

Concordia Seminary - Saint Louis

Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary

Bachelor of Divinity

Concordia Seminary Scholarship

5-6-1949

Jesuit action in England

Lyle R. Mueller

Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, lr_muellerl@csl.edu

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholar.csl.edu/bdiv>



Part of the [History of Christianity Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Mueller, Lyle R., "Jesuit action in England" (1949). *Bachelor of Divinity*. 289.
<https://scholar.csl.edu/bdiv/289>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Concordia Seminary Scholarship at Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary. It has been accepted for inclusion in Bachelor of Divinity by an authorized administrator of Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary. For more information, please contact seitzw@csl.edu.

JESUIT ACTION IN ENGLAND

A Thesis presented to the
Faculty of Concordia Theological Seminary
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements of the degree of
Bachelor of Divinity

By

Lyle R. Mueller....
St. Louis, Missouri.
1949

Approved by

Thos. Hoyer.
John A. Dreyer

Table of Contents

JESUIT ACTION IN ENGLAND

Introduction page 1
 A Brief Glance

Chapter I page 1
 The Society of Jesus

Chapter II page 8
 On The Road to Reformation

Chapter III page 22
 Elizabeth and The Reformation, 1558-1580

Chapter IV page 40
 The Seminary Priests

Chapter V page 46
 The Plan for Bringing England Back Into The Church

Chapter VI page 49
 The Invasion of Ireland

Chapter VII page 54
 Trying To Organize In Scotland

Chapter VIII page 60
 The Coming of the Jesuits

Chapter IX page 82
 Trying To Assassinate Elizabeth

Chapter X page 97

The Execution Of Mary Stuart

Chapter XI page 105

The Coming Of The Armada

Bibliography page 111

JESUIT ACTION IN ENGLAND

Lyle R. Hueller

St. Louis, Missouri

1949

To
DONNA
for her love
and encouragement

JESUIT ACTION IN ENGLAND

A BRIEF GLANCE

JESUIT ACTION IN ENGLAND brings before us one of the most interesting periods in the history of England, be it political or ecclesiastical. For it combines both classes of history into one interwoven pattern. It is not merely a recitation of cold facts, of days and times and events. But it is full of romance, intrigue, cunning, tragedy, courage, and suspense. This is the story of the birth of the Church of England, of its struggles in its infancy to establish itself in a world hostile to its innovations and determined to destroy it.

Nor is it a period exclusively English. For all the major powers of the world of that day watched with eager eye, some intent on its destruction, some desirous of its survival.

The Counter Reformation had been employed with measured success on continental Europe. And now its power was to be felt in England.

As the chief agents of the Counter Reformation were the Jesuits, our study begins with them in a brief history of their order, purpose, and tactics employed.

Then to acquaint ourselves more fully with the true ecclesiastical picture in England, we present as an introduction to JESUIT ACTION IN ENGLAND a brief description of the Reformation in England from the reign of Henry VIII to the year 1580

in the reign of Elizabeth (Chapters 2 and 3). Though this is not actually a part of JESUIT ACTION IN ENGLAND, it cannot be separated from JESUIT ACTION IN ENGLAND, if we are to understand conditions in England that led up to the employment of the Jesuits in an attempted Counter Reformation movement.

The first chapter (Chapter 4) that deals specifically with JESUIT ACTION IN ENGLAND takes us to the Seminary school in Douay, and later to the Seminary in Rome. Here Jesuit Action was initiated in the effort to return England to the supremacy of the papacy.

Chapter Five acquaints us with the papal plan for the invasion of England. Thereupon follows a brief discussion of action in Ireland and Scotland, as preliminary steps to the invasion of England (Chapters 6 and 7).

Chapter Eight begins with the Jesuit invasion of England and all that transpired from 1580 to 1588. The remaining chapters (Chapters 9 to 11) continue and bring to completion Jesuit Action in England through the year 1588.

Though there was some further action in England on the part of the Jesuits and Catholics, none ever seriously threatened the Church of England again. The collapse of the Armada was the establishment of the Anglican Church, which still remains today much like it was in 1588.

THE SOCIETY OF JESUS

On May 21, 1521, a Spanish garrison defending the besieged citadel of Fampeluna surrendered to the French forces. Their leader, a young nobleman, had just fallen in battle, a victim of a cannon ball. This Spanish nobleman was Ignatius. He was born in 1491 in the ancestral castle in Guipuzcoa. As a youth he had been trained as a soldier. Now his career days as a soldier were over. He was taken prisoner by the French and carried on a litter to the Loyola castle. Here he recovered slowly. During this period of convalescence he studied books on the life of Christ, St. Dominic, and St. Francis of Assisi. "He rose from his sick bed a religious enthusiast; with the conception forming in his brain of an association for the service of his Divine Master based on the principles of military obedience carried to the extreme logical point."¹

Upon returning from a trip to the Holy Land in 1524, he realized that education was a necessary step in his plans. During the next eleven years he studied at Barcelona, Alcala, and Salamanca in Spain, and at the university in Paris. His program consisted not only in an intensified education of the

1. Arthur D. Innes, England Under The Tudors, p. 164.

mind, but also in complete subjection of the body and soul. While at Paris he associated himself with six university students "who became absorbed in his 'Spiritual Exercises'."² The aims of the "Spiritual Exercises" are: "The purification of the soul from disordered affections and worldly standards; the discovery of the Divine Will before making a choice of a state of life; the consecration of the person's mind and will to the service of the Creator under the leadership of Jesus Christ."³

On August 15, 1534, Ignatius of Loyola, Peter Faber, Francis Xavier, James Laynez, Alphonsus Salmeron, Nicholas Bobadella, and Simon Rodriguez, in the city of Montemarte, bound themselves together on oath to live in chastity and poverty, to make a pilgrimage journey to Jerusalem, and to do mission work among the Mohammedans. Within the next few years several new recruits joined this little company.

Unable to make their journey to the Holy Land and their initial contact with the Mohammedans because of the war with the Turks, they proceeded to Rome. Here they offered their services to Pope Paul III. He accepted their offer, and immediately assigned them to lesser tasks. In this interval they discussed future plans. "Thus far, they followed no rule and were subject to no communal authority. They saw the necessity

2. Lars P. Qualben, A History of the Christian Church, p. 340.

3. Francis X. Talbot, "The Society of Jesus," Encyclopaedia Britannica, fourteenth edition, XIII, 10.

of obedience to an authority and of seeking means to perpetuate brotherhood."⁴

And thus it was that in 1539 Loyola presented a *Formula Instituti* to Paul III, which he approved on September 27, 1540, in the papal bull, "Regimini militantis Ecclesiae." The "Institutes" limited membership in the Society of Jesus to sixty. The following April Loyola was elected General of the new order, and was commissioned to draw up the constitutions. In 1547 the first draft was begun. It was approved by the foremost members of the Society, and confirmed by Pope Julius III in 1556.

The constitutions recognize three grades in the Society: scholastics, coadjutors, and professed. Society hopefuls must conform to Canon Law requirements. In addition they should have constancy of character, virtue, prudence, and, if they wish to become priests, learning. After a brief first probation, two years of "noviceship" follow. At the end of this term he devotes himself to Spiritual Exercises for a period of thirty days and is assigned menial chores. If he is then approved, he takes the vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience. He is then classified as a "scholastic". The scholastic then studies for nine years. Then follows a carefully supervised two to three year period of instructing. Following his ordination to the priesthood, he spends another year, the tertianship, devoted to asceticism, followed by another thirty

4. Ibid.

day's retreat devoted to the "Spiritual Exercises." If he shows special aptness for the work of the Society, he is admitted to the profession. The "professed" are members in the highest sense, forming, as it were, an elite group. They alone may hold any office. They alone participate in General Congregations, which are held to elect a successor upon the death of a General and in extreme emergencies. Upon induction they take solemn religious vows, and the special vow of unconditional obedience to the pope. Those, who have undergone the assigned studies and supervised teaching and are not admitted to the profession, are admitted to the class known as "formed spiritual coadjutors." This class engages in all the activities of the Society, but they are excluded from the highest offices in the Order, and take only the simple vows. If occasion warrants, a "coadjutor" may be elevated to the profession.⁵

The General of the Society is chosen for life. And, while he himself is under the absolute authority of the pope, he has almost complete power and authority in the Society. He is aided by a staff of six assistants, each chosen from a specific geographic location. Their tenure of office lasts until the death of the General under whom they serve.

The work of the Society lies in four fields: the ministry, education, missions, and charity. Their motto is: "Omnia in majorem dei gloriam." The object of the Society was and is to

5. Ibid., this paragraph is based on the work of Talbot.

recover lost territory and to convert the entire heathen world for the Church. "Their supreme aim, the destruction of heresy (thinking anything different from what the Pope said think); for the accomplishment of which anything was justifiable, deception, immorality, vice, even murder."⁶ "Their methods: Schools, seeking especially the children of the ruling classes, aiming in all schools to gain absolute mastery over the pupil; the Confessional, especially with kings, princes and civil rulers, indulging them in all kinds of vice and crime, for the sake of gaining their favor; Force, persuading rulers to execute the sentences of the Inquisition."⁷

The early Jesuits were sent by Ignatius first to pagan lands or to Catholic countries; to Protestant countries only at the special request of the pope, and to Germany, the cradle-land of the Reformation, at the urgent solicitation of the imperial ambassador. From the very beginning the missionary labours of Jesuits among the pagans of India, Japan, China, Canada, Central and South America were as important as their activity in Christian countries. As the object of the Society was the propagation and strengthening of the Catholic Faith everywhere, the Jesuits naturally endeavoured to counteract the spread of Protestantism. They became the main instruments of the Counter-Reformation; the reconquest of southern and western Germany and Austria for the Church, and the preservation of the Catholic faith in France, and other countries were due chiefly to their exertions.⁸

Their activity in the Counter-Reformation especially brings to light several objectional and unethical principles. Chief of these is "probabilism," the probable outcome of any course made

6. Henry H. Halley, Pocket Bible Handbook, p. 603.

7. Ibid.

8. J. H. Pollen, "The Society of Jesus," The Catholic Encyclopedia, XIV, 81.

it a wise and good course of procedure. Closely allied to this is "intentionalism," whereby the end justifies the means, whether it involve murder, war, international intrigue, and the like. A third is "mental reservation," meaning that one under oath need not state the whole truth and might withhold relevant information. During the unfolding of Jesuit Action In England during the reign of Elizabeth in ensuing pages, one can readily see these principles in operation.

