manuscript. Even rubrication, a decorative technique with a long history, was said to represent the blood of the martyrs.⁵⁴ By continuing this tradition, Jollet reasserted the antiquity and authenticity of the Church and countered the claims perpetuated by what he saw to be a persecutory state in a simultaneous act of resistance and devotion. The names Jollet recorded stretch back throughout

⁵² *ibid.* b. 1, fols. 667r; 675r and 669r.

⁵³ *ibid.* b. 1, fol. 659r.

⁵⁴ Zemon Davis, 'Beyond the Market', p. 72.

the Church's history, relating the suffering of his coreligionists to Christ's first followers, and to the exemplary lives of those championed as authorities. Jollet's readers were to understand their own suffering as a continuation of a long tradition of trials borne by the faithful, pains which would vanish in eternal life. In sections cataloguing recent martyrs, he used lists of names, both of those who had suffered persecution of various forms and of the persecutors themselves, to record suffering and wrongdoing, and to forge Catholic identity. This was also an oppositional technique: it countered the efforts of John Foxe, who wrote his *Acts and Monuments* for a Protestant audience, adding recent English martyrs to the ancient tradition of persecution and martyrdom in the True Church as he saw it.⁵⁵

In the book 'Of Persecution', Jollet included five lists of names. The first, untitled, contains the names of clerics and scholars who had been deprived of their positions and died under Elizabeth, covering the period 1559 to 1599. Like all of Jollet's lists, many names and biographical details are incomplete or incorrect, and in this case he left blank spaces for the dates of death. John Yonge D.D., and Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, for example, was recorded as having died in the Marshalsea, when really he had died at Wisbech in 1582.⁵⁶ Some of Jollet's errors might suggest an exaggeration of the degree of persecution. Most of the places of death were left blank, but preceded by either 'died at' or, more frequently, 'died in the'. Jollet used the former to indicate that the individual had died at liberty, the preposition indicating a city rather than a prison, and used the latter to indicate death in prison. For example, William Allen, Cardinal, 'died *at* Rome', whereas Edmund Bonner, deprived Bishop of London, 'died *in* the Marshalsea'.⁵⁷ The people who featured on Jollet's list were more likely to have been imprisoned than Protestant clergy, but Jollet did not invent fictitious prison sentences, and where he failed to record that the individual had been released from prison shortly before his death — usually on the grounds of ill health — it is possible that the inaccuracy of his own

⁵⁵ See p. 235, above.

⁵⁶ Jollet MS b. 2, fol. 395v; R.H. Fritze, 'Yonge, John (1466/7-1516)', *ODNB*.

⁵⁷ *ibid.* b. 1, fol. 395r.

sources are to blame. Nevertheless, a not inconsequential number of entries — a third of those which read ‘died in the’ — record or imply grammatically a death in prison which had actually occurred at liberty. It suited Jollet’s purposes to privilege the record of the persecuted individual’s imprisonment more so than their eventual temporary liberty or confinement to a bishop’s palace rather than the public gaol.

Jollet’s second list gave the names ‘of those that have died in banishment’, divided between clerics and laymen. The first side of the page has a tripartite list of Doctors of Divinity, Jesuits and priests, and overleaf is a list of laymen. The list is the most sparse of the group, containing no biographical details, but this cannot be entirely explained by a lack of accurate information because of their having died abroad. Several of the names appear in other lists. Of the clerics, William Allen D.D., Richard Bristow D.D., Thomas Stapleton D.D., and William Holt S.J. all appear on the first list. Of the laymen, Thomas Lord Paget, Sir Francis Englefield and Thomas Throckmorton are to be found on the fourth and final list, with biographical information. It is difficult, in the light of this, to argue that Jollet viewed the men’s decisions to go abroad with any sense of betrayal. Furthermore, their geographical separation from Jollet and other English Catholics did not diminish their membership of the English Catholic community.⁵⁸ A third list, ‘of priests imprisoned’, appears to be a register of secular priests, with the exception of ‘Father Edmonds alias Weston Jesuite’ and ‘Father Bennett, alias [blank] of the Order of St. Benedict’. Jollet did not provide any further information.

The fourth, more general, list, first gives the names of men under earls, viscounts, knights and esquires, with an exception made for Mary, Queen of Scots. Women were separated by several

⁵⁸ The literature surrounding Catholic exile is growing. A selection includes P. Guilday, *The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent, 1558-1795*, vol. 1, *The English Colleges and Convents in the Catholic Low Countries, 1558-1795* (1914); K. Gibbons, *English Catholic Exiles in Late-Sixteenth-Century Paris* (Woodbridge, 2011); P. Marshall, ‘Religious Exiles and the Tudor State’, in K. Cooper and J. Gregory (eds.), *Discipline and Diversity*, 43, *SCH* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 263–84; C. Highley, ‘Exile and Religious Identity in Early Modern England’, *Reformation*, 15 (2010), pp. 51–61.

blank pages — as if further persecution was anticipated — and were divided into countesses, viscountesses, and lady. These careful delineations suggest an awareness of the concentric circles which comprised the English community of the faithful, as well as an appreciation of the different strains of persecution experienced. As Jollet wrote of St. Peter's witness in walking on water, Christ was declared to be ruler over all, for many waters symbolise many peoples.⁵⁹ Situation, too, was important. Though Jollet was clear on the status of Catholicism as the universal faith, his setting and his audience were English, and the book 'Of Conuersion' ends with a subsection on England's conversion in the seventh century, as if reminding his reader of the age of the faith and its status in the history of their homeland.⁶⁰ Confidence might thus be restored that this time of trial would be short.

The final part of the book 'of persecution' contains a further list, entitled 'the end of persecutors'. This is a variation on the theme of Protestants cited in disdain to record their heresy and disprove their novelty. Jollet notes, all too gleefully, the miserable endings of a handful of Protestants whose mortal comeuppance should have left his reader with a sense of vindication. God's displeasure at their heresy was enacted in the manner of their deaths. The attendant damage to these individuals' reputations as drunkards, blasphemers, and hypocrites whose sectarian squabbling had led them to turn on each other was a convenient gift which countered the government's smearing of Catholics. Martin Luther (d. 1546), we are told, 'died suddenly the same night after he had tippled square', being robbed of a good death by his own inconstancy. Closer to home, William Hacket (d. 1591), the Presbyterian convert, and would-be Messiah, ended badly: 'that blasphemous wretche [...] who at his deathe vttered most bitter & odious speeches against god' was 'hanged & quartered'. Those involved in the arrest and execution of priests, too, were punished in death. John Glanville (d. 1600), the judge, 'falling from his horse, brake his necke', and Edward Flowerdew (d. 1586), also a judge, met a similar fate

⁵⁹ Jollet MS b. 2, fol. 327r.

⁶⁰ *ibid.*, fols. 221r - 253v, with 253r - 253v on 'The Conversion of England'.

to some of those whom he had imprisoned when he died of gaol fever: 'producing certeine Catholique straungers at the Assises then holden at the Cittie of Exeter by gods iustice soone died, to the terror of others were repaid with their due revenge'. Certain examples are more apocryphal, such as 'Aleph the judge', who, we are told, removed his glove while the jury deliberated at the trial of Edmund Campion to find it filled with blood. Campion's hagiographer, Paolo Bombino, recounted the miracle and it was taken up by nineteenth-century writers as evidence of Jesuit conspiracy.⁶¹ Either Jollet or his scribe has also confused two men. It was Henry Cheke (d. 1586) who was said to have died falling down a flight of stairs after deriding the Catholic priest Francis Ingleby (d. 1586), not George Blythe (d. 1581) as Jollet claimed.⁶²

The first three lists of names discussed here demonstrate Jollet's sense of the scope of Elizabethan and early Jacobean persecution. The separate lists gathered within one book speak of the diversity of the Catholic community as Jollet envisaged it, and of the connectedness of the particular groups which comprised it. Those who left England found themselves consigned to a new list, a presentational change which marked their physical separation from their native land, but not from the Catholic community: for Jollet, they were both within and without. Their exile was a facet of their persecution, and dying abroad was the culmination of their suffering.

The sense of being a persecuted community was an essential part of both Catholic identity and culture. It made for powerful bonds of unity between religious brethren, more powerful than shared religious ideology alone because it brought together otherwise disparate groups. In including a substantial list for his reader 'of those that have svffred any detriment in bodie

⁶¹ P. Bombino, *Vita et Martyrium Edmundi Campiani Martyris Angli è Societate Iesu* (Antwerp, 1618). See, for example [P.P. Wolf], 'Conspiracy of the Jesuits against Queen Elizabeth and James the First', *The German Museum or Monthly Repository of the Literature of Germany, the North, and the Continent in General*, 1 (1800), pp. 457-96, at p. 460.

⁶² Jollet MS b. 2 fols. 421v-423r. Cheke's death is described underneath Blythe's in Jollet's list. See A. Walsham, 'Hacket, William (d. 1591)', *ODNB*; P.W. Hasler, 'Glanville, John (1542-1600)', *HoP* 1558-1603; M.N., 'Flowerdew, Edward (c. 1534-86)', *ibid.*; J.H., 'Cheke, Henry (c. 1548-86)', *ibid.*; N.M. Fuidge, 'Blyth, George (d. 1581)', *ibid.*

landes or goodes since A°. I°. Elizabethhe', Jollet articulated three points.⁶³ First, that Elizabeth's reign had been the advent of a time of persecution; second, that persecution took corporal, social and economic forms; third, that the title of persecuted was not reserved only for those who had lost their lives.⁶⁴ The list served a memorial purpose, setting down for posterity the suffering of Jollet's coreligionists, but its presentation across several pages emphasised the extent of Elizabethan persecution. Jollet characterised Elizabeth's reign as a time of persecution, and, as the dates continue after 1603, this persisted under James. The range of experiences of persecution which found representation in Jollet's list is an important corollary to his catalogue of martyrs.

The lists of names found in the Jollet's Manuscript elucidate historical concerns. Jollet created a record of the recent and distant past of a community of Catholics for present and future generations. In considering the future of this community, Jollet did not focus on efforts for the restoration of Catholicism in England, but on the coming of Christ and the attendant resurrection of all true believers. It is far from the only example of millenarianism in his work. The book 'Of Things Contingent' opens with a Scriptural quotation, 'But he said to them: it is not for you to knowe tymes or moments which the ffather hath put in his own power'.⁶⁵

As if to banish any uncertainty, Jollet included a loose translation of Lactantius, attributing features of present persecution and heretical governance to the foreshadowing of the end of the world:

Towards the end of the worlde the state of worldly matters shalbe chaunged and altered: Iniquitie shall seeme to haue the vpper hande, Justice shall fayle, Vngodlynes, covetousnes, pryde, leachery, & liberty shalbe so common, that if ther be happily some fewe good men left, they shalbe a praye for the wicked. The wycked only shalbe wealthy and the good shalbe oppressed & afflicted with all kyndes of myserie. All righte shall bee confounded, al lawes shall perishe; no man almost shall

⁶³ See appendix V.