As the chief supporters of and main instruments of the Counter-Reformation, their power became well known among the reforming countries. Their devotion and zeal to and for the Church resulted in regaining many Protestants for the Catholic faith. In other places their influence caused princes and rulers to suppress the Protestants. Their colleges, universities, and seminaries did much to stem the rising tide of the Reformation. Their social work, aiding the poor, establishing "Warthouses" for unmarried mothers-to-be did much to gain the sympathy and favor of the people.

No better summation can conclude our chapter on the Jesuit Order than the words of Innes:

Utter obedience was their rule, thorough education of their members the primary requirement. Every Jesuit was a consummately cultivated man of the world as well as a religious devotee, responding absolutely to the control of a superior officer as a finished piece of machinery answers to the touch of the engineer; accounting death in the service a welcome martyrdom; shrinking from no act demanded for the fulfillment of orders which might not be questioned. Within a few years of its institution, the Society had developed into one of the most potent organisa-

tions, whether for good or for evil, that the world has ever known.⁹

9. Innes, loc. cit....

PRITZLAFF MEMORIAL LIBRARY
CONCORDIA SEMINARY
ST. LOUIS, MO.

ON THE ROAD TO REFORMATION

When "the Defender of the Faith" convinced himself that the daughter of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain would bear him no son, he desired to divorce his wife. Queen Catherine was the widow of Henry VIII's older brother, Arthur, whose early death prevented him from sitting upon the throne of England. Henry acquired a papal dispensation to marry Catherine. And to this union six children were born. Only one of the children lived beyond infancy, a daughter, who was destined to become Queen of England, and known to the present day as "bloody Mary."

Henry petitioned Pope Clement VII for an annulment of his marriage on the grounds that his marriage to his brother's widow was a sin. The negotiations were placed in the hands of Wolsey. But Wolsey failed. The pope may have been inclined to grant Henry's petition, but he dared not offend the powerful king of Spain, Charles V, who was also emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, elected against the wishes of the pope.

When Henry learned that the pope opposed his intended divorce from Catherine, he swiftly acted upon Cromwell's suggestion that he allow no supremacy in his realm but his own. Using parliament to achieve his own ends, the break with Rome was soon forthcoming.

In January of 1533, Cranmer secretly united Henry and Anne Boleyn in marriage. In May, Henry's annulment was declared final in his own courts. The pope answered with a bull of excommunication the following year. In November, 1534, Parliament passed the "Act of Supremacy," which repudiated the authority of the papacy, and declared Henry, as well as his successors, to be the "Supreme Head in earth of the Church of England."

Already in 1532 the payment of annates to Rome was forbidden. Later that year Parliament passed the "Act of Submission of the Clergy," which denied the clergy the right to pass laws in convocation without the approval of the king. The "Act in Restraint of Appeals" of 1533 forbade all further appeals to Rome. To assure the royal supremacy, the "Act of High Treason" was passed in 1534, which declared anyone who denied to Henry the title "Supreme Head" guilty of high treason.

The Convocation of Canterbury adopted the "Ten Articles" in 1536. The purpose of these articles "was to 'establish Christian quietness and unity, and to avoid contentious opinions'."¹⁰ "Five of the articles relate to doctrine, treating of faith, baptism, penance, the Lord's Supper, and justification; and five concerning images, the honouring of saints, the praying to saints, rites and ceremonies, and purgatory. As

10. W. H. Beckett, *The English Reformation of the Sixteenth Century*, p. 149. In the remainder of this paragraph all parts of sentences enclosed with quotes are words of the original document and are found in Beckett, pp. 149-150.

the source of doctrine and foundation of faith, the Bible and the three creeds--the Apostles', Nicene, and Athanasian--are declared to be 'infallible words of God'.¹¹ The article on penance declared that auricular confession was necessary, "if it may be had." The article on the Lord's Supper affirmed the doctrine of transubstantiation, and the administration of the sacrament in one kind. The doctrine of justification is defined as "signifying remission of our sins, and our acceptation or reconciliation into the grace and favour of God; that is to say, our perfect renovation in Christ." In the articles pertaining to custom and rites, images are desired to be retained, "especially the images of Christ and Our Lady." Prayers and masses for the dead are commended. While on the matter of purgatory, the pope's pardons "are not necessary for obtaining everlasting life, or for delivering the souls of men out of purgatory and the pains of it." Concerning ceremonies, it is stated that "no ceremonies have power to remit sin."

Of these "Ten Articles" Beckett states, "...There is the sign of manifest advance in religious thought."¹² To substantiate his conclusion, he quotes this passage from Strype, "The sun of truth was now but rising, and breaking through the mists of that idolatry, superstition, and ignorance that had so long prevailed in this nation and the rest of the world, and was not yet advanced to its meridian brightness."¹³

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid., p. 150.

13. Ibid. Beckett does not cite the location of this passage.

Between the years 1536-1539 a series of thirteen articles were drawn up with the view in mind to effect a union with The Smalcaldic League. Henry took part in the discussions, "but the old anti-Lutheran bias was too strong to be overcome. On three points--viz., the denying of the cup to the laity, private masses, and the celibacy of the clergy--he would not give way."¹⁴ At about this same time, Lambert was brought to trial before Henry on the charge of denying the doctrine of transubstantiation. He refused to recant, and, upon his plea for mercy, Henry exclaimed that he would be "no patron of heretics."¹⁵

The threatening increase of "heresy" resulted in the passing of the "Act of the Six Articles" in 1539. The "Six Articles" are also known by the more expressive name, "Whip with the Six Strings."

This Act, remarkable as 'the first attempt to make religious doctrine part of the statute law,' re-imposed on England all the leading doctrines of the Roman Catholic faith, declaring:--1. That in the Lord's Supper 'the natural body and blood of Christ are present.' 2. That communion in both kinds is unnecessary. 3. That priests might not marry. 4. That vows of celibacy ought to be observed. 5. That the use of private masses ought to be continued. 6. That auricular confession is expedient and necessary.

It enacted that all who denied the first article should be burned as heretics, and that those who persistently refused assent to the others should be hanged as felons.

The immediate consequence of this infamous Act was that many young and zealous Reformers left the country.¹⁶

14. Ibid., 1523

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

A committee of bishops published a book, entitled The Institution of a Christian Man, in 1537. This book is perhaps better known as The Bishops' Book. It was so called because it was published without the inscribed sanction of Henry. This work was a detailed accounting of the "Six Articles" of the previous year.

A Necessary Doctrine and Exhortation for any Christian Man, also known as The King's Book, appeared in 1543. It was a revised and lengthened version of The Bishops' Book.

This contains some additional articles on the subjects of faith, free-will, and good works. Faith is defined as a persuasion wrought in man's heart that there is a God, and that the words and sayings of Scripture are infallible truth. It is the belief of what was taught by the apostles and confirmed by the universal consent of the Church, 'wherein man leaeneth not to his own natural knowledge, which is by reason, but leaeneth to the knowledge attained by faith.'...The article on free-will is Augustinian, but temperate. It ends with the admonition that preachers are neither 'so to preach the grace of God that they take away thereby free-will, nor, on the other side, so extol free-will that injury be done to the grace of God.'¹⁷

The teaching and doctrine evidently had leaned too far over to the position of the Protestants, because this work evidences a more decided swing back to the Catholic position.

A brighter aspect of the reign of Henry is the appearance of several new translations of the Bible. In 1525, William Tyndale's translation of the New Testament appeared. A second edition appeared in 1534, containing side notes and introduc-

17. Ibid., 151.

tions to the books, and translations of various Old Testament selections taken from the Sarum prayer-book. This translation was from the original tongues of the Old and New Testaments. However, it was not generally accepted by the bishops, because of the personal notes. In 1529, in Antwerp, the bishops acquired as many copies as possible, and burned them publicly.

Other translations followed. The translation of Miles Coverdale appeared in 1535, which was given royal sanction in 1537. Cromwell's, or the Great Bible, appeared in 1539. At the same time an order was issued that a copy of it was to be placed in every church. "Convocation ordered a regular Scripture reading (in English) to be given at every service, consisting of one chapter from the Old Testament and one from the New."¹⁸ "It was further required that the Bible should be set up in a convenient place within the church for general reading, and that the clergy should 'expressly provoke, stir, exhort every person to read the same'.¹⁹ However, this injunction was short lived. For in 1545 a proclamation prohibited Bible reading.

In actuality there was little or no reformation during the reign of Henry VIII. The road was built, but was yet to be traveled upon.