⁶⁴ Jollet MS b. 2, fol. 403r.

⁶⁵ *ibid.*, fol. 821r; Acts 1:7

have any thinge but that which is ill gotten, or ill kept: boldnes & violence shall have all.⁶⁶

Early modern English Catholicism as Jollet and the community evoked in his manuscript experienced and perceived it was both explained and exemplified in the material he selected for inclusion. Lists of names — perhaps a deliberate nod to official records — preserved evidence of suffering, and the doctrines and traditions these individuals had defended were proved by the vast array of quotations. Longer documents copied out by Jollet provide a deeper insight into his personal concerns, and to events most significant to him and to the community for whom he advocated. The miracle account is one such type, serving to confirm the beliefs of readers, prove their authenticity to detractors and to stun non-believers into the sorts of internal deliberations which might lead to conversion.⁶⁷ Jollet included three such accounts in his manuscript: of an exorcism, of a heavenly appearance during a difficult childbirth, and of the transformation of a piece of straw into a relic of Henry Garnet. The exorcism occurred in the Hackney residence of the Vauxes, and therefore receives attention here.

Exorcism

The exorcism selected by Jollet was one that he himself had witnessed, and this claim to authenticity is essential to his sense of his right to transmit it. No detail was spared, and the account runs to over eight thousand words. He excluded earlier possessions and dispossessions suffered by the victim, Sara Cheney, a servant of Lady Vaux at Hackney, because he had not been there himself. Describing Cheney's ordeal was 'greatly to the honour of Almightye god & to the confirmation of such as are yet but weake in the Catholique cause'. In narrating such a contentious phenomenon, Jollet was careful to restrict himself to first hand evidence, describing corroborating witnesses whose anonymity he was bound to protect:

⁶⁶ *ibid.*, fol. 821r; Jollet seems to be paraphrasing and translating Lactantius' *Divinum Institutum*, 7.15.7-11, Lactantius, *Divine Institutes*, trans. A. Bowen and P. Garnsey (Liverpool, 2003), p. 422.

⁶⁷ For conversion generally, see M. Questier, *Conversion, Politics and Religion in England, 1580-1625* (Cambridge, 1996).

yet I will saye nothing of this present but that which I my self have seene & heard, in the companye of many others, whose names and persons for this tyme I am forced to conceale: & for the rest I leave yt to the penning of those who have beene true wytnesses of those straunge & wonderfull matters, as I my self have bene of theise. To begynne therefore, with the particulars of myne owne knowledge....⁶⁸

The evidence of reported exorcisms shows that most were publicised by Catholics as inspiring witness to miracles performed by missionary priests rather than countering Protestant invective. Hostile propagandists were keen to discredit the clerical actors in exorcism accounts as wicked tricksters who took advantage of superstitious, often young and female victims.⁶⁹ Indeed, the first exorcism of Sara Cheney (under her maiden name, Williams) had been one of the subjects of Samuel Harsnett's formidable tract *A Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures* alongside a series of examinations by ecclesiastical authorities, engagement with which Jollet was at pains to avoid.⁷⁰

Jollet's account preserved the sober reputation of all Catholics involved: victim, priests, and witnesses. Prior to her repossession Sara had 'remayned in very good quyet both of bodie & mynde, being of a very mylde & gentle countenance outwardly ... vertuous and godly disposed in every sorte & condicion', such that Jollet could not say for sure whether the first devil had been expelled from her, or had lain silent within her for a time. Jollet's interventions in the account assert the benignity of Catholic worship now outlawed by the Protestant state. On the feast of the circumcision in 1585, introduced with all the precision of a truthful account, a 'learned & vertuous preist' was giving a sermon to those 'gathered for the solempnizing of so great a feast', and for the spiritual health of his flock, 'the imposing of his holie name Jesus, which name as it is a name of all health & comfort to those that are capable of his mercie & grace'.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Jollet MS b. 1, fol. 485r.

⁶⁹ F. Young, *English Catholics and the Supernatural* (Farnham, 2013), p. 191.

⁷⁰ S. Harsnett, *A Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures* (1603); see the explanatory article, Holmes, 'Witchcraft and Possession'.

⁷¹ Jollet MS b. 1, fol. 483r.

The first stages of Sara's exorcism show none of the violence or intrusiveness of polemical Protestant accounts designed to defame Catholic priests as perverts.⁷² Sara's possession was diagnosed calmly while she spoke with a priest after the sermon had ended and most of the congregation departed: 'a Reverent & godly preist, with whom this foresaid wench conversed, talking & conferring with her of spirituall matters, perceaved by her behaviour & gesture that all was not well'. Jollet introduced her exorcism as a 'godly & charitable action', and initial attempts to cast out the devil were verbal, not physical: 'the preists desyred the Company to praye devoutly for the good delyverie of the *partie*'. When the devil moved into Sara's stomach, a woman was called to help: 'therwith all she called for the helpe of a woman, then the preist perceaving that the dyvell was gotten into the bottom of her bellie, gave a Relique vnto one of the woemen willing her to apply yt vnto the belly of the *partie*, the which being donne by the woman'.⁷³

Jollet compared the speech of the devil to the language of the Protestants, hoping that the account would strengthen the faith of a Catholic reader or prompt the conversion of a schismatic. Within the text, the devil reportedly made threats easily associated with the Elizabethan regime in the late 1580s by their fear of Catholic priests, conveyed by Jollet as a frenzied outburst: 'Gods woundes, gods life, six popish preistes, six popish preistes, a pursevaunt a persevant, to pryson with them & hange them, hang them', and in the margin Jollet remarked that 'The diuel sweareth: & speaketh as protestaunts vse to do'.⁷⁴ The devil was repelled by the sacraments and holy objects: he screeched at the elevation of the Host, 'raged & [was] tormented' when a relic was put in Sara's hand, and 'roared & turned awaye the face' when the assembled congregation 'adored' the Blessed Sacrament.⁷⁵ When the exorcist invoked Jesus and

⁷² See, for example, Harsnett, *Declaration*, sigs. K2v - L4r.

⁷³ Jollet MS b.1, fols. 485r and 491r.

⁷⁴ *ibid.*

⁷⁵ *ibid.*, fol. 485v.

Mary, the devil 'cried out: Hang her, hang her, away with her', inviting further comparisons from Jollet between Protestant heretics and the devil, 'More to the confusion of all heritikes that like vnto their maister, doo dispice and dishonour our Blessed Ladye, that is mucche to be noted howe our blessed Ladie tormented him'. Jollet used his account to create a caricature of a devil sympathetic to the Protestant cause, who cried out for officials to take away the priest in cowardice and panic at being confronted with the authority of Mary, the relic, and the sacrament. The exorcist in Jollet's narrative also embodied a type, the fearless servant of God labouring for the safe delivery of those to whom he ministered: 'for my owne parte I am willing to bestowe this carcase of myne ... I will haue thee expelled'.⁷⁶

Sara's exorcism was certainly exciting. The narrative was designed to extol the virtues of the missionary priest; the similarities between Protestants and devils; the miraculous power of relics, the names of Jesus and Mary, prayer, and the Blessed Sacrament; and the vitality of the community among which the events occurred.⁷⁷ The expulsion of not one but two thousand devils from Sara paralleled the infestation of England with Protestant heresy. Jollet showed little concern for Sara's traumatic experience: for him, she was the 'partie' who was held captive by a devil and relinquished by a priest, and the whole affair was edifying for all concerned. Yet Sara's body was also the battleground for a lengthy tirade by the Catholic priest against a maniacal Protestant devil. While the devil and the priest railed against each other, Sara was absent, doubtless showing the totality of her possession. Jollet marvelled in recounting the violence of the event. At one stage:

the dyvell was wonderfully tormented & vexed, shewing himself by rysing vp and downe, and swelling in the maydens throate in most pyttifull manner... the Exorcist had no better remedy the by giving her a portion of hallowed drincke, which so often as the wenche receaved, the dyvell was raised vp & would not suffer her ... but caused her to spew & spirt yt out againe in most wonderfull manner, somtymes crying out that the drunck burned her.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ *ibid.*, fol. 487r

⁷⁷ A. Walsham, 'Miracles and the Counter-Reformation Mission to England', *HJ*, 46 (2003), pp. 779–815, at p. 802, raises some of these points.

⁷⁸ Jollet MS b. 1, fol. 487r.

Sara was made to fear that she would have her neck broken, be drowned, and be made mad. She was beaten ‘about the heade with a maniple’ and her body was contorted in ways which shocked the audience, such that ‘during this greate conflict and torment which the dyvell put this poore mayde vnto, ther was no one person which beheld her distres whose eies flowed not with teares for compassion of her paynes’.⁷⁹

The exorcism also provides insight into Jollet's views on the politics of missionary priests. We read in the marginal gloss he provided early on in the narrative that the priest in question, most likely William Weston, had since been executed at Tyburn, and so his memory was also at stake.⁸⁰ Jollet claimed that Catholic priests, and by extension English Catholics, were loyal subjects of the Crown. Jollet's exorcist could not bear to hear the devil speaking of Elizabeth and her ministers: ‘in doubling manner [Sara] cried. The lord save the Quene & her mynisters, the Lord save the Quene & her mynisters. The Exorcist hearing the dyvell in this hereticall phrase to abuse her Matie & her honorable Councell, desyred god and our Blessed Ladie to preserve and save them’. Later, when the devil bid the priest and his coreligionists to be hanged, ‘the Exorcist desyred this dyvel, & answered for himself & the rest saying: Be thou assured that we will all spend our lyves to save the Quenes maiesties soule’. The account provided a useful opportunity for Jollet to defend the pastoral nature of the English Mission, countering claims that priests were involved in plots to kill Elizabeth: ‘the Exorcist defyed him, saying, that he hoped to lyve to see the Conversion of her and of the whole Realme, & that his comming, and the comming of all preists was only for the concersion & saving of soules’.⁸¹ Once the devil had been successfully driven out of Sara and promised never to return, Jollet closed the account with a moralising paragraph drawing parallels between Sara's dispossession and the driving out of heresy from England:

⁷⁹ *ibid.*, fols. 487r-v; 491r; 498v.

⁸⁰ T. Harmsen, ‘Weston [*alias* Edmunds, Hunt], William (1549/50-1615)’, *ODNB*.

⁸¹ Jollet MS b. 1, fols. 487r-v.

wherby we maye learne to give god thankes as we are all bounden for his great mercies shewed vnto vs in theise dayes so full of wickednes & impieite: so full of heresie & infidelitie: whoo hath graunted such power and auctoritie to his Church to dryve out & expell dyvells the which as that hath beene most staunge and wonderfull, so would he have yt donne in the presence of manye to give testimonye of the same to the honnour of his holie name & Confirmation of the Catholique cause, the which though the heretiks seeke to beat downe, the very divell himself is forced to acknowledg and confesse the same.

The miracle of Sara's exorcism, its involvement of multiple priests, a large audience, and the expulsion of two thousand devils, was to serve as a sign of God's favour, and to instil hope that He would use His great power to drive out all heresy and return England to the Catholic Church. It was also to be a source of comfort to Jollet's persecuted Catholic readership: despite the heretical presence in their homeland, God was still working miracles, and these were the proof of the authority of the True Church.⁸²

Lay champions

Contemporary material in the book 'Of Things Contingent' testified to the experience of English Catholics, and their resistance of the legal strictures applied to them in particular. Jollet dedicated a page to a summary of the examination of Tresham, Vaux, Catesby and others in Star Chamber in 1581. It gives Tresham's defence only, merely adding that Vaux and Catesby 'answered in like effect'.⁸³ This is an important witness to the reception of the late Tresham as an advocate, and of Jollet's championing of his opinions. Just as the Queen's lawyers had feared might happen, Jollet privileged the evasive nature of Tresham's responses to provide a model which other Catholics might follow.

Although the collection of contemporary documents assembled by Jollet in the book 'Of Things Contingent' appears miscellaneous, Jollet had constructed a series of examples demonstrating the importance of lay *and* clerical acts of constancy and resistance. Anthony Browne, first Viscount Lord Montagu (d. 1592), and his grandson and heir Anthony-Maria Browne, the

⁸² *ibid* b. 2, fol. 207r.

⁸³ *ibid.*, fol. 821v.

second Viscount (d. 1629), both made speeches in defence of English Catholics at the opening Parliaments of their respective monarchs: Anthony in 1559 and Anthony-Maria in 1604.⁸⁴ The Jollet Manuscript reproduces both of these speeches consecutively, making a point about the compiler's admiration for the continuity of defenders of Catholicism in that noble family. In the first speech, Montagu described his initial reluctance to speak but his ultimate conviction that he must, 'seing my ffaithe, as I take yt is called into question & the same impugned by others of my Condition, speaking as I thincke according to their Consciences, the contrarye nowe offered to be by vs established by lawe'. He was at pains not to 'offend my Conscience, and therby god himself'.⁸⁵ In 1604, the second Viscount introduced his speech in the language of a humble subject moved only by his conscience: 'out of the necessarrye discharge of my Conscience in this most importaunt cause'.⁸⁶



Fig. 11 Bookplate of Sir Thomas Tresham, using his arms with 25 quarterings. From Bodl. MS Eng. Th. b. 2, fol. 823r. Author's photograph.

⁸⁴ See p. 248, above.

⁸⁵ Jollet MS b. 2, fols. 839v, 841r.

⁸⁶ *ibid.*, fol. 845r.

Jollet paired the summary of Tresham's examination with two accounts of disputations between the gentleman and Dr. Lilly, the first on the same page as Tresham's bookplate (fig. 11).⁸⁷ The two Montagu speeches follow one another, giving summaries of noble Catholic defences at the beginning of the reigns of Elizabeth and James, and established the family as loyal guardians of English Catholicism. The Viscounts Lord Montagu and Tresham had confined themselves to the relationship between lay Catholics and the law according to individual conscience, whereas Jollet's inclusion of a Parliamentary speech by Abbot John Feckenham represents the part he played as a priest in the trajectory of English Catholic resistance.⁸⁸ For Jollet, clerical and lay coreligionists complemented each other. Feckenham's resistance in the fraught early years of the Elizabethan Settlement continued with his *Declaracion of such scruples & staies of conscience*, and the ensuing theological controversy with Horne — shortly joined on the Catholic side by Thomas Stapleton — fought over the same issue of conscience, 'the need to establish the exact point in which the jurisdiction of the temporal authority ended, and that of the spiritual authority began, excluding areas of intersection between the two'.⁸⁹

Feckenham belongs in the group of Marian clergy who first opposed the Elizabethan religious settlement. The authors of the document which follows his were also Marian clergy, though one died during her reign and the other preached her funeral sermon, which Jollet copied out in full. John White, Bishop of Winchester (d. 1560), took as his text Ecclesiastes 9:4: '*melior est canis vivus quam leone mortuo* [a living dog is better than a dead lion]', apparently offending Elizabeth, and in including the sermon Jollet marked his approval of the earliest clerical opponents to the Elizabethan regime.⁹⁰ White's predecessor at Winchester, Stephen Gardiner (d. 1555), wrote *A Discouery of Ceirteyne Vvanities and Lewde Phantasies against the Catholique*

⁸⁷ *ibid.*, fols. 823r, 823v-829r.

⁸⁸ *ibid.*, fols. 847r-849r.

⁸⁹ S. Tutino, *Law and Conscience: Catholicism in Early Modern England, 1570-1625* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT, 2007), p. 16.

⁹⁰ Jollet MS b. 2, fol. 855v; for Elizabeth's taking offence at White's sermon see *A Calendar of Sermons Preached at Court during the Reigns of Elizabeth I and James I, 1558-1625*, www.cambridge.org/gb/download_file/159962/, p. 1; A.M. Mimardi re, 'White, Sir John (d. 1573)', *HoP* 1558-1603.

Churche our Mother: which are not Prooued by the Professours Thereof, a lengthy response to the writings and sermons of an unnamed Protestant which ends by praying for his opponent's return to the Catholic Church.⁹¹ Gardiner had been an influential defender of Catholicism under Henry and Edward, having been imprisoned and deprived under the latter, and made a logical pair for White's sermon due to their Winchester connection.⁹² The material by Gardiner is followed by an anonymous series of 'Questions of the Sacrament' concerning the Mass, with short answers presumably designed to provide model answers for disputation or education.⁹³

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that Tresham was not a part of the compilation of this rich manuscript, but he was a significant part of its contents. The manuscript was engaged, more broadly, in consolation and combat, but the memorialisation of Catholic suffering was an important part of its confirmation of the traditions of the Catholic Church and the communion of the faithful in England. It has shown that, in the years immediately following his death, Tresham was remembered as a man of extraordinary piety, learning, and steadfastness.

⁹¹ Jollet MS b. 2, fols. 857v-69v (*Disouerie*).

⁹² C.D.C. Armstrong, 'Gardiner, Stephen (c. 1495x8-1555)', *ODNB*.

⁹³ Jollet MS b. 2, fols. 881r-83v.

CONCLUSION

This thesis opened with John Bossy's dictum that scholars must appreciate the 'baffling fertility of the religious imagination of Englishmen'.¹ Sir Thomas Tresham was one such Englishman, and Bossy's characterisation seems particularly apt in his case. Tresham has been at the heart of this study, through which the complexities of English Catholic culture and identity have been scrutinised.

This thesis has examined a character whose prominence as a recusant elite was recognised in his own time as well as in modern scholarship, but who has not thus far been the subject of a study in his own right. It has elucidated the responses of a significant member of the laity to some of the religio-political *causes célèbres* of his day. A personal study demands personal sources, and this thesis has benefitted from abundant and diverse source material. The thesis has made extensive use of family papers, architectural and artistic works, two libraries, and the witness of an important manuscript compilation, and in doing so has drawn attention to the sources themselves. By demonstrating the complexity of individual experience this study argues that expressions of Catholic culture and identity were multifaceted.

As part of its exploration of Catholic identity and culture, this thesis has analysed 'loyalism' and 'resistance', two prominent themes in contemporary historiography. By working at the level of the individual, it has been possible to link abstract concepts invented by modern historians to tangible experience. The discussion of these themes has argued for a more careful consideration of the complexities inherent in the relationship between Catholics and the government.

'Loyalism', as described in Peter Holmes's seminal work on Catholic political identities, was the position whereby Catholics stated that their political allegiance to the Crown or the person of the monarch was absolute, and unchallenged by their adherence to the Catholic religion. A

¹ Bossy, *ECC*, p. 5; see above, p. 12.

'loyalist' position rested on the conception that political obedience and matters of conscience were separable, and tended to argue that private faith should be tolerated by the authorities of the state. This distinction was denied by the Elizabethan religious settlement, which made active membership of the Church of England a legal requirement, and a condition of obedience to the Queen. These nominally opposed positions tended, as Holmes showed in *Resistance and Compromise*, to be fluid. The relationship was not fixed, and understandings of it were not uniform. In line with the arguments of Sandeep Kaushik, whose 1996 article argued for the complexity of Tresham's so-called 'loyalist' statements, and more recent researches by Peter Lake and Michael Questier, it has been shown that loyalism was not always passive.

Resistance was a broad church, within which the violent aspirations of would-be Catholic regicides were a tiny minority. Resistance and loyalty have been shown to be complex, shape-shifting phenomena which might coexist. They were not polar opposites, and they interacted with each other as individuals attempted to reconcile themselves to a new social and political order. It has been argued in this thesis that our understanding of resistance should accommodate subtler forms of dissent as well as violence and conspiracy. The notion of 'loyalism', too, needs careful handling. Just as Peter Holmes showed for the Catholic clergy, the laity were often motivated by expediency. Obedience to civil powers was a powerful ideological trope, which could be conveniently deployed to protect one's own person and kin.

'Loyalism' formed part of a self-conscious political language through which Catholics like Tresham engaged critically with the state. The profession of unstinting loyalty to the Crown and eirenic statements about natural fidelity to one's homeland contradicted the legal obligations of the English subject. These arguments required a separation of the temporal and spiritual allegiance fused together by Elizabethan and Jacobean governments and undermined the statutory fact that the monarch governed both spiritual *and* temporal realms. Peter Holmes recognised that Catholic writers more famous — and more controversial — than Tresham used

loyalist registers when circumstance rendered it prudent. Historians have focused on the polemical works of the English Catholic clergy, but this thesis has used Tresham as an example of the important contribution made by the laity.

It was demonstrated in chapters two and three that Tresham's loyalist statements were carefully crafted, and that the very loyalties they professed were imperfect. Tresham was critical of Elizabeth's laws, and hoped for her Religious Settlement to be overturned by Catholic restoration, but he would not have countenanced bringing about the end of her reign himself. The pacific claims that Tresham and other Englishmen made to love their sovereign and their country reflected a common worldview, but not the complexities of individual experience.

While Tresham was petitioning Elizabeth for toleration in the mid-1580s in loyalist language he also possessed devotional manuscripts praising the 'most serene' Mary, Queen of Scots, whose involvement in conspiracies to overthrow Elizabeth was a focus of Privy Council anxieties. Notes in his hand from after Elizabeth's death revealed that he held his late sovereign to have been illegitimate, and that he had preferred the claim of the Scottish Queen. Tresham's avowed personal obedience to Elizabeth was a rhetoric that he employed to protect himself and his family, but he would have welcomed Mary's accession and Catholic restoration.