In the reign of the late King, the Reformation which had taken place was almost entirely political and

18. M. Bloxam, A New Guide to Knowledge of Church History, p. 186.

19. Beckett, op. cit., p. 164.

financial--in the constitution of the government of the ecclesiastical body, and the allocation of its endowments. The Sovereign had claimed and enforced his own supremacy, involving the repudiation of papal authority, the submission of the clergy to the Supreme Head, and the appropriation by the Crown of Monastic property. As a necessary corollary, the Crown had also taken upon itself to sanction formularies of belief and to regulate rites and ceremonies; but in doing so it had held by the accepted dogmas, suppressed little except obvious and admitted abuses, and affirmed no heresies.²⁰

By breaking the bonds of Rome Henry did not give the church freedom; he substituted a single despotism for the dual authority which pope and king had previously exercised over it.²¹

...Until the end of his days he was rigidly orthodox in the Roman doctrine of transubstantiation, celibacy of clergy, and auricular confession. To speak of Henry as ever other than a papist is to overlook the fact that there were almost as many martyrs to the Protestant faith in his as in Mary's reign.²²

On the death of Henry VIII, his son, Edward VI, mentally advanced for his somewhat less than ten years, nominally reigned in his stead. Henry had the lad trained in the faith of the Reformers, and had appointed a Council of Regency with Protestant leanings. Edward Seymour, whose sympathies were decidedly Protestant, was chosen Protector, and, thereupon, he was created Duke of Somerset.

Among the first acts of the Council was the release of all those who had been imprisoned under the "Six Articles." "To leave no question as to the acknowledgment of the royal su-

20. Innes, op. cit., p. 208.

21. "The Church of England," Encyclopaedia Britannica, fourteenth edition, VIII, 468.

22. Beckett, op. cit., p. 136.

premacv, notices were served upon all the bishops, requiring them to take out new commissions from their new sovereign."²³ Then a general visitation of all churches was ordered. Injunctions were also issued. They required that "all the clergy were to have 'one sermon every quarter of the year at least, wherein they shall purely and sincerely declare the word of God,' and show that 'pilgrimages, offerings of money, candles, or tapers to relics or images, or kissing and licking of the same, praying upon beads, and such like superstitions, have no promise of reward in Scripture.'"²⁴ All images and monuments of "feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry and superstition" were required to be removed, "so that there remains no memory of the same on walls, glasses, windows, or elsewhere." Restrictions and elaborated duties were placed upon the clergy.

Within a short time Cranmer published "A Book of Homilies" which were to be read, one each Sunday. The clergy were to set aside a certain part of their income for charity, and the laity were encouraged to contribute the money they formerly gave for pardons, pilgrimages, candles, and the like, for the support of the poor.

The first Parliament under Edward met in November. The "Six Articles" were quickly repealed, as well as the heresy and the treason laws passed during the reign of Henry. Comauion

23. Ibid., p. 177.

24. Ibid., p. 178, His quotation, as well as the words in quotes in the following sentence are the wording of the original document, as found in Cardwell, Documentary Annals, I, 4-31.

was to be administered in both kinds, but there was no change in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. The question of the celibacy of the clergy was raised and discussed in Convocation, resulting in a resolution that celibacy be no longer compulsory. The resolution was then sent to Parliament to be considered and acted upon in its 1548 session. Over the objection of many, the resolution was passed into law.

The first catechism, A Short Instruction to Christian Religion, for the Profit of Children and Young People, under Cranmer's supervision, was published in the summer of 1548. It was a carefully prepared translation of a work of a German, later translated into Latin by Justus Jonas. It was an exposition of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the sacraments. Being a translation from the translation of Jonas, the English rendition was decidedly Lutheran.

During this year a new prayer-book was being compiled. It was presented and received the full sanction of both Church and State. It was published early in 1549. And thus it is known as the Book of Common Prayer of 1549. An "Act of Uniformity" compelled the clergy throughout the realm to adopt and use it, under severe penalties for refusal. "The chief changes introduced by the publication of the Book of Common Prayer consisted--

1. In the use of one book instead of several: the Prayer-book being a condensed reproduction in English of the old Latin service books, that of the Use of Sarum being principally followed.
2. In the substitution of two daily services, 'matins' and 'evensong,' for those of the seven hours, which, except in the monasteries, were rarely ob-

served.

3. The removal from the services of a vast quantity of legendary matter, which was read in the form of lections, and of numerous litanies to and invocations of the saints, especially of the Virgin Mary.

4. In the increased use of Scripture by the lengthening of the lessons, which sometimes consisted of tiny portions of one or two verses, so 'that many times there was more business to find out what should be read, than to read it when it was found out.'

5. In the rearrangement of the reading of the Psalter for a monthly course, instead of a weekly.

6. In the omission of various offices for the souls of the departed, and numerous prayers which implied a belief in purgatory."²⁵

"This Prayer Book aimed at greater simplicity of the rituals, a divine worship in English, a worship that was based on the Bible and Bible reading, and an active and intelligent participation of the congregation in the worship."²⁶

Such was the unfavorable reception of the new Prayer-Book, that after two years the opposition was able to secure the appointment of a committee for its revision. The revision committee invited the help of reformers from the continent. And, early in 1552, the second Prayer-Book was submitted, approved, and ordered to be put into use. It was enforced by the second "Act of Uniformity", which went so far as to impose penalties upon the laity for non-compliance.

Whereas, the first Prayer-Book had been written so ambiguously that it might be accepted by all, the second was more Reformed in character. This change was intentional. Somerset

25. Ibid., pp. 199-200.

26. Walben, op. cit., pp. 323-324.

had been deposed as Protector, and Dudley, the Duke of Northumberland, had succeeded him. While the method of procedure under Somerset had been moderate and tolerant, the procedure of Dudley was radical; there was "one reason for this: Edward was rapidly failing; Catholic Mary Tudor was next in line of succession; hence the attempt to make England so thoroughly Protestant that she could not restore the Roman rule."²⁷

Perhaps the most significant change in doctrine was that of the Lord's Supper. Communion had become a commemoration. This can be seen from the words of administration. In the first Prayer-Book the words of administration were: "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thee body and soul unto everlasting life;" "The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life."²⁸ In the present Prayer-Book the words were: "Take and eat this, in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on Him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving;" "Drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for thee, and be thankful."²⁹

Throughout the entire second Prayer-Book the revisers were anti-Roman Catholic, in regards the liturgy and the vestments, in reference to "minister" instead of "priest", in reference to

27. Theo. Hoyer, "Reform under Edward VI, 1547-1553," p. 50. This is taken from Dr. Hoyer's syllabus for fourth year Church History. The first part of this sentence is also his and has been paraphrased.

28. Beckett, op. cit., p. 204.

29. Ibid.

"table" instead of "altar," and the like.

In the last year of the boy-King's reign, 1553, there appeared a second catechism and the "Forty-two Articles," which were to serve as the basis of instruction and be the official Confession of Faith. One of the last acts of Edward was the authorization of the "Forty-two Articles," to which all the clergy must subscribe. Both were based on the doctrines incorporated in the second Prayer-Book.

On July 6, 1553, Edward died of consumption, which had long plagued him. Thereupon followed an attempt to enthrone Lady Jane Grey, in place of the Roman Catholic Mary. But the plot failed, perhaps because of the last year of Edward's reign, which was marked by despoliation and general corruption. Perhaps also by the radical and frequent changes in doctrine and practise to which the clergy were to subscribe. The masses perhaps were also somewhat needled by the many changes of doctrine and worship, so that they scarcely knew what they were to believe, what they were to do, and how they were to worship. One thing seems certain, the masses were not in favor of the enthroning of Lady Jane Grey.

On July 19, 1553, Mary was hailed Queen. "While her prospects yet remained doubtful, Mary had said that she would not alter the religion which had been settled and confirmed in the reign of her brother; but no sooner was her position secure, than it was clear she purposed to reverse absolutely the whole policy, not only of the Protectorate, but of her father's re-

nunciation of Rome likewise."³⁰ Within three months the reforming bishops were imprisoned. The services were restored to the old order. In some places the masses were received with joy. In other places they resulted in demonstrations. "The Prayer-book was abolished; the altars replaced; crosses and rood lofts, which had been pulled down, set up again; and the legends of the Church substituted once more for the Bible. Altar vessels and ecclesiastical vestures, that friendly hands had secreted, re-appeared."³¹

The first Parliament repealed the reforming acts of the reign of Edward and the Protectorate. Convocation, meeting at the same time, reaffirmed the doctrine of transubstantiation, and required celibacy of the clergy. Those of the clergy who were married either had to leave their wives or resign their parishes. England was formally received back into the bosom of the pope in 1554.

Up to this moment the people seemed to be responding favorably to the return to Catholicism. But Mary's marriage to Philip II of Spain was the turning point. The masses objected and voiced their disapproval. Thereupon began the persecution. Parliament had repealed all the reforming acts of the reign of Henry VIII. The heresy law had been revived. Now all who refused to disown the teachings of the Prayer-Book were persecuted. The persecution began in 1555 and lasted until the end

30. Ibid., p. 228.

31. Ibid., p. 221.

of the reign in 1558. Many of the Protestants fled to the continent. Prisons were filled. Two hundred and ninety, at a minimum, were burned at the stake during these four years.

As a note of special interest to the purpose and aim of this paper, a quotation from Gairdner will serve as an apt conclusion to this chapter:

One of Mary's aims in restoring England to the realm of the papacy was the restoration of the monastic system. And from some Italian MS., not known in our day, Burnet learned that Ignatius Loyola, who died at Rome this year (1556) on July 31, tried to persuade Cardinal Pole (the successor of Cranmer as Archbishop of Canterbury by appointment of the pope) to fill the old houses with men of his order, as Benedictine monasticism was no longer a help but rather a hindrance to the church in the warfare now before it. The fact seems probable enough. The new order of the Jesuits had been started in 1540, and it is certain that Pole took much interest in it from the beginning. But all that appears from the published correspondence of Pole and Loyola is that Loyola had invited Pole to send young men from England to Rome to be educated under him. And it is pretty certain that Pole did not act on the suggestion.³²

Had Jesuits been sent to England at this time, perhaps the history of the English Reformation would have reached an abrupt ending. Had men of England been sent to Rome to be educated in the principles of the Society of Jesus at this time, Jesuit Action in England during the reign of Elizabeth would have been the sooner begun and the results far more favorable to their cause. But this was not to be.