English Catholics did not acquiesce to change. Their participation in elite cultural activities infused with Catholic identity reflected active engagement with religious politics rather than a withdrawal from English society. It has been argued here that a narrow definition of political resistance as characterised by violence obscures crucial facets of the Catholic experience, and of Catholic identity. The forms of Tresham's resistance had their origins in the accepted activities of elite society, but he used them as part of living in disobedience. If we are to understand the experience of Catholic elites in this period, studies must account for these complexities.

Catholics found ways to resist their perceived persecution and social vilification in non-violent

ways. The clergy sustained Catholic practice, keeping the faithful in communion with their Church, but priests were not the only contributors to Catholic identity. While previous scholarship has privileged the role of the clergy in organising sustained resistance to religious policy, analysis of Tresham's resistance has found space for individual lay resistance beyond this. For Tresham, resistance found expression in traditional elite activities such as petitioning, the donation and collection of books, and artistic and architectural patronage. Through these activities, Tresham opposed the proscription of Catholicism and reasserted a place for Catholics in English society: an argument which resisted the very nature of the Elizabethan and Jacobean regimes as well as their laws. Further, Tresham worked to preserve England's Catholic past, swimming against the current of Protestant hegemony and paving the way for Catholic restoration. Through his donation of books to St John's College, Oxford, his private library at Deene Park, and through the monuments to his faith at Rushton and Lyveden, he deepened the indelible mark of Catholicism on English culture. These material sources, the subjects of chapters four and five, were shown to be integral to considerations of Catholic identity and culture.

Elite activities lent themselves to the expression of Catholic culture in open defiance of anti-Catholic society. Architecture had a practical function within private estates and civic spaces, but its aesthetic could also communicate identity through decoration with heraldic shields, words, and symbols, and even in the shape of a building. Books were also carriers of learning and meaning. The cultivation of a library or the donation of books to an institution was an exercise in patronage and status, but the books themselves have received equal attention as material objects in this thesis, drawing on insights from the history of the book. Owners and donors of books stamped personal identity onto bindings and inscribed their names and mottoes onto flyleaves. Tresham was typical in this regard, and the presentation of his books proclaimed social and religious identity: the binding stamp likely commissioned for the books given to St. John's College, Oxford combined Tresham's arms with the statement '*Credo* [I

believe].

The contents of Tresham's libraries, too, received critical attention. It was argued that a Catholic library, even one where explicitly polemical tracts were absent, was by its very nature controversial. It both preserved older Catholic scholarship and provided for new learning, showing that Catholicism and English history were inextricably bound together and that they would persist through present and future trials as they had done before. The contents of Tresham's private library appeared superficially to support his loyalist claims, but the study of marginalia in his Bible revealed bitter condemnation of 'tyrannical domination' in words quoted from William Allen's *True, Sincere, and Modest Defence*. It has been argued that the creation of Catholic texts offered avenues for resistance to the laity, as well as to the clergy. The manuscript compilation studied in chapter six demonstrated the multifaceted purposes of Catholic writing: the layman Thomas Jollet assembled textual consolation, resistance, devotion, and memorial in the same collection. Moreover, Jollet's textual Catholic community recognised lay as well as clerical agency.

Reinterpretation of the context of Tresham's buildings and their symbolism revealed the social and religious world behind them. Buildings were forms of resistance. As a vehicle for the formation and demonstration of identity, architecture was an apposite albeit bold choice for Tresham. Architecture was part of gentility and was a cultural pursuit which not only remained open to Catholic elites, but which enabled them to fuse Englishness, faith, and gentility. Tresham's buildings embodied this fusion, and in so doing they stood as permanent signs that Catholicism persisted in England. It was argued in chapter four that these stone monuments to Tresham's faith were to be his legacy. In the context of their construction, the Triangular Lodge and Lyveden New Bield took on the qualities of resistance, standing in open defiance of the Protestant establishment. They served to confirm Tresham's coreligionists in their faith, and to reassert the place of Catholic culture in English identity. These works not only told people that

Tresham was a Catholic, but what kind of Catholic he was, and in doing so they contributed to a contemporary understanding of what English Catholic culture and identity looked like. Kinship was embodied in heraldic shields; hieroglyphs elucidating Christ's suffering for the Church declared Catholic belief; and verses of Scripture from the Latin Vulgate proclaimed unapologetically the sentiments which Tresham felt best expressed his faith.

Catholic petitioners constructed arguments influenced by their awareness of contemporary politics, and their engagement with it. The discussion of the 1585 petition of loyalty and its related documents in chapter two elucidated political context, in accordance with recent work by Peter Lake, showing that Tresham was thinking about contemporary debates captured in tracts by John Stubbs and Anthony Munday. Context also emphasised just how audacious a gesture the presentation of the petition was. Beyond its humble and complimentary language, conventions typical of the genre, its casuistical sentiments betrayed the fact that its authors were fundamentally at odds with their sovereign's policy of punishing religious dissidence as political disobedience. The language of the petition and the protestations of loyalty contained within it were a rhetorical strategy: the petition was asking for nothing less than statutory change. This argument was developed in chapter three, which tested the category of loyalism further. Loyalist language was shown to be part of a strategy to win toleration or to ease perceived persecution, and required recognition of a distinction between spiritual and temporal allegiance, itself at variance with the nature of the Elizabethan and Jacobean regimes.

Tresham was concerned with the cause of English Catholicism, and he saw it as the right and duty of a gentleman to lead by example. That his voice should have been so prominent is nonetheless unusual, and throughout the thesis evidence has shown that Tresham was recognised as a figurehead, or a potential figurehead, by both hostile and sympathetic parties. Epistolary evidence revealed that his opinion had been sought by John Townley and John Coppinge when they were considering a petition for Catholic toleration in 1584, and chapter

three found the priest Thomas Hill looking to Tresham as a new Moses — a remarkable comparison. Prominence drew hostility, too. Chapter one catalogued the complaints made by Catholic kin, who resented Tresham's influence over Lord Vaux. In the analysis of his examination in the Fleet in 1594 it was shown that Elizabeth's government made explicit its anxiety about his leadership of English Catholics. As scholars considering the succession have already observed, Catholic hopes for toleration coalesced around James' accession, and Tresham has been shown to have shared this optimism. His decision to proclaim the new King James at Northampton was cast as exemplifying his enthusiasm for leadership. Catholics like him looked back to family traditions of public service and distinction, compounding their sense of exclusion from office-holding circles. In proclaiming James, Tresham reasserted himself into the ranks of the county elite, just as he had tried to do with the construction of his market cross at Rothwell.

Local religious tensions had a tendency to bubble over at decisive moments, and the hostile interactions described between Tresham and those assembled at Northampton exemplified social manifestations of confessional conflict, but divisions did not always fall along confessional fault-lines. Tresham's detractors came from within and without the Catholic community. The question of his preeminence invited a consideration of interactions *between* Catholics. In this thesis, it has been argued that close and supportive Catholic circles were susceptible to the same squabbles and more serious divisions as other kinship groups, even without confessional rupture. The unfortunate marriages of Vaux's children, analysed in chapter one, were a significant part of what Tresham called his 'triple prentiships' because they had strained the bonds between kin and coreligionists, heaping strife upon strife.²

From 1580, Tresham's recusancy and his Catholicism were two sides of the same coin. Recusancy was a distinct identity for Tresham, and this is an important corollary to the characterisation of church attendance as a spectrum in the historiography following Alexandra Walsham's

² BL Add MS 39829, fol. 106r; see above, p. 161.

landmark *Church Papists*. For some, church attendance was binary, and Tresham is an example of this. There was no oscillation: he made a decision in 1580 to absent himself from the parish church, and he did so for the rest of his life, despite the significant social and material costs. The nature of this facet of Catholic identity as explored in this thesis was more complex than a straightforward narrative of persecution. Catholics were not passive victims. They were carving out a place for themselves in English society, and they strove to overcome the adversity engendered by a Protestant state.

Several profitable avenues for future research have been opened up over the course of this work. Some of these are roads not taken, diversions which were not germane to the thesis or possible within the scope of a doctoral project. Examination of the networks of Midlands families beyond the Treshams have been ably investigated in recent theses by Susan Cogan and Laura Verner.³ Other avenues have been made possible by the foundations laid here. The riches of the Jollet Manuscript have been recognised, and the task now is to ensure that other scholars can reap the rewards. With the material and bibliographical cornerstones laid, an edition of the manuscript would bring it to a wider scholarly audience and ensure that its myriad insights are mined, especially about devotional practice and spirituality. Future research should focus on its import as a repository of devotional practice and theological understanding.

The actions of the second generation of Tresham's circle are well-known. They have been glimpsed in this thesis: Francis Tresham's involvement, along with that of some of his kinsmen, in the Essex Rebellion in 1601 was in some ways a prequel to the Gunpowder Plot of 1605, involving some of the same actors. The Vaux women, seen in chapter one suing Tresham, made priest-harbours their vocation, and they too found themselves caught up in the events of November 1605. A national study of the second generation — the sons and daughters of

³ Cogan, 'Catholic Gentry'; L.A. Verner, 'Post-Reformation Catholicism in the Midlands of England' (unpublished PhD thesis, Univ. of London, King's College, and Univ. of Hong Kong, 2015).

Elizabethan and early-Jacobean Catholics who, like Tresham, had been born in the later years of the reign of Henry VIII — would intersect with work on youth, generations, and memory to explain how non-violent resistance gave way to plans for revolt and rebellion. The question of how the Catholic gentry leaders of society were viewed by their Protestant neighbours and social inferiors, the question of co-existence and its operation across the social spectrum, is an apt one.

Some of the fruits of research into Tresham's reading were seen in chapter five, which also alluded to the existence of reading notes by Tresham and George Levens among the Tresham Papers. Levens' reading of Holinshed points to the use of history more broadly by English Catholics, and the examination of other volumes in Tresham's library at Deene alongside these notes have the potential to form part of a broader study of Catholic historical and antiquarian activity.

Catholic identity bound together Englishness, social and cultural practice, and active engagement with politics. Loyalist sentiment was a natural component of English Catholic culture and of identity. But it was too ubiquitous and too imprecise to encapsulate all that individuals thought and felt about society and their place within it. In the context of late-Elizabethan and early-Jacobean England, participation in elite culture and expression of elite identity reflected the impulse to resist perceived social exclusion and persecution. Resistance was an important part of the Catholic experience, and it took subtler but no less meaningful forms than have been recognised in earlier scholarship. The choices individuals made manifested themselves in English Catholic culture through architecture, libraries, books, letters, petitions, and legal defences, and it was through these channels that identity was forged.

APPENDICES

I: Families represented by the shields on the Market Cross at Rothwell

1	[Blank]	16	Hastings, earls of Huntingdon. Likely George, 2nd son of Francis, the 2nd Earl (crescent for difference). Said to be religiously conservative.
2	?Norwich of Brampton and Byfield, Nhants.	17	Zouch (see no. 8)
3	de Grey of Ruthin, Earls of Kent.	18	Greville of Beauchamp's Court, Warwickshire.
4	Stanley, Earls of Derby. Henry Stanley, 4th Earl of Derby, was at Kenilworth in 1575 when Tresham was knighted.	19	[Unidentified]
5	Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick was present at Kenilworth in 1575. A sister, Mary, the wife of Sir Henry Sidney, was also present, and hunted with the Queen.	20	Danvers of Blisworth and Culworth, Nhants.
6	Russell, Earls of Bedford. Francis Russell, 2nd Earl, JP for Nhants 1573-80.	21	Griffin of Dingley, Nhants.
7	Devereux, Earls of Essex. Possibly Sir William Devereux of Merevale, Warwickshire, or refers to the wife of Walter Devereux, 1st Earl of Essex — Lettice, née Knollys — who participated in the hunting at Kenilworth. Her father Sir Francis Knollys was also present.	22	Stafford, Barons Stafford of Blatherwycke, Nhants.
8	Barons Zouch of Harringworth, Nhants.	23	Dudley of Tipton, Staffordshire.
9	Barons Mordaunt of Turvey, Bedfordshire, and Drayton, Nhants.	24	Brisko of Darwell, Nhants.
10	Barons Compton of Compton Wynyates, Warwickshire.	25	Probably for Sir George Howard, present at Kenilworth and the nephew of Thomas Howard, 3rd Duke of Norfolk.
11	Spencer of Newnham, Warwickshire, and Althorp, Nhants.	26	Wake of Hartwell, Nhants.
12	Sir Walter Mildmay, of Apethorp, Nhants.	27	Tresham
13	Sir Christopher Hatton of Kirby, Nhants.	28	Aylesbury of Blatherwycke, Nhants.
14	Tresham	29	Kinsman of Loddington, Nhants.
15	Lane of Kettering, Nhants.	30	Saunders of Harington and Little Bowdon, Nhants.

31	Barons Willoughby of Parham, West Sussex, with branch at Grendon, Nhants by 1618-19. Warwickshire JPs 1573-80.	45	Wingfield of Upton, Nhants. A Sussex family; marriage of Robert Wingfield to Elizabeth, a daughter of Robert Cecil brought them to Nhants. MP for Peterborough in 1572.
32	Kirkham of Finshade, Nhants.	46	[Unidentified]
33	Fermor of Easton Neston, Nhants.	47	Mulsho of Thingdon, Nhants. Links with the Treshams through marriage.
34	Cave of Stanford, Nhants. Roger Cave the High Sheriff of Nhants in 1575.	48	de Ros of Braunston, Warwickshire.
35	Tanfield of Harpoole, Nhants.	49	Andrew of Harleston, Nhants. High Sheriff of Nhants in 1568.
36	Woodhull of Thenford, Nhants.	50	Warwick or Leicester, depending on tincture.
37	Villers of Hoby and Brooksby, Leicestershire; High Sheriff and JP of Leicestershire in 1575 and 1580.	51	Tyringham of Weston Favelle, Nhants. History of marriages with Brudenell and Catesby of Whiston, Nhants. High Sheriff of Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire in 1560.
38	Osborne of Kelmarsh, Nhants.	52	Onley of Onley Catesby, Nhants. Family had JP for Leicestershire in 1577, and Nhants, 1573-90; High Sheriff of Nhants in 1574.
39	Throckmorton of Paulspury, Nhants and Coughton, Warwickshire.	53	Elmes of Lilford, Nhants. Marriage links to Brudenell. High Sheriff of Nhants in 1566; JP Nhants 1573-80.
40	Morgan of Newbold, Nhants.	54	Mallory of Woodford, Nhants.
41	Burnaby of Watford, Nhants.	55	Apreece, or Price, of Washingley, Huntingdonshire. Catholic.
42	Chauncy of Edgecote, Nhants. Marital connections to Tresham; High Sheriff of Nhants in 1579.	56	?Britaine, once Mayor London (1326).
43	Lewkenor of Sussex, married into Nhants by 1618-19 visitation. Possibly Edward Lewkenor, JP for Sussex in 1575; Catholic, summoned to consistory court in Chichester Cathedral on 2 March 1577 about religion.	57	Cope of Copes Ashby, Nhants.
44	Lynne of Southwick, Nhants. Nhants JPs in 1537-80, marital links with Job Throckmorton and had conducted estate business with Sir Edmund Brudenell.	58	Sir Christopher Yelverton, Recorder of Nhants from 1568 and JP for Nhants 1573-80. Married a daughter of Thomas Catesby of Whiston, Nhants.

59	Sir Henry Lee of Quarrendon, Buckinghamshire, present at Kenilworth in 1575.	81	Spencer (no. 11)
60	Lord William Howard of Naworth, 3rd son of Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk, by his second wife Margaret Dudley.	82	Kinsman (no. 29)
61	[Missing]	83	[unidentified]
62	Mauntell, of Kent but originally of Nhants.	84	Another quartering of Villers (no. 37), Brooksby, Leicestershire.
63	Vavasor of Rushton and Overston, Nhants. A branch of a Yorkshire family.	85	Pulton of Desborough, Nhants.
64	Dormer of Eythrope and Wing in Buckinghamshire. High Sheriff of Beds and Bucks in 1568.	86	Owen Ragsdale of Rothwell, Nhants. Founder of the Jesus Hospital, Rothwell.
65	Pemberton of Rushden (not Rushton), Nhants.	87	[Blank]
66	Gage of Raunds and Rushden, Nhants.	88	[Blank]
67	Hartwell of Preston, Nhants. Abraham Hartwell was in the service of Whitgift, Bishop of Worcester from 1577.	89	Tresham and Throckmorton, for the marriage of Tresham to Muriel.
68	Catelyn of Raunds, Nhants, marriage links with Thingdon.	The shields are identified in Gotch, <i>Complete Account</i> , unpaginated plate 'Rowell 6', and Baker, <i>History and Antiquities</i> , unpaginated plate 'Arms on Rowell Market House', with discrepancies. Shields checked and re-identified for this analysis.	
69	[Blank]		
70	Isham of Braby, Braunston, and Lamport, Nhants. John Isham JP for Nhants in 1577 and 1580.		
71	Humfrey of Barton Segrave, Nhants. Historical marriage with Vaux.		
72	Brooke of Oakley, Nhants.		
73	Butler of Aston le Walls, Nhants.		
74	de Vere, Earls of Oxford.		
75	Tresham		
76	Saunders (no. 30)		
77	Lane (no. 15)		
78	Griffin (no. 21)		
79	Osborne (no. 38)		
80	Haslewood of Maidwell, Nhants.		

II: Letter from Sir Thomas Tresham to Dr. John Case, 1 February 1597

Original copy: St. John's College, ADMIN.I.A.2 (Register of the College no. 2, 1591-1624)

Printed in N. Ker, *Oxford College Libraries in the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford, 1959), pp. 513-5.

There are no significant differences between the texts, apart from that the manuscript has 'ego' for Ker's 'eo', presumably a typographical error. This is indicated in square brackets. The text has been reproduced from Ker, and therefore follows his conventions.

To my very deere beloued good frend m^r do^r Case theis giue at his howse in Oxforde

Yo^r two letters lately addressed me the one to Rushton (I ther receaued at my coming vp to the terme) thother this Euening here at Hogsden by the deliuey of our good frende M^r Do^r Gwin. Here in (my deare beloued do^r case) I returne yo^w my answeare to them both. Yo^r louing lines, are well worthy my thoughts w^{ch} dewly do and shall accompany yo^w. My many, and many yeares aduersitye, to terme it truly, my exceeding impayred, my very poore and worldly contemned estate, aboding vndoubted indications of disabillitye in requiting, and recompensing matter of meanest mouement, magnifyeth yo^r settled fauour towards me, and therby multiplyeth my indetted dew to yo^w in higest degree. Allonly resteth in me a minde more prone to yeeld yo^w requitall by prose, then to specifie it by pen. And to acknowledg yo^r memorable courtesyes, wth registering them in thanckfullest brest. As this in vnfaynedest speech, is soone performed, so know not I, what els to equall the same, were my worlds fortune, in semblable flowe to my present inspeakeable distressed estate. *Fiat voluntas dei* whom I dayly beseech of his grace to assist me, wherein he comandeth me, and then to command me what his holy will pleaseth. *non e[gl]o, sed dei gratia mecum.*

As concerning my new-yeares gift promise of *Thomas* and *Tostatus* worckes, towardes the furnishing of yo^r New Library in *S^t Thomas* [sic] colledg, I rest reddy to make compleate performance therof. At M^r Nortons I haue prouided a *Thomas* and haue bespoken a *Tostatus* at

Mr Ascanio w^{ch} is not yet to be had. If yo^w and the Residue interested in erecting that Library shall thinke it leefull and fitting, to haue such schoolemen (vsually vendible in Powles church-yearde as haue commented vpon the sum) of *S^t Thomas* I will also bestowe them vpon that Library *Molina Suarez Gregorius de Valentia*, and *Porecta* conteyning *Cajectane* will cost neere so much as all *S^t Thomas* woorkes. My meaning in no wyse is to giue any bookes that may proue offensiue for me in geving or for yee in receaving.

Yo^r Library shall not wronge me, to acompt me therto indebted one hundered poundes w^{ch} I franckely giue, and frugally will husbande, deuoyd of Billmungers cutted accompting. This I intende in quires bought at the best hand wth reddy money. The binding wherof I recon will cost me twenty in the hundered, or very little lacking therof, as by many proofs I haue experimented. Moreover ye being already furnished of a *Biblia regia* I will bestowe a Latine manuscript bible, a *Complutensis bible*, *Benedict*, *Stephanus*, *Sixtus* and as many els w^{ch} here nowe are in most request. Euen to the woorkes of *Beda* (our natif countriman) and of *Anselmus*, a Bishop of this Realme I will prouid as no parcell of that hundered pounds chardge. I wish that *Thomas* and *Tostatus* woorkes, in aforesayd wise prouided, that the remanent of the hundered pounds might extend to procure the 4 *Doctors* of the Church, and *Bonauentures* woorkes w^{ch} now are numbred among the doctors of the church.

Allso *Tertulian Ciprian*, both the *Gregories Origen Clemens Chrisostome Cyrill Oecumenie Damascene Theodorite*, *Theophilact*, *Bernard Hugo et Hugo Stella Honeadus Lyra* *The generall Counsellis Barronius Bibliotheca Patrum*.