32. James Gairdner, A History of the English Church in the 16th Century from Henry VIII to Mary, p. 381.

ELIZABETH AND THE REFORMATION, 1558-1580

The daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn succeeded to the throne of England upon the death of Mary on November 17, 1558. According to the will of Henry in regards to the succession, Elizabeth was to follow Mary to the throne, if in the meantime there were no rightful male heir. Elizabeth's ascendancy was hailed with great joy by Catholic and Protestant alike. The Catholics were wearied by the problems and troubles that arose from the bloody persecution that marked the reign of Mary. The Protestants were eager to rid themselves of the menace of Catholicism in their land. "Towards the end of her (Mary's) reign irritation had reached such a height that probably only the hope of the sick queen's speedy death prevented a protestant rising."¹

"The popular talk was in favour of a change in religion and against the queen's marriage with any foreigner; and already the foundation was laid of that extraordinary power of mutual understanding between queen and people, which was one of Elizabeth's reign."² But Elizabeth was in no hurry to reveal her religious beliefs. For there were three distinct

1. Arnold Oskar Meyer, England and the Catholic Church Under Queen Elizabeth, p. 12.

2. W. H. Frere, A History of the English Church In the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I (1558-1625), p. 4.

groups she hoped to conciliate and bring together. The Catholic group who believed the reform measures had proceeded too far under the reign of Edward VI. The Anglican party who wanted to return to the reform measures of Edward VI. And the third group, who later developed into the Puritans, who sought further reform measures. Their company was soon swelled by the return of the self-exiles, who had fled to the continent during the Marian persecution and settled in various centers of Reformed teaching. Elizabeth was soon to learn that her hopes were in vain.

Then too, there was the matter of being recognized as Queen. She did not wish to unduly arouse the various courts of Europe. The usual message announcing her ascendancy was sent to the various capital cities, and communication was opened with Pope Paul IV for recognition by the Papal See.

The future of the Church of England depended in great measure on the Pope's action. To acknowledge Elizabeth as Queen was to acknowledge the lawfulness of the marriage of her mother, Anne Boleyn, and to cancel Rome's solemn judgement in Katherine's favour. That the Pope would go so far as that it was unreasonable to expect. But he went out of his way to make himself coarse and offensive. He refused to acknowledge her title on the ground that she was illegitimate, and therefore debarred from inheriting the throne; that her accession to the throne of England, which was a fief of the Holy See, without his sanction was an act of impertinence.... The Queen took no present notice of the Pope's conduct beyond the withdrawing of her Ambassador from Rome.³

Around Christmas time the court had been "cleared of ev-

3. A. H. More, History of the Church of England, for Schools and Families, p. 291.

everything Catholic."⁴ On December 28, a proclamation stated that there was to be no further preaching, unless a special license were granted, until parliament should meet. Permission was given to read the Epistle and Gospel lessons in English, use might be made of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Litany, and the rest of the service was to follow the Missal and Breviary.

To the same date belongs the first authoritative pronouncement concerning divine service--the gospel, epistle, the ten commandments, etc., were to be recited in English, but at the same time it was strictly forbidden--'until consultation may be had by parliament by her Majesty and her three estates of this realm'--to add anything whatsoever to the Word of God, or 'gyve audience to any manner of doctrine or preaching' contrary to it. The services in the Chapel royal were reformed in accordance with these injunctions, and married chaplains were allowed to officiate."⁵

Ten days after the coronation of Elizabeth on January 15, 1559, Parliament assembled. Two bills were immediately presented and passed. The one recognized Elizabeth's title to the crown. The other restored to the Crown the tenths and first-fruits that had been delegated to the Catholic Church during the reign of Mary. With the presentation of the Supremacy Bill, a long and at times heated discussion followed. Almost two months of debate was required before, on April 29, Parliament passed "An Act for restoring to the Crown the Ancient jurisdiction over the State, ecclesiastical and spiritual, and abolish-

4. Meyer, op. cit., p. 18.

5. Ibid., pp. 18-19.

ing all foreign powers repugnant to the same."

Although the Bill would grant to Elizabeth the title of "Supreme Head", she rather chose the title "Supreme Governor", seeking to placate the ire of the Catholics to whom the title, "Supreme Head" was odious, and "By her direction was declared to be 'the only supreme governor of the realm, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal'."⁶

In reality Elizabeth sacrificed no power. Papal supremacy was abolished, and the Act "marked a return to the Henrician relation with Rome, but with some significant changes, especially the constitutional provision for a body of ecclesiastical commissioners to exercise the royal supremacy on behalf of the Crown."⁷

The sense in which she claimed the title was afterwards explained in an Admonition in the Elizabethan "Injunctions: Her Majesty neither doth, nor never will, challenge any authority otherwise than was challenged and lately used by the noble Kings of famous memory, Henry VIII. and Edward VI., which is and was of ancient time due to the Imperial Crown of this realm; that is under God to have the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born within these her realms, dominions, and countries, of what state, ecclesiastical or temporal, soever they be, so as no other foreign power shall or ought to have any superiority over them."⁸

It (this Act) empowered the Queen and her successors to erect the High Commission Court for the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; to appoint by letters patent under the Great Seal such persons as she should deem fit for exercising under the Crown all manner of spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdic-

6. Beckett, op. cit., p. 266.

7. Frere, op. cit., p. 26.

8. Hore, op. cit., p. 292.

tion.

The act also empowered the Queen to appoint visitors to 'visit, reform, redress, order, correct and amend all such errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities which by any manner, spiritual or ecclesiastical power, authority, or jurisdiction can or may lawfully be reformed, ordered, redeemed, corrected, or amended.'...But there was an important proviso. No person appointed by the Crown to execute spiritual jurisdiction shall have power to determine any matter to be heresy except what had been adjudged to be heresy by the Canonical Scriptures, or any of the first four General Councils, or any other General Council, or 'shall be ordered, judged, or determined to be heresy by the High Court of Parliament of the realm, with the assent of the Clergy in their Convocation; anything in the Act to the contrary notwithstanding.'

The Supremacy Act repealed all the Acts passed in the reign of Mary, and restored and revised those of Edward VI. It also restored the "conge d'elire" in the election of Bishops.⁹

All the clergy and those holding office under the Crown were, according to this Act, to acknowledge Elizabeth's supremacy by taking an oath. Those refusing to take the oath of supremacy were to be deprived of office. "No such oath was required of persons in general, but any one who himself in opposition to the Act became liable to a series of penalties reaching finally to those of praemunire and high treason."¹⁰

In December of 1558 a committee was appointed to make a revision of the Book of Common Prayer. It was hoped that this might be a common meeting ground for the various elements of religious thought and bring about peace and harmony. The Queen and Parker favored a revision based on the First Prayer-Book.

9. Ibid., p. 293.

10. Frere, op. cit., p. 33.

The Council, however, favored a return to the Second Prayer-Book. Feeling that the Catholics could not be satisfied, they hoped to gain the favor of the group won over by the returned exiles from the continent in this way. The appointed committee took the stand of the Council and recommended the adoption of the Second Prayer-Book of Edward VI. They also recommended that the new Bill to be presented to Parliament include statements to the effect that no vestments other than the surplice be permitted at any of the services, and that communicants be permitted either to kneel or stand as they saw fit.

But Elizabeth was not satisfied with the recommendations of the committee. She was determined that certain concessions be made to the Catholic group. A compromise was then effected. "The Book submitted to Parliament was therefore the Second Book of King Edward VI., with certain alterations, and with the ornaments of the Church and the vestments of the minister, which had been prescribed by the First Prayer-Book."¹¹

In April 1559, this revised Second Prayer-Book was adopted in Parliament by "An Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer, and Service in the Church, and Administration of the Sacraments." The Act provided that this and only this order of service was to be used in all services; those who did not comply with this order were to be subject to severe penalties, which went so far as to include deprivation and imprisonment. Those

11. More, op. cit., p. 295.

of the laity who refused to attend these services were to be subject to fines. The Act further provided that bishops and justices were to execute the act, and that the newly created body of ecclesiastical commissioners, together with the Queen, were to deal further in regards ornaments, rites, and ceremonies.