The binding vp of yo^r Library bookes is spetially to be respected for the well preseruing of them and reddier vse of them. first wheather in wad or in paste bords I prefer^r the past bords, if they be such dooble past bords as we receaue from Paris binding. next wheather clasped or stringed. many make election of stringing them of clasping, in regard of avoyding the anoy of Rushing [sic] as in respect of reddylyer repaying them. Then in what leather, and whether all in one colored lether or diuers. Likewise for coloring the Leaues etc. The more diuersitye of coloures and differences, be it in the couerings, false coverings, leaffes or stringes, the better will

the same serue for distinguishing betweene booke and booke, and wthall fitt all other vses so well, as if they had alonely ben of one coloure. Lastly to be resolued whether to haue them wth false couerings or not, such small coverings are of small chardge, will last longe, and redely by any taylor may be renewed. Those will keepe the costely Leather binding from rasing, tearing wearing and defacing w^{ch} cannot be but by that meanes avoyded vnlesse the deskes whearon they are to be placed, were couered over wth cloth. Such covering wth cloth is like or little lesse chardgable, not so longe lasting, and greatly subiect to dust and mothes. Therin I rather expounde then advice, leaving it to y^r discretions, to geue those directions w^{ch} ye shall censure to be therin most conuenient and behouefull.

My particularising hath prolonged my letter into endlesse lines, much beyonde my expectacion therfor high time to hase to end. what I haue frendly promised shall be inviolably performed halfe this yeare the other halfe the next yeare, if not the whole wthin the yeare. This is not geuen forthe of my plentye, but rather as the widdowes mite w^{ch} lett be accepted as a meane remembrance of an habundant goodwill and as my this yeares powers gifte but not as my last yeares gifte to y^t howse, w^{ch} yo^r self shall witnes, if Allmightie God permitt vs to liue som fewe of those yeares w^{ch} by naturall course we many more maye. To whose holy gouernment I committ yo^w who euermore prospere yo^w to his hono^r and glorie. Let me be in frendlyest wise be comended to yo^r good wife and to M^r Do^r Warner and his wife. *Hogsden i^o februarii 1597* Who giueth place to none in wellwishing to that colledge *Tho Tresame*.

III: Printed books and pamphlets discovered with the Tresham Papers

Excerpted from *HMCR iii*, 152-4.

My editorial additions are in bold.

[**Thomas Dorman**], *A prooffe of certeyne articles in religion denied by M. Ivell that christes church here in earth must of necessity have one chief head and governor under Christ to rule the same* [1564]. 4°, no title, imperfect.

[**Charles, Cardinal de Bourbon**], *A declaration of the causes that have moved the cardinal of Bourbon, the Princes, Peeres, Gentlemen, Townes and Comminalties Catholike of this Realme of Fraunce, to oppose themselves to those which by all meanes do seeke to subuert the Catholike Religion and the Estate* (1585), 'Giuen at Shalous (sic.) the of March 1585. Signed, Charles Cardinal of Bourbon'. 12°, no title, stitched together with:

A declaration set forth by the French Kinge, sheewing his pleasure concerning the new troubles in his Realme. Translated out of French into English by E.A[ggas], London. Imprinted by John Wolfe dwelling in Distaffe lane neere the sign of the Castell (1585), "Giuen at Paris in the moneth of Aprill 1585" Signed, Henry, and underneath, De Neu-fuille', 12°, black-letter.

Two dialogues: 1, on the legality of Henry VIII's marriage to his brother's betrothed wife. 2, on the parentage of Anne Bullen, the birth and claims of Queen Elizabeth, &c. Also the Pope's letter of dispensation, 1503, the judgments of the Universities, &c., [Anti-Sanderus, duos continens dialogos &c (Cambridge, 1593)]. 4°, imperfect and badly damaged.

[**Lorenzo Scupoli**], *The Spiritual Conflict. Written in Italian by a deuout Seruant of God: and lately translated into English out of the same language. Militia est vita hominis super terram. Iob cap. I. ver 1.* (Antwerp, 1598) dedicated 'To the right reuerend Mothers, the Abbesse and Sisters of the Monastery of S. Andrew in Venice, desirous of Christian

perfection', signed 'Your servant in Christ, Hierome Counte of Portia, the elder'. 12°, vellum cover.

A petition apologeticall, presented to the kinges most excellent majesty, by the lay Catholikes of England in July last. In eo detractant de vobis tanquam de malefactoribus, ex bonis operibus vos considerantes, glorificent Deum in die visitationes. In that wherein they misreporte of you, as of malefactors, by the good workes considring you, they may glorifie God in the day of visitation (Douai, 1604), 'dated by the editor "From my study in Doway, this 16 of October. Your very loving sonne and servant in Christo Domino Jo: Lacey"'. 4°. *The Coppie of the Banished Priestes letter to the Lordes of His Maiesties most Honovrable Privy Councell* 'dated "From the sea-side, this 24 of September, 1604"'. 4°. (Bound together)

A svrvey of the new religion, detection many grosse absvrديات which it implieth set forth by Matthew Kellison, Doctor and Professor Divinitie (Douai, 1605). 4°, vellum cover.

[John Radford], *A directorie teaching the way to the trvth in a briefe and plaine discovrse against the heresies of this time. Whereunto is added, a short treatise against adiaphorists, nevters, and such as say they may be saued in any Sect or Religion, and would make of many divers sects one Church* (1605), 'dedicated: "ADMODUM REVERENDO IN CHRISTO PATRI, ERVDITIONE, PIETATE, AND MORUM INTEGRITATE CONSPICUO, GEORGIO BLACKVELLO, Archipresbitero, totiusque; cleri Anglicani Ordinarii, intra Britainae fines laborantis, & constituti, moderatori, & rectori optimo, Radfordvs in Domino salutem", dated "27 Martii 1599" Signed I.R.' 12°, vellum cover.

Another copy of the same, with the cover torn off.

IV: List of martyrs, book 'Of Martirs', Bodl. MS Eng. Th. b. 2, fols. 121r-129r

fol. 121r	fol. 121r
Saint Alban protomartyr 286	John Fisher B. of Rochester 22 June 1535
Amphibole the teacher of St Alban	Thomas Moore 6 July 1535
Edmond king of the South Saxons 870	? Abbott of Colchester [Thomas Marshall OSB d. 1 Dec 1539]
Thomas Becket Archbishop of Canterbury 28 December 1171	Whiting Abbott of Glascenbury [Richard Whiting OSB d. 15 Nov 1539]
	Hugh Farrington Abbot of Reading 18 December [OSB]
	Abbott of Wooburne [Robert Hobbes Abbot of Woburn d. 1538, Cistercian]
	John Houghton Prior of the Chaterhouse [d. 4 May 1535, Carthusian (first martyr, and first to die as result of Supremacy)]
	Robert Laurence Prior of Bevall [Beauvale Charterhouse Notts., d. 4 May 1535, Carthusian]
	Augustine Webster Prior of Exham [Prior of Our Lady of Melwood, Epworth Lincs, d. 4 May 1535, Carthusian]
	Reinolds a brother of Syon [Richard Reynolds, Syon Abbey, d. 4 May 1535, Brigittine]
fol. 121v	fol. 121v
John Haile, vicar of Thistelworth 4 May 1534 [secular, d. 4 May 1535]	Walter Pereson [d. 10 June 1537, Carthusian]
William Exmere [Exmew, d. 19 June 1535, Carthusian]	Thomas Reding [d. 16 June 1537, Carthusian]
Humfrey Middelmoore [d. 19 June 1535, Carthusian]	Powell [Edward, d. 30 July 1540, DD]
Sebastian Nidigate 14 May [Newdigate, d. 19 June 1535, Carthusian]	Fetherstone [Richard, d. 30 July 1540, DD]
William Horne [Robert Horne, d. 4 August 1540, Carthusian]	Abel [Thomas, d. 30 July 1540, DD]
James Walworke [Walworth, d. 11 May 1537, Carthusian]	Germane [German Gardiner, d. 7 March 1544, layman]
Richard Beere [d. 19 June 1537, Carthusian]	Stone [John, d. 12 May 1538 OSA]
Thomas Jonson [d. 20 September 1537, Carthusian]	Forrest [John, d. 22 May 1538, OSF]

Thomas Greenway [also Green, d. 10 June 1537, Carthusian]	
John Dauby [d. 8 June 1537, Carthusian]	
William Greenwoode [d. 6 June 1537, Carthusian]	
Thomas Screvin [d. 15 June 1537, Carthusian]	
Robert Salt [d. 9 June 1537, Carthusian]	
fol. 123r	fol. 123r
John Felton gent. 8 August 1570 [assoc. with Papal excommunication]	Edmond Campian priest and Jesuit, 1 December 1581
John Story doctor of civil law 2 June 1571 [1 June; assoc. with Papal excommunication]	Alexander Briant, priest, at same time
	Radulf Sherwyn, priest, at same time
	John Payne, priest, 2 April 1582
Thomas Woodhouse priest, 19 June 1573 [d. 13 June]	Thomas Forde, priest, 28 May 1582
Cuthbert Mayne, priest, 13 November 1577 [d. 29 Nov.]	John Shert, priest, at same time
John Nelson, priest, 3 February 1578	Robert Jhonson, priest, at same time
Thomas Sherwoode, gent., 7 February 1578 [d. 1579]	William Filby, priest, 30 May 1582
Everard Hauns, priest, last of July 1581	Luke Kirby, priest, at same time
	Thomas Cottam, priest, at same time
fol. 123v	fol. 123v
Laurence Richardson, priest, at the same time	James Fenn, priest, at same time
William Lacie, priest, 22 August 15[82]	John Fynch, gent., 20 April [1584]
Richard Kirkman, priest [d. 22 August 1582]	John Neale, priest
James Tompson, priest, 26 November [d. 28 November 1582]	Richard White, schoolmaster [17 October 1584]
William Hart, priest [d. 15 March 1583]	Thomas Awfeild, priest, 6 July 1586 [1585]
Richard Threlkeld, priest, 29 May [1583]	Thomas Webley, dyer, at same time
John Body, schoolmaster, 2 November [Bodley, 1583]	Hugh Tailor, priest, [d. 26 November 1585]
John Slade, gent., 30 December [October, 1583]	Marmaduke Bowes, gent., at same time