The principal alterations were:--A table for proper lessons on Sundays was added. The first Rubric directed the 'morning and evening prayer to be used in the accustomed place of the church, chapel, or chancel,' instead of 'in such place as the people might best hear.' The minister was directed 'at the time of Communion and at all other times of his ministrations to use such ornaments of the Church as were in use by authority of Parliament in the second year of King Edward VI.' In the Litany, the clause 'From the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities, good Lord deliver us,' was omitted. Elizabeth was styled 'our gracious Queen.' In the Communion Office, the form of delivery in the First Book, 'The Body...Blood...of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given...shed...for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life,' were combined with the words in the Second Book: 'Take and eat...drink...this in remembrance that Christ died for thee...that Christ's Blood was shed for thee; and feed on Him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving...and be thankful.'¹²

Of the strong denial of the 'real and essential presence,'--contained in the 'Black Rubric,'--appended as a declaration at the end of the Communion Service--concerning the posture of kneeling: 'We do declare that it is not meant thereby that any adoration is done or ought to be done either unto the sacramental bread and wine there bodily received, or unto any real and essential presence there being of Christ's natural flesh and blood.' (This was restored in the revision of 1561.)¹³

Grindal's (commissioner for prayer book re-

12. Ibid., pp. 295-296.

13. Beckett, op. cit., pp. 267-268.

vision) announcement of the restoration of the Edwardine service was hailed with real or pretended rejoicing; but in truth the book was received with mixed feelings, and in some places refused. In the diocese of Winchester mass came to an end at Lady Day; but the clergy refused the new book, and the services ceased; while in the north the refusal was accompanied with some disturbances.¹⁴

On May 15 the fourteen remaining Marian bishops appeared before the Queen. It was the day appointed that they should take the Supremacy oath. But of this group only one, Kitchin of Llandaff, took the oath. The others refused. They were given time to reconsider, and when they yet refused to take the oath, they were deprived of their bishoprics. Only one of the group suffered a lengthy term of imprisonment, that being Bonner, for whom the Queen had no love. Some of the group, after a short term of imprisonment, were permitted to join the others in retirement. "It ought to be added, that, with a single exception, they showed due recognition of the clemency of Elizabeth and her counsellors by never making any attempt to set up a rival succession of bishops, or to take part in any of the plots against the queen, which in after years became so frequent."¹⁵

Generally, the supremacy oath was taken by the remainder of the clergy. The results of a royal visitation showed that only one hundred and eighty nine out of a total of between nine and ten thousand clergymen refused to take the oath and to con-

14. Frere, loc. cit.

15. Beckett, op. cit., p. 273.

form to the new Prayer-Book. These also were deprived of their parishes.

On July 18 the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury were authorized to elect a successor to Pole as Archbishop of Canterbury. Matthew Parker was elected and consecrated to his post on December 17. Immediately after his own consecration and through March, 1560, eleven more bishops were elected and consecrated. These men were consecrated according to canonical requirements, the bishops deposed during the reign of Mary performing the rites. Thus the Church of England lays claim to her position of a validly consecrated apostolic succession.

During the month of July, 1559, a series of fifty three Injunctions was published as a guide for clergy and laity.

The Injunctions included that: 'images though not ordered to be removed (and the Queen still retained the Crucifix in her own chapel), should not be restored in places where they had been already removed; the Common Prayer was to be sung with a clear pronunciation; organs and other instrumental music should be permitted; no Altars were to be taken down except by the curate and churchwardens; the Holy Table was to stand in the place where the Altar had already stood, except during the Communion, when it was to be so placed within the chancel that the minister might best be heard. In the Holy Communion, bread, round in form, but plain, without any figure upon it, was to be used instead of ordinary bread.¹⁶

In 1560 Pius IV succeeded Paul IV as pope. In an attempt to make a reconciliation with the Church of England, he sent Vincentius Farpeglia to Elizabeth with his apostolic benedic-

16. More, op. cit., p. 298.

tion and with a letter. The letter stated that the pope would recognize and sanction the new Prayer-Book, if she would acknowledge his supremacy and receive the Prayer-Book from him. The letter also invited Elizabeth to send representatives to the Council of Trent. Of course, the letter went unheeded. And England refused to send representatives to the Council of Trent on the grounds that it was not a canonically assembled council.

Two years later Convocation sanctioned a revision of the old "Forty-two Articles." Parker, taking up where Cranmer left off, wanted to establish some confession of faith which might be tenable to all parties concerned. To him the "Forty-two Articles" seemed to offer a favorable meeting ground. The number of articles was reduced to thirty-nine. Four new articles were included in the revision, Articles V, XII, XXIX, and XXX, treating of the Holy Ghost, Good Works, Reception of the Lord's Supper by the wicked, and Administration of the sacrament in both kinds, respectively.

The omissions through the growing influence of Calvin's views are significant. A clause concerning Christ's preaching to the spirits in prison originally belonging to Article III. was struck out; an article on Grace, favouring freewill (Article X of 1552); another on Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost (Article XVI of 1552), and one on the Moral Commandments of the Law (Article XIX of 1552). And the four specially referred to in the account previously given of the Forty-two Articles. (Four of the articles (XXXIX-XLII) on the following points were afterwards omitted in the revision under Elizabeth: That the resurrection of the dead is not yet accomplished. That the souls of the departed neither die with their bodies nor sleep until the day of judgment. That millenarians are heretics. That they also are worthy of condemnation who teach that all men

shall be saved at last.) Twenty-two of the Articles were altered, in more or less important omissions or substitutions. In this revision, some of the changes introduced were Lutheran in tendency, several clauses being taken direct from the Württemberg Confession. The Articles, now thirty-nine in number, were submitted to the queen.¹⁷

Elizabeth kept the Articles for a year. At the end of that time she returned them with her own revision. She had rejected the XXIXth Article, and had inserted into Article XX the clause, "The Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies in faith." The bishops did not appreciate Elizabeth's addition, and in writing an English version of the Articles omitted it. Reluctantly they agreed to omit Article XXIX. However, it was 1571 before the "XXXIX Articles" were in the same form as they are today. Jewel presented the final revision containing both the clause Elizabeth had added and the XXIXth Article. Convocation then officially accepted them. Thereupon followed a law which ordered that "the clergy should subscribe to all the Articles, which only concern the confession of a true Christian faith and the doctrine of the sacraments."

Up to this date one cannot but take note of Elizabeth's attempts to conciliate the Catholic party. For in all the reforming developments, especially in the Prayer-Book, and in the "XXXIX Articles," she retained something to appeal to the Catholics. However, because of the pressure exerted by those

17. Beckett, *op. cit.*, p. 289. The quotation enclosed in brackets is taken from page 189.

close to her, who were more anxious to conciliate the group led by the returned exiles and keen on the doctrines of Calvinism, her support of the Catholics gradually diminished, until it was necessary to use force to quiet them following her excommunication and the entrance of seminarists and Jesuits into England.

The "XXXIX Articles" were the last attempt to bring peace in the religious controversies of the time. Church polity was hierarchical, definitely Catholic. The doctrine of the Lord's Supper was definitely Calvinistic. And to those who sought middle ground, there was a definite statement on the efficaciousness of the sacraments, a tendency towards Lutheranism.

During the years intervening between the first and final revision of the "XXXIX Articles," the main controversies were concerning vestments, ornaments, and other externals having to do with worship and the sacraments. The period is marked by a general laxness in externals, both in conforming to the Prayer-Book regulations and in enforcing the directives of the Prayer-Book. The non-conformists were drawing further and further away, and began to be called "Puritans."

In the northern part of England Catholic worship continued quite openly. For there was centered the strength of the Catholic population. The result was a Catholic uprising in the North, in protest against the reforming measures, under the leadership of the Duke of Norfolk. At length the revolt was put down; the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Northumberland were executed; and other leaders were imprisoned. The pope seems

to have been the instigator of the revolt, hoping to involve all of the Catholics in a general political revolt. The pope, Pius V, supported the venture financially, and quite probably rallied them to the venture with the hope of Spanish intervention.

Elsewhere in England priests were holding masses in secret. From all dioceses came bishops' complaints concerning the saying of mass in secret.

'Popishe and perverse priestes which, misliking religion have forsaken the ministerie yet live in corners, are kept in gentillmen's houses, and had in great estimacion with the people.' Just as the bishop of Worcester complained of these priests who remained in hiding, so too the bishop of Salisbury desired active measures should be taken against 'the stragling doctors and priestes who have libertie to stay at their pleasures within this realme (and who) do much hurte secretlye and in corners.'¹⁸

Even in London itself masses were being said.

Catholics appealed to the pope to sanction their attending the reformed services. But the pope refused their appeal. Thus they were forced either to disobey the pope and attend the services, or else become "recusants," the name applied to those who refused to acknowledge the royal supremacy. In general, it seems the majority "fell into the habit of attending protestant churches, partly through coming to a compromise with their conscience caused by a sense of their isolation, the absence of all spiritual ministrations, and the compliant attitude of some of their own priests; partly, too, from the desire to hear their

18. Meyer, op. cit., p. 129.

mother tongue employed in the service of the church."¹⁹ But a great number were fined for not attending the reformed services, and many were imprisoned for attending secret masses.

When the pope's ducats failed to achieve their desired end in the uprising in the North, he resorted to another means to huddle the Catholics together. On April 22, 1570, Pius V excommunicated Elizabeth. The bull of excommunication, "Regnans in excelsis," termed Elizabeth "the pretended Queen of England" and a "vassal of iniquity." Nowhere does the bull condemn Elizabeth for false doctrine, nor could it, for Pius IV had stated that the Prayer-Book was "authentic and not repugnant to the truth." Already at this time it was quite generally held that all official actions of the pope were infallible. Thus the present pope could hardly overrule his predecessor and excommunicate Elizabeth on the grounds of false doctrine. Elizabeth was excommunicated on the grounds of denying the supremacy of the pope.

The bull also absolved the nobility who had taken an oath of fidelity to Elizabeth. Henceforth they were to render no further allegiance to her. Those who did were likewise subject to excommunication. The bull in effect demanded English Catholics to rebel against her, and opened up the possibility of her assassination. The pope undoubtedly hoped this would be the end result of his bull of excommunication. For Urban II had long ago decreed that the Church would not consider anyone a

19. Ibid., p. 130.

murderer who "through zeal to their mother Church against the excommunicated put any of them to death."