William Carter, prynter, 11 Januarie [1584]	Margaret Clythero, gentlewoman [d. 25 March 1586]
Georg Haddock, priest, 13 Februarie 1583 [d. 12 Feb]	Longley, priest
John Munden, priest, at same time	Frauncis Engleby, priest [d. 3 June 1587]
John Nutter, priest, at same time	Crowe, priest [Alexander, d. 13 November 1587]
Thomas Hemerford, priest, at same time, [said to have propped himself up on his elbows after his bowels, heart, and head had been removed]	Sex. priest
fol. 125r	fol. 125r
Marye Stvart [d. 8 February 1587]	John Lowe, priest, 8 October [1586]
Maurice Hurlie Archbishop of Cassile [Dermot Hurley, AB of Cashel, d. 19/20 June 1584. His predecessor there had been Maurice]	John Adams, priest, at same time
Patrick Ohele Bishop of Meath [Bishop of Mayo, d. 22 August 1578]	Richard Dybdale, priest, at same time
Hollydaye, priest [Richard, d. 27 May 1590]	William Deane, priest, 28 August 1588
Hyll, priest, at same time [Richard]	Henry Webley, dyer, at same time
Hogg, priest, at same time [John]	William Gunter, priest [at same time]
Duke, priest, at same time [Edmund]	Morton, priest, 28 August 1588
Lacy, priest [William, d. 22 August 1582]	Hugh Moore, gent., at same time
Miller, at same time	Thomas Holford, priest, at same time
Edward Transham, priest, 21 January 1586 [Stransham]	Clerkson, priest [James Claxton/Clerskon, at the same time]
Nicholas Goodfyn, priest, at same time [Woodfen]	Thomas Felton, gent., at same time [OSF]
William Tompson, priest, 20 April [1586]	Leigh, priest, 30 August, 1588 [Richard]
Richard Lea, alias Long, priest, at same time	Flower, priest, at same time [Richard]
fol. 125v	fol. 125v
Edward Shelley, gent, at same time	William Hartley, priest, at same time
Richard Martin, gent., at same time	Jarrett, priest [Miles Gerard, d. 30 April 1590]
John Roche, yeoman, at same time	[D]ickinson, priest, at the same time [Francis]
Margaret Warde, gentlewoman, at same time	Robert Symons, yeoman, Tiburne
Robert Sutton, schoolmaster, 5 October [1588]	Hugh Yaxley, priest [Richard, d. 5 July 1589]

Waye, priest, 30 October [William, d. 23 September 1588]	George Nicols, priest [d. 5 July 1589]
Edward Campian, priest [1 October 1588]	Ysley, gent., at the same time [Richard Yaxley, priest]
Robert Wilcocks, priest [d. 1 October 1588]	at the same time [Thomas Belson, layman, and Humphrey Pritchard, layman, all at the same time at Oxford]
Thomas Buckston, priest, [d. 1 October 1588]	Christopher Bales, priest, 4 March [1590]
Crockett, priest [Robert, d. 1 October 1588]	Nicholas Horner, at the same time [layman]
gent [most likely Robert Windmerpool, ex. with Wilcocks, Campion and Buxton on 1 October 1588. Otherwise could be Robert Sutton, d. 5 October 1588 at Clerkenwell]	Alexander Blage, chamberlayne of an Inne, at the same time [Blake]
John Weldon, priest, 5 October [1588]	Edward Jones, priest [d. 6 May 1590]
fol. 127r	fol. 127r
Middleton, priest, same day [Anthony; d. same day as Edward Jones]	Williams, priest
Beeseley, priest [George, d. 2 July 1591]	James Byrd, gent., [d. 25 March 1593]
Moundford Scott, priest, at same time	Harrington, gent 18 February 1593 [William, priest, 1594]
e Jennings alias Iremonger, priest 10 December 1591 [Edmund Jennings]	Cornelius, priest, 1594 [John, d. 4 July 1594, SJ]
Swithen Wells, gent., at same time	Bosgraue, gent, at same time [Thomas]
Blasden, priest, at same time [Poldore Plasden]	Patrick, yeoman, at same time [Salmon]
White, priest, at same time [Eustace]	William Lacye, yeoman, at same time [Carey]
Sidley, yeoman, at same time	Robert Southwell priest and Jesuyte [d. 21 February 1595]
Lacye, gent., at same time [Brian]	Henry Walpole, priest and Jesuyte 1595 [d. 7 April]
John , yeoman, at same time [Mason]	Boast, priest, at same time [John, d. 24 July 1594]
Thomas Pourmort, priest, 20 February 1592	Alexander, priest
	Ingram, at same time [John]
fol. 127v	fol. 127v
Garlick, priest [Nicholas, d. 24 July 1588]	Exceter [James Dowdal, d. 13 August 1599]
Ludlow, priest, at same time [Robert Ludlum]	John Lions, yeoman [d. 16 July 1599]

Sympson, priest at same time [Richard]	John Rigbie, gent., 21 June 1600
William Freeman, priest, 13 August [1595]	Tomas Hunt, priest [d. 11 July 1600]
Andelby, priest, March [William, d. 4 July 1597]	Thomas Sprott, priest
Warcopp, gent., at same time [Thomas]	Robert Nutter, priest, 1600 [26 July]
at same time [Edward Fulthrop, gent.]	Edward Twyng, priest, at same time 1600
Robinson, priest [Christopher, d. 19 Aug 1598]	Nicholas Palifere, priest, July 1600
Griffeth Jones alias Buckley, priest and OSF 12 July [1598 - John Buckley, alias John Griffith]	John Norton, gent., at same time [d. 9 August 1600]
Titchborne, priest, 24 August [Thomas, d. 20 April 1602]	John Pybush, priest, 11 Feb [d. 18 February 1601]
Hawkes, at same time	Roger Feildcock, priest and Jesuit, 27 February 1600 [1601]
fol. 129r	fol. 129r
Mark Barkworth, priest and monk at same time [OSB]	Roberte Anderton, priest, February 1602
Anne Lyne, gentlewoman, at same time	Harryson, priest [James, d. 22 March 1602]
Tytchborne, priest, Aprill 1602 [Thomas, d. 20 April]	there also for relieving him, at same time [Anthony Battie/Bates]
Frauncis Page, priest, at same time [SJ]	preiste 1604 [John Sugar d. 16 July 1604]
Atkinson, priest, at same time [Robert Watkinson]	Grisold, yeoman, at same time [Robert]
James Ducket, 1602 [19 April]	at York for persuasion [likely Thomas Welborne, schoolmaster d. 1 August 1605]
at Tiburne the same time	John Sandys [priest, d. 11 August 1586]
Nicholas Christopher Wharston, priest, 28 March [1600]	[E]dward Burden [d. 29 November 1588]
fol. 129r	fol. 129r
Robert Drurye, priest and monk 1607 [26 February]	
George Geruais, priest and OSB 11 April 1608	
Flodders, priest [Matthew Flathers 21 March 1608]	
Garnet, priest, 23 June 1608 [Thomas, SJ]	

V: List 'Of those that have suffered any detriment in bodie landes or goodes since A°. 1°. Elizabethe'. Book 'Of Persecution', Bodl. MS Eng. Th. b. 2, fols. 403r-413r

fol. 403r

			Editorial notes		Editorial notes				Editorial notes
QVEENE	Marie Stvart	Queene of Scotland, beheaded at the castle of ff=dringhy in the Countie of norh-ton, the [] daye of [] 15[]	ex. 8 Feb 1587	BARONS [Initial illuminated]	WILIAM. Lorde Vaux:	after longe [blank] died at his howse at harrowden.	d. 20 August 1595		
[E]ARLES	PHILLIP Howarde.	Earle of Arundell & Surrye, died in ye tower of London, the [] of []. Being condempned to dye. [] 15[]	d. 19 October 1595		THOMAS. Lorde Paget:	died in banishment at Bruxells. [] 15	d. 1589 at Brussels		
	CHARLES. Nevill	Earle of Westmorland died in banishment at [] the [] of []. [] 15[].	d. 16 November 1601		HENRIE. Parker Lord Morley.		d. 22 October 1577 at Paris		
	HENRIE. Wriothsley	Earle of Southampton.	d. 4 October 1581		JOHN. Lorde Mordaunt.		d. 1571		
	[] Garret	Earle of desmond.	Possibly Gerald Fitzgerald, 15th Earl of Desmond, d. 1583.		LEONARD. Lorde Dacres.		d. Brussels 12 August 1573		
[V]ICOVNTES	ANTONIE Browne	Lorde vicount Mountacut, imprisoned in the ffeete.	d. 19 October 1592		[] Lorde Lumley.		John, 1st Baron, d. 11 April 1609 at London residence		

fol. 403v

KNIGHTES [Initial illuminated]	JOHN Arundell.	knight commytted to his owne house at Clerkenwell wher he died the [] daye of [] 15[]	d. 15 September 1580		THOMAS. Mettam. [/] GEORGE. Peckam.	knight.[/] knight.
	THOMAS Tresame	knighte, the myrror of wisdome, learning & stoute resolution = after many yeres induraunce & often in = prysonments : died at his house at Rushton the 19. of September : 1605.			JOHN. Southwort.	knight.
	WILLIAM. Catesbie. [/] Frauncis Englefield.	knight, after his imprisonments in the ffleete & other places died at Ashby the [] of [] 15[] [/] knight, died in Spayne.	William Catesby d. 1598; Francis Englefield d. 1596		THOMAS. Stradling.	knight.
	Alexander Culpeper	knight, after his imprisonment [] died the [] of [] 1500	d. 21 September 1541		JOHN. Nevil.	knight
	WILLIAM. Roper[/] William Stanley	nowe knight after many imprysonments. [/] knight	As above. Roper d. 4 January 1578; Stanley d. Ghent 1630		THOMAS. Markenfeild	knight of H[ie=]rusalem.
	JOHN Cotton [/] T	knight.	As above, but unfinished		ROBERT. Tyrwitt.	knighte.

GEORGE Browne.	knight	Son of Anthony Browne 1st V. Montague and Magdalen Dacre.	ESQVIRES. [Initial illuminated]	JOHN. Arundel, [/] Charles. Pagett.	Esquyre. [/] Esquyre.
THOMAS. Fitzherbert. [/] A	knight,	As before, but unfinished d. Tower, 2 October 1591		[] Shelley.	Esquyre.
EDWARD. Walgraue	knighte.	d. 1 September 1561		JOHN. Talbot.	Esquyre.
FRAVNCEES Englefield	knighte.	A repeat. See entry for William Catesbie.		JOHN. Southcote.	Esquire
ROBERT. Peckam.	knight.	d. 10 September 1569, Rome		FRAVNCEES. Browne	Esquire
EDWARD. Carve.	knight.			THOMAS. Wilforde.	Esquire
THOMAS . White.	knight.	d. 12 September 1567		JOHN. Leides	Esquyre.
				HENRIE Carew [/] Thomas Thockmorton: [sic.]	died at []
				JOHN. Thymbleby.	Esquyre.
				FRAVNCEES. Floyde	Esquire.
				HENRIE. Browne.	
				MICHAEL. Hare.	
				GERVIS. Paerpointe.	Esquire

fol. 405r	JOHN. Gage [/] SAMVEL. Lone.	Esquire [/] Esquyre.			WILLIAM. Tresame.	Esquyre.	
	STEVEN. Vachel	Esquire.			WILL		
	JOHN. Fortescue.	Esquyre.			THOMAS. Muttelburye.	Esquyre.	
	GEORGE. Cotton.				WILLIAM. Wiseman.	Esquyre.	
	GEORGE. Gage	Esquire			STEVEN. Vaughan.	Esquire.	
	HENRIE. Dorrel	Esquire			EDWARD. Knightley.	Esquire.	
	John. Townley.	Esquire.			[] Bentley.	Esquire.	
	THOWAS [sic.] Gawyn:	Esquyre.			WILLIAM. Fiton.	Esquire.	
	[] Faulconer	Esquyre.			[] Manfeilde	Esquire.	
	[] Weston.	Esquire.			THOMAS. Abington.	Esquire.	
	Edmond. Plowden	the Renowned Lawier Esquire,			W.GARRARD.	Esquyre.	
	[] Braybrooke.	Esquire.			ERASMVS Saunders.	Esquyre.	
	[] Farmer. [/] [] Godfrey	Esquyre. [/] Esquyre.			JOHN. Sachcverd.[?]	Esquyre.	
	Thomas Bawde: [/]] Waferer.	[] Esquire [/] Esquyre.			THOMAS. Roper.	Esquyre.	
	ROBERT. Apprice.	Esquyre. [] of Hashinly [?]			GILBERT. Hussy.	Esquyre.	