The results of the bull of excommunication, as evidenced between 1570 and 1580, were certainly not all Pius V had hoped for. Internationally, the bull was received with great joy and regret. The Protestant countries were elated because they now believed they had witnessed the rise of a new champion of reform, and a new ally in their struggles with Rome. The Catholic countries regretted the action. The Emperor Maximilian II²⁰ of the Holy Roman Empire and the Kings of France and Spain publicly declared their displeasure at the pope's action. Philip of Spain went out of his way to create better relations between his country and the court of Elizabeth, and for a time these two nations were on friendly terms. Thus, internationally, the bull of excommunication was a failure. If anything resulted from the bull, it was an enhancement of international relations, all in the favor of Elizabeth.

Politically, in England itself, the bull stimulated the rising tide of nationalism. Not only did the Catholic members of the government refuse to resign their seats in governmental affairs, but, for the main, their respect for the capabilities and potentialities of Elizabeth increased. Locally, the masses also resented the audacity of the pope. Even Catholics defended their Queen against the machinations of the pope. Greater and greater was their enthusiasm for their country and for the

20. William H. Nes, The Breach With Rome, p. 47.

protection of their Queen from the hands of potential renegades and foreign intruders. As an example of this feeling, one need only look to the immediate result of the posting of the bull on the palace entrance of the Bishop of London. The agent, one John Felton, was seized on the spot and hanged. Politically, the bull was also a great failure.

Religiously, the bull was the dividing line. No longer could the Catholics hope to capitalize on the sympathy of the Queen. No longer were any concessions to be made to the Catholic party. There rather was a period of tightening up, a greater demand for conformity, a greater insistence on the attendance of the Sunday and Holy day services, a more earnest attempt to discover the places where masses were being held in secret and to put them at an end, and an increase in the number imprisoned. The Catholics were now beginning to be regarded as an outlawed group.

However, in spite of this, one cannot deny that there was a quickening on the part of many Catholics for the old faith; that there were priests, though not so numerous, who were holding private masses in all parts of England; that justices of the peace purposely looked the other way, or were present themselves, while masses were said; that Nuns were residing in homes of Catholics continuing in their own work. And since no word had been spoken concerning the successor to the throne, the Catholics had renewed hope that a Catholic personage would yet, perhaps soon, ascend the throne. From Lancashire came

word that Catholics were withdrawing from the Anglican services. In York Catholic fasts and festivals were once again being observed. Many, because of the bull, could no longer compromise with their consciences and attend the services of the Church of England. To such the bull was a call to fully oppose the new Church.

New legislation, shortly after the bull of excommunication became public, gave rise to the spy system, which was to be of such great importance in years to come. For in 1571 a new law demanded that all clergymen lower than bishops must reaffirm their agreement with the "XXXIX Articles." Another act condemned anyone who brought to England or caused to be published in England any further papal bull, whatever its contents, and declared such a one guilty of high treason, whose penalty was to be loss of life and forfeiture of property. A royal proclamation then promised that those who revealed such information "should be so largely rewarded, that during his or their lives they should have just cause to think themselves well used."

During this period (1570-1580) there was a sharp rise in Puritanism. With the appointment of Grindall to succeed Parker as Archbishop of Canterbury, came a period of compromise and general relaxation, and the Puritans gained the groundwork, which was to enable them to ever after remain independent of the Church of England.

With the acceptance of the "XXXIX Articles," the doctrinal development of the Church of England came to an end. The Ref-

ormation now had the problem of survival to face.

THE SEMINARY PRIESTS

From the time the Prayer-Book began to be enforced, an increasing number of Catholics fled to the low countries on the continent. By this time a number of the educators had already become self-exiles on the continent, for they had feared an era of reaction to the persecutions of Mary, when Elizabeth became the new ruler of their countryland. One of this group, William Allen, had returned to reassume his duties as a professor at Oxford. For a time he was able to continue to indoctrinate his students in the Catholic faith. For Elizabeth wished to reform the universities by a process of elimination. As a vacancy occurred, it was filled with an Anglican. In this way she hoped to make a gradual change. During this period of changeover, Catholic professors were permitted to retain their positions, and Catholic students were permitted to receive their degrees without taking the oath of supremacy. Edmund Campian and Robert Parsons (Persons) were two such students at Oxford, who after receiving their degrees were for a time professors, and with the changeover also became exiles to the continent.

When Allen saw the difficulties that would present themselves with the changeover, he once again left England, and went to Belgium. With the approval and financial support of Philip II of Spain, Allen opened a seminary for the exiles at Douay,

in the year 1568.

Various aims, not all clearly developed, presented themselves to the mind of the founder. He wished to create a spiritual centre for Catholic exiles from England; he wished to give English Catholicism a substitute for the lost universities; he wished to found for his countrymen an establishment for the instruction of Catholic youth. The idea of the mission in England itself was at first far from his thought, for he regarded such an undertaking as impossible under the existing regime. His intention was rather to train up a spiritual army which at the right moment, i.e. after Elizabeth's death and the accession of a Catholic sovereign, would be ready at once to invade England and win back for the church her lost territory.¹

During the next ten years, the number of enrollees increased year by year. Many parents, who remained Catholic in secret, began to send their sons to the seminary to be educated. While at the beginning the primary purpose of the seminary was to educate Catholic refugees, by 1574 the sending of trained seminarists back to England to strengthen the weakening Catholics and converting others to Catholicism became the primary purpose. "The work began on a small scale. In 1574, Douay sent four priest into England; next year, seven; in the third year, eighteen; in the fourth year, fifteen, etc. 'So great is the eagerness of all to return to England that the time of their preparation seems endless to them.'²

In 1573 Philip discontinued his support of the seminary at Douay. For 1573 marks the date when Philip II, disapproving the excommunication of Elizabeth, entered into a period of

1. Meyer, op. cit., pp. 93-94.
2. Ibid., p. 132.

friendly relations with England. This evidently is the date when the Jesuit Order began to contribute to the support of the Douay seminary. For at this date the influence of the Jesuits in the education of the seminarists became apparent. "And the relation of the college to the disciples of Loyola was not that of rivals but of brothers in arms."³

In 1576 the number of students at Douay became so great, that Allen was no longer able to accommodate them properly. As a result a number of them were sent to Rome. Here they were cared for in the English hospice. The following year another group was sent to Rome. With the coming of this group, the hospice could support and care for no more, and the opening of another college in Rome became necessary. In 1578 the seminary at Rome was founded, and Parsons was placed at the head of the new school. Two Jesuits were appointed as instructors. As a result, serious conflicts arose among the seminarists, because, as it seems, the Jesuits played favorites with those showing special abilities in the hopes that they would enter the Society. There also were conflicts between the Welsh and English students. The English became so embittered that they threatened to leave unless the Jesuits took over the school. The Jesuits accepted the request, and in 1579, the Jesuit Agazzari was appointed rector.

In 1578 the college at Douay was moved to Rheims in France.

3. Ibid., p. 98.

Here the students were lodged in the house of the Jesuits.⁴ The move was necessary because of the anti-Spanish, anti-Catholic movement in the Protestant Low Countries. Here the school prospered, and yearly groups of young Catholics came from England to enroll. No doubt the increasing numbers who came to the schools in Rheims and Rome were stimulated by the appearance of the seminary priests in their home country.

These graduates were well trained according to the principles of the Society of Jesus. Their fearless and undaunted courage, taking no thought for their lives, betrays their grooming at the hands of the Jesuits. So impassioned were they with their mission, that the possibility of persecution, torture, the rack, and hanging could not deter them from doing what they thought was their duty.

The success of the indoctrination of the students in these schools can be readily seen when comparing their deeds as missionaries to England with the oath, which was required for all who enrolled in the seminaries. The oath was to the following effect: "Bred in the English College, considering how great benefits God hath bestowed on me, especially when He brought me out of my own country, so infected with heresy, and made me a member of the Catholic Church...I swear in the presence of Almighty God...in due time to receive Holy Orders, and to return to England to convert the souls of my countrymen and kindred."⁵

4. Thomas J. Campbell, The Jesuits 1534-1921, p. 135.

5. Here, op. cit., p. 309.

Of the returned seminarists Waldman writes:

With few exceptions they were a brave lot, the stuff of which martyrs are made. Their teachers had withheld nothing of what awaited them; they had been informed in detail, by word and picture, of the rack, the quartering-knife, the long-drawn-out torture, and death, yet unafraid they accepted their consecration and its penalties. By ones and twos they stole out of France to Flanders, were set down on the English coast at night by small rowing boats, and scattered to deliver their countrymen from the heretic gloom which encompassed them. From one manor house to another they stole under cover of darkness, the Government's agents and spies constantly on their tracks, traitors forever alert to denounce them for pay. For days on end they lived in black and airless priest-holes, hundreds of which still survive as the sole monuments of their labours, or in the forest caves to the sparsely settled land, stealing out at night to carry the Word to hall and farmhouse.⁶

In a letter to Philip II, dated December 28, 1578, the Spanish ambassador Mendoza says of the seminary priests and their work:

The number of Catholics increases daily, the instruments being missionaries from the seminary which your Majesty founded at Douay. A hundred of those who went to study either there or at Rome have returned in this past year. They travel disguised as laymen, and young as they are, the fervour with which they throw themselves into their work, and the cheerful fortitude with which they accept martyrdom when occasion offers, are entirely admirable. Some have already suffered with the utmost calmness, following in the steps of the saints who had gone before them. Till lately there were but few priests left in England, and religion was dying out for want of teachers. None called themselves Catholics but the few to whom God had given grace to persevere out of pure zeal for his service. But now, by means of those who have come over, it has pleased God to provide a remedy.⁷

With the entrance of the seminary priests into England,

6. Milton Waldman, England's Elizabeth, pp. 229-230.
7. James A. Froude, History of England, XI, p. 335.

Catholicism revived with a new fervor. "The decline of Catholicism ceases with the establishment of the 'mission'."⁸ Many, who for fear of the new laws and the fines and imprisonment they provided for offenders, now openly began to embrace their faith. They took to heart the example of the seminarists, and began to speak openly against the Prayer-Book and its doctrines, and refused to attend the Anglican services.

And thus the seminarists paved the way for the pope's great wave of reaction, soon to reach England in the coming of the Jesuits.

8. Meyer, op. cit., p. 92.

THE PLAN FOR BRINGING ENGLAND BACK INTO THE CHURCH

While the seminarians were busy in the cities and countryside of England renewing and keeping alive the Catholic faith through indoctrination and the hope of a Catholic successor to Elizabeth, a Catholic plan was forming to de-throne Elizabeth. Mary Stuart, former Queen of the Scots, now held in protective custody in England, had been decided upon as the logical successor to Elizabeth. Persuasion and diplomacy had failed to bring England back into the bosom of the Church. Now there was only conspiracy and force left to de-throne Elizabeth and make the Catholic Church supreme. Facts are unclear as to how and when and by whom the plot against England originated.

The plan itself was a three pronged spear, whose purpose was to completely destroy the heart of the English Reformation. The first prong was directed towards Ireland, already ripe for rebellion. A papal army was to invade Ireland. The purpose was to gain control of the island, as a stepping-stone to the invasion of England. The second prong was directed towards Scotland. Here there was to be no armed invasion. Diplomacy was to be the weapon. The purpose in Scotland was to make the young King, James VI, agree to the plan against England, give him hopes of one day sitting on the throne of England, and use his country as a second stepping-stone to invade England. The third

prong was directed toward England. Here the seminary priests were to prepare and excite the people for the coming invasion, the death struggle to end the reform measures and restore the supremacy of the pope. The Jesuits were to aid the seminary priests and establish strongholds in the Catholic North of England where the invaders from the borders of Scotland would enter the country.¹

Innes states that the plan appears to have matured early in 1579.² One thing that would seem to substantiate this conclusion is the fact that, either late in 1578 or very early in 1579 Allen approached the Jesuit Order with the hope that they might lend assistance to the work now being carried on by the seminary priests. Several reasons seem to suggest themselves on the question of why the aid of the Jesuits was sought. Froude suggests that Allen wanted to force Elizabeth into a persecution of the Catholics to create sympathy from the other Catholic countries, to gain men of authority and intelligence for the intended invasion of Scotland, and to stir up in general a powerful Catholic revival.³ Usher suggests that Allen and his seminarists felt themselves too weak to work unaided.⁴ Frere seems to suggest that the reason might be found in the fact that it was a foregone conclusion, since they had become so directly a part of the mission in the school at Rome.⁵ I personally believe

1. The presentation of this plan is based on the work of Innes, op. cit., p. 317. The purposes of each phase of the plan are my own, based on deduction from ensuing events.

2. Ibid.

that all the above suggestions entered into the picture, accepting as true Innes' report that the papal plan for bringing England back into the Church was matured early in 1579. Realizing what a terrific responsibility rested upon his shoulders, in administering the part of the plan which his seminary priests were to fulfill in preparing his countrymen for the final attack by armed invasion, I feel, he wanted all the support he could get, the sympathy of other Catholic countries, men of power, education, determination, and fearless of their own necks. And what greater support and aid could he have than that of the Jesuits, now tried warriors of the Counter-Reformation in Europe, and who HAD BECOME SO INTEGRAL A PART of the seminaries. Then too, I believe sensationalism entered into the picture. For certainly the mere name Jesuit stirred up pictures in the minds of the Englishmen. And certainly their presence would enhance and swell the growing ranks of the Catholics.

The plan was decided upon. And before many months its wheels began to move.

3. Froude, op. cit., pp. 335-336.

4. Roland G. Usher, The Reconstruction of the English Church, I, pp. 142-143.

5. Frere, op. cit., p. 216.

IRELAND



THE INVASION OF IRELAND

After the plan against England had been decided upon, it was not long before the action began. In the summer of that same year, 1579, the pope sent Nicholas Sanders, Fitzmaurice, and a small contingent of papal troops on their way to Ireland, wishing them success in their venture. The pope justified his action on the grounds that he was merely sending troops along with his emissary to one of the papal fiefs.

The expedition landed in July near Dingle, on the southwest coast of the island. Though the invasion party was rather small, it was all that was necessary to touch off the rebellion that had been brewing for some time. And before long half of the island was in the thick of the battle.

The sending of Fitzmaurice was a strategic move on the part of the pope. Being a cousin of Desmond, the leading figure of the Catholic party, the pope counted on Fitzmaurice to gain the support and aid of Desmond and the Catholic party. Though the English party in the land was small and disunited, Desmond at first hesitated. But with the murdering of two English officers and their servants by his brother, he could do no other than join in the campaign.

The Geraldines, a Catholic clan, were in favor of the intended action, and they soon joined with the invasion party.

Then half of the county of Munster was up in arms, and the invasion party hurried to Smerwick, a few miles north of Dingle, and there fortified themselves. Here they awaited reinforcements from Spain, which they believed would soon arrive. In the meantime, the President of the county of Connaught, Malby, marched south with his own troops and a party of the Burkes, another clan, who were feuding with the Geraldines. Near Smerwick battle ensued, and the papal party was routed. Fitzmaurice was slain, and the papal standard was captured and sent off to Dublin.

Desmond and his gathering had not taken part in the action and, when learning of the result of the fighting at Smerwick, retreated to Ashketyn. Those of the papal party who were not killed or captured fell back on Smerwick. Drury, advancing with soldiers from Cork, was met by the Irish, suffered many casualties, and was forced to retreat. He died soon thereafter.

Malby, following his victory, marched through Munster, and dealt out slaughter and destruction. Thereupon, he burned the town of Ashketyn, and then returned to his own country, Connaught. When Malby was out of Munster, Desmond proceeded to Youghal, an English settlement, sacked the town, killed the inhabitants, and burnt it. From Youghal, his manpower increasing daily with new recruits, he marched on Cork, but he did not attack the town. In January, 1580, the rebels were heartened by the arrival of military supplies from abroad, and the promise of further aid from Spain.

The loyalists were halted because of insufficient troops. Malby was stationed at Athlone, and Pelham at Dublin. Elizabeth sent Ormonde to take command, but, money and materials lacking, he was unable to resume the offensive. It was March, 1580, before the Queen sent provisions and manpower. At the same time Admiral Wynter was sent with ships to aid in the new offensive. Then Ormonde set out from Kilkenny, marching cross country towards Tralee. At the same time Pelham set out from Dublin, marching in a parallel line with the troops of Ormonde. Along the way, both columns spared nothing. Men were slaughtered, and torch applied. From Tralee they moved on to Carrichfoyle. Proving to be impregnable, heavy guns were landed from Wynter's ships anchored in the bay near the mouth of the river Shannon. After the fortifications had been battered down by the heavy guns, the troops of Ormonde and Pelham stormed the town and struck down the defenders with the sword.

Desmond at the time was at Ashketyn, and, fearing a like fate, withdrew, blowing up the castle behind him. There the loyalists' offensive was halted. Money and provisions had come to an end. Taking advantage of the lull, the rebels struck at Cork and Kerry, and had their turn at wielding the sword. In June, Pelham's troops, newly provisioned, marched on Kerry. There he just missed falling on Desmond, Sanders, and the rebel forces. From Kerry he marched to Dingle, where Ormonde was just arriving, following a destructive march over the countrysides.

Just at the time when the Catholics were beginning to turn

against Sanders and the Geraldines, though remaining loyal to Desmond, the Catholics of the Pale rose up against Lord Grey de Wilton, who had just arrived from England, and slaughtered his forces from ambush in the Wicklow mountains. Cheerful as this news alone would have made the despairing Munster Catholics, their morale became highly spirited with the departure of Wynter and his task force and the arrival of reinforcements, consisting of about eight hundred Italian and Spanish soldiers of fortune. Ormonde followed with another attack on Kerry, but he was repulsed. Then trouble struck. The soldiers of fortune would not take the field without payment. And there was no money, thanks to the fire-policy of Ormonde and Pelham during the summer months.

In October, 1580, Grey, with fresh troops, started out from Dublin and marched down to Kerry. At the time of his arrival, Wynter reappeared with his fleet, and the siege began. On the ninth of October, the rebel forces surrendered unconditionally. Their previous attempts to obtain terms had been refused. The officers were held for ransom, the soldiers were cut down, many townsmen, including women, were hanged. The known dead after all was quiet numbered six hundred.

This was the last of the campaigns. For the next two years there was some guerrilla fighting, in which English and Irish were killed indiscriminately. Sanders, a fugitive, with his running and hiding managed to elude the sword, but his end in the swamp-lands. In 1583 Desmond was surprised while in bed, and

was there slain. In the meantime, the endless slaughter continued, until exhaustion and repeated famine forced a conclusion to the struggle. And thus came to an end the pope's plan for using Ireland as a stepping-stone to the shores of England.¹

1. The account of the action in Ireland is taken from: Frere, op. cit., pp. 215-216; Froude, op. cit., pp. 207-237; Innes, op. cit., pp. 317-321; and Theodore Maynard, Queen Elizabeth, pp. 218-219.

TRYING TO ORGANIZE IN SCOTLAND

The Reformed Church under the able leadership of John Knox was well on the road to establishment by 1560. And with the aid of England, the French faction, which had become a part of the government by virtue of Mary Stuart's marriage to Francis II of France, and earnestly set on delivering the death blow to the rise of Protestantism in Scotland, was driven out in 1567. Thereupon Morton was declared Regent of Scotland--the King, James VI, being a child, who had ascended the throne following his mother's escape to England. Morton ruled Scotland with an iron hand. His regency brought peace, but it created many enemies for him, including his fellow noblemen. Though a declared Protestant, he showed little interest or concern in the welfare of the Church, which made him unpopular with all parties concerned.¹

In 1578 Morton was the object of a coup. He was overthrown by his peers, who could no longer bear the brunt of his iron rule. They attempted to rule in his stead through the young King. But their efforts met with little success.