	FARDINANDO. Parise.	Esquyre.			GABRIEL. Denys. [/] Hugh. Owen.	Esquyre.	
	[] RACOT.	Esquyre.			[] Tregian [/] EDWARD. Yares.	Esquyre. [/] Esquyre.	
	[] Owen.	Esquyre.			THOMAS Throgmorton	Esquire. exul.	
	[] Greene.	Esquyre.			[] Hyrunden. [/] [] Carye.	Esquire. [/] Esquire.	
	HENRIE. Vaux. [/] ARTHVR Darcy.	Esquyre.[/] Esquyre.					
	JOHN. Palmer.	Esquire.					
	[] Rookwoode.	Esquire.					

Father paul a franciscan friar [] drawne hanged and quartered at tyburne [blank until bottom third of column] [] Roscarrock [?]. [] Roscarrock [?]. George Vavisour. [] Barrit [?]. [] Debffrett [?].	[] Blank box, followed by line of red dots, followed by double-ruled box for group name, followed by rest of column ruled at sides only with the text as reproduced here. Feint narrow lines showing three internal columns visible.	Richard Webster.	died in the Clincke.
		[] Walker.	
		Robert Bellamy.	
		Thomas Shelley:	
		Richard Budd.	
		[] Bromell.	
		[] Dryland.	
		Thomas Colbeck	.19. yeres, in B-ed. gaole
		Symen Celbeck,	died in the Marshalsea.
		Phillip Celbeck.	

		Nathaniell Celbeck.	
		William Lyale.	
		John Lyale.	7. yeres.
		Clement Lyale.	
		Edward Lyale.	
		Thomas Pentyvall.	
		Peter Pentevall	
		.[] Pentevall	
		.[] Pentevall	died in the
		.[] Harrington.	
		.[] Braye.	
		John Moore.	
		.[] Cole.	
		.[] Coes.	
		Nicholas Marwarde.	
		Hierome Payne.	
		Edward Halsey.	slayne at Lynlst
		Robert Tarry.	

	THOMAS. IOLLET.	Larger box than any others. Equivalent of 6 feintly-ruled lines of the facing column. Ruled off top and bottom but within column - ruling double as elsewhere. Rest of this column, and middle section between columns, have same feintly ruled lines. They are fainter in this box.
	Robert ffawkes.	died in the Marshalsea
	John Craddock.	
	Ralf Emerson	died at wisbech.
	William Kenneday.	
	Humfrey Marriot.	
	Thomas walker.	
	[] Grunden.	
	Robert Gybbons.	
	George Levens.	
	John Phitheon.	
	Thomas Harris	
	William Harrys.	
	Henry Kaynes.	
	[] Kenson.	

		John Strobriidy.	
		[] Laycock.	
		John Nowell.	
		Richard Dowse.	12. yeres.
		William Tharnbury.	6. yeres.
		John Prnce	
		James Prynce.	
		[] Cleyton.	
		[] Cooper.	
		[] Cole.	

fol. 413r [follows several blank ruled pages]

[] Howard, Countesse of Arundle [] Writheosly. Countesse of Southampton [] Countesse of Tircounell		Lines ruled feintly as in previous page. This box only a third filled.			
[] Browne Viscountesse Mountacute		This box only filled in bottom half.		[] Lady Arundle. Merill, Lady Tresame. [] Lady Catesbye. [] Lady Culpeper. [] Lady Roper. [] Lady Browne. [] Lady Wisman. [] Lady Digbye. Bridgit Lady Parham [] Lady Webb [] Lady Manfeild. [] Lady Clarke [] Lady Conndby [] Lady Beelt. [] Lady Peeter [] Lady Connawey [] Lady Fytsh. [] Lady [] [] Lady []	Merill and Bridgit squeezed in afterwards. Similarly unfinished - clearly intended to write in Christian names and last two surnames later.
[]ate Fraunces Lady Stourton. E[] Lady Munteagle. Vrsula Lady Sandis Mary Lady Vaux Margaret Lady Mordant [] Lady Wharston. [] Lady Winsore. [] Lady		This box empty in bottom quarter. Initials alternately red and black, first letter clearly missing its initial and further details, as with final 3 names.			

VI: Contents of Bodl. MSS Eng. Th. b. 1-2

Book One

ff. 3r - 9r	Epistle dedicatorie and 'to the reader'
ff. 11r - 19r	Of Absolution
ff. 19v - 23v	Of Almes
ff. 25r - 29r	Of Adoration
ff. [30]r - [30]v	Of Allelvia & Amen
ff. 31r - 43r	Of Antichrist
ff. 43r - 53r	Of Apostls
ff. 53v - 73r	Of Baptisme
ff. 73v - 93v	Of Bishops
ff. 95r - 105v	Of Canonically Howres
ff. 107r - 135v	Of Catholique Faithe
ff. 137r - 139v	Of Ceremonies
ff. 141r - 157v	Of the Church
ff. 159r - 187v	Of Churches & Monasteries
ff. 189r - 197r	Of ye Comandmentes
ff. 197v - 207v	Of Confesion
ff. 209r - 217v	Of Confirmation
ff. 219r - 219v	Of Contrition
ff. 221r - 253v	Of Conuersion
(ff. 253r - 253v	The Conversion of England)
ff. 255r - 257v	Of Councells
ff. 259r - 305v	Of the Cross
ff. 307r - 309v	Of Devotion
ff. 311r - 311v	Of Elias & Enoch
ff. 313r - 453v	Of the Holie Eucharist
ff. 455r - 477v	Of Excomvnication
ff. 479r - 491v	Of Exorcisms
ff. 493r - 499v	Of Extreem Vnction
ff. 501r - 531v	Of Faith
ff. 533r - 547v	Of Fasting
ff. 561r - 591v	Of the Fathers (and Doctors and men of famous memorie)
ff. 593r - 615v	Of Freewill
ff. 617r - 619v	Of the Gospel
ff. 621r - 623v	Of Grace
ff. 625r - 631v	Of God
ff. 633r - 643r	Of Christ Jesvs
ff. 643r - 649v	Of Heaven
ff. 651-657r	Of Hell
ff. 657v - 821r	Of Heretiks
ff. 821v - 835v	Of Hallowed Things

Book Two

ff. 9r - 9v	Of Hallowed Things [blank]
ff. 11r - 15r	Of Hope
ff. 15v - 29v	Of Hvmilitie
ff. 31r - 33v	Of Jesvites
ff. 35r - 51v	Of Images
ff. 53r - 63v	Of Ivstification
ff. 65r - 87v	Of Ovr B. Lady

ff. 89r - 139v	Of Martirs
ff. 141r - 159v	Of the Mass
ff. 161r - 183v	Of Matrimonie
ff. 185r - 205v	Of Merit
ff. 207r - 221v	Of Miracles
ff. 223r - 261r	Of Monkes
ff. 261v - 275r	Of Mvsicke
ff. 257v - 283v	Of Nvnnes
ff. 285r - 285v	Of Oathes
ff. 287r - 297v	Of Order
ff. 299r - 301v	Of Pardons
ff. 303r - 325v	Of Pennance
ff. 327r - 373v	Of S. Peter
ff. 375r - 425v	Of Persecvtion
ff. 427r - 431v	Of Pilgrimage
ff. 433r - 447v	Of the Pope
ff. 449r - 451v	Of Povertie Evangelical
ff. 453r - 493v	Of Praier (for the Dead)
ff. 495r - 505v	Of Predestination
ff. 507r - 537v	Of Preistes
ff. 539r - 553v	Of Princes
ff. 555r - 569v	Of Purgatorie
ff. 571 - 585v	Of Reliqves
ff. 587r - 595v	Of Rome
ff. 597r - 607v	Of Sacraments
ff. 609r - 647v	Of Sainctes
ff. 649r - 659v	Of Saintes Invoked
ff. 661r - 669r	Of Salvation
ff. 669v - 671v	Of Satisfaction
f. 673r - 657r	Of Scandal
ff. 687r - 711v	Of Scriptvre
ff. 713f - 7[3]5v	Of Scismatikes
ff. 7[3]7r - 7[5]1v	Of Sinne
ff. 7[5]3r - [77]9v	Of Traditioon
ff. [78]1r - 8[5]7v	Of Things Contingent
ff. 8[5]9r - [87]5v	Of Virginitie
ff. [87]7r - [88]9v	Of Vowes
ff. [89]1r - [89]1v	Of Vsvrie
ff. [89]3r - 9[0]3v	Of Workes and Good Works
ff. 9[0]5r - 9[0]7v	Of Zeale

Items included in the back of the second volume

f. 9[1]1r - Latin quotations from Scripture (in an entirely different secretary hand to the rest of the volume)

f. 9[1]5r - 9[1]5v - A receipt addressed to Thomas Dunbar at Deene, dated 3 Feb [16?]78 from Joseph Staler, including seal. Place names mentioned are north-east Northants.

f. 9[1]7r - The top half is a letter in a female hand from Ann Dunbar to her husband. Also, in a different hand, some lines from 'T.B.' warning us not to forsake our teachers when we see them in affliction, and advising constancy and perseverance to Christians in times of persecution. Doodles: two sketches of owls.

f. 9[1]9r - 9[1]9v is a printed news sheet: 'The Impartial Protestant Mercury' from Tuesday 19 July to Friday 22 July 1681.

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PC 2 Privy Council, Registers, consulted online

PROB 11 Wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury

SP 12 State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth I, consulted online

SP 14 Secretaries of State: State Papers Domestic, James I, 1603-1640, consulted online

SP 15 State Papers Domestic, Edward VI - James I, Addenda, consulted online

OXFORD

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MS Eng. Th. b. 1-2 Jollet Manuscript

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SJC MSS ADMIN.I.A.2 Letter from Sir Thomas Tresham to Sir John Case, 1 February 1597

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