Such was the state of affairs in Scotland, when the papal plan against England was being formulated. Here was a golden opportunity for the plotters to gain a stepping-stone in the

1. Innes, op. cit., p. 321.

proposed invasion of England to bring her back to due subjection to the papacy, in which the King of Spain, his armies and his navy, was to figure predominantly.

Thus it was that the Guises, French relatives of the young King, sent over, in 1579, Esme Stuart, the Sieur d'Aubigny, to the court of James VI. D'Aubigny had little trouble worming his way into the good graces of the young King, and soon had him "eating out of his hand." D'Aubigny's purpose was to join mother and son in common purpose, and thus the road for invading forces would be opened for the invasion of England.

D'Aubigny proved himself to be a shrewd man of determination. He succeeded in instilling a desire for Catholicism in the young King, in persuading James to declare himself ready to rule at the age of thirteen, in turning away from him his Presbyterian teachers and counsellors.² At the same time he hoodwinked the Scotch into believing that the young King had converted him from Catholicism to Presbyterianism.

Soon honored as the Duke of Lennox, he continued to work quickly and methodically. He persuaded James to appoint pro-French and native French men to the important positions in the government. He succeeded in gaining control of Edinburgh and Dumbarton, two strategic cities for the landing of the armies to invade England. He had Morton brought to trial for the murder of Darnley, now dead for fourteen years, had him declared guilty and executed. Thus he was rid of one of the strongest men, sure

2. Waldman, op. cit., p. 235.

to oppose all his doings, in Scotland. And while maintaining friendly relations with Elizabeth, he reached an agreement with Mary Stuart "by which she and her son would share the throne of Scotland during her lifetime and he succeed her on the English throne after her death."³ In the meantime, the French Guises were trying to arrange a marriage between James and one of Philip II's daughters.

Though events in Scotland were progressing favorably for the Catholic cause, the court of Elizabeth was kept fully informed of all proceedings, thanks to Robert Bowes of Edinburgh, and the widespread secret service of Walsingham. The events so stirred the Council, already "up to their necks" in domestic affairs--tracking down Jesuits, uprisings, and plots on the life of Elizabeth--, that they suggested breaking off all relations with Lennox and the court of James, confining Mary Stuart under closer guard or executing her, and offering bribes to the Scotch Reformed to resist the changes with force. But Elizabeth resisted the strong suggestions of her Council. Her money was needed in the Netherlands to stave off the Spanish armies under the leadership of Parma, to keep the Huguenot cause alive in France, and to strengthen her navy against a certain attack on her shores by Philip II. Though her treasuries were swelled with Drake's raids at sea on Spanish merchantmen, this money was to be used for defense purposes, and since she did not favor further taxing of her subjects, the offering of bribes was out of

3. Ibid., p. 236.

the question. Nor could she bring herself to deal in harsh manner with Mary Stuart. Nor was she ready to break off relations with the court of James. She had yet to try her hand at diplomacy.

Word had been received of the Guise plan to marry James to one of the daughters of Philip. This led to one of Elizabeth's favorite games in the art of diplomacy. She offered herself to James with certain provisions. But the unexpected happened. James, seeing an opportunity and already desirous of sitting on the throne of England and here the probability of ascending the throne sooner than through the plan of Lennox, immediately sent an affirmative reply to Elizabeth. Elizabeth, set back for the moment, then set before James the possibility of marrying either an English girl acceptable to him or the daughter of the King of Denmark.

While the diplomatic game continued, Elizabeth secretly sent money to a small group ready and willing to put an end to the work of Lennox. This group was under the leadership of Lord Ruthven, the son of Rizzio's murderer. In August of 1582, Ruthven and his group raided the palace and kidnaped the young King. The result of the raid was what they had hoped for, for Lennox quickly fled for his life, and returned to France.

James soon escaped and had speedy revenge on his captors. But the raid had accomplished a further purpose. For "his enthusiasm for his mother's cause and his French relations began noticeably to abate."⁴

Elizabeth was now dangling before him the promise of something he wanted more than all the gold of the Indies, the succession to the Crown of England; not affirmatively, of course, for that would have made him independent of her, but negatively, by holding out hope of recognition if he conducted himself as she wished and a definite threat of exclusion if he misbehaved....She shrewdly set out to increase and exploit the jealousy between the son who had displaced his mother and the mother who had disinherited her son.⁵

As an example of how well Elizabeth succeeded in her game of diplomacy, permit me to quote this illustration from Waldman:

On a recent occasion Mary had asked permission to send a secretary to James, which Elizabeth had granted against her ministers' advice. A messenger was sent ahead to notify the King of Scots that the secretary was coming with a message for the "Prince of Scotland", whereat young James in a fury refused to receive any communication from his mother addressed to him under that title and swore to cut the man's head off if he set foot in Scotland.⁶

So complete did Elizabeth feel her influence over James, that in 1584, she offered to free Mary with very few restrictions. Mary refused the offer however, because she believed the hour of invasion was near at hand, at which time she would be freed and declared Queen of England.

In 1584, after further and more extensive plots for Elizabeth's assassination had been uncovered, Elizabeth signed a treaty of mutual defense with James. For the signing of the treaty James was to receive a yearly income of four thousand pounds, as well as the promise that she would do nothing to in-

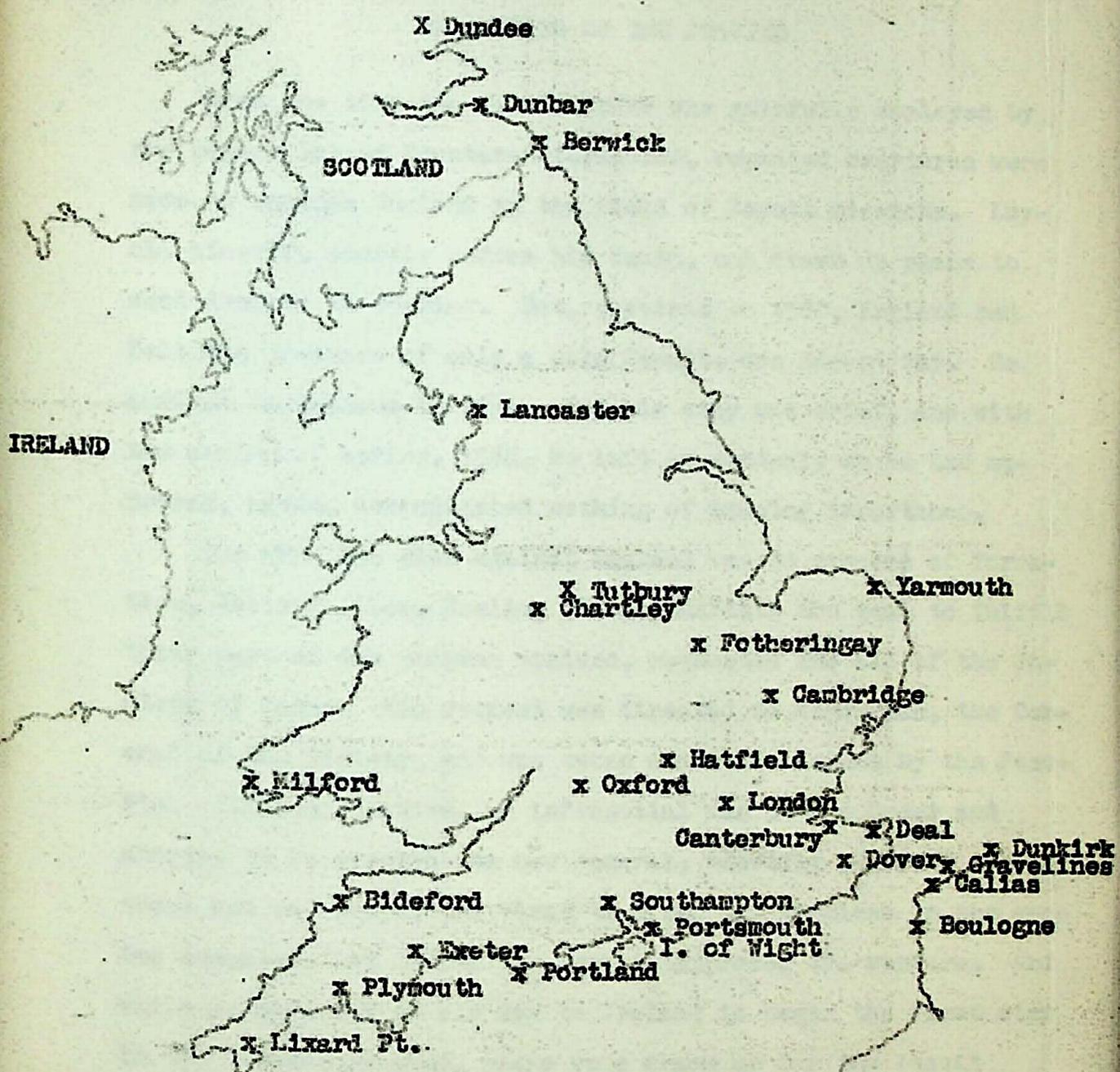
4. Ibid., p. 239.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid., pp. 239-240.

terfere with his succession to the throne.

Thus Elizabeth won the cold war of diplomacy in Scotland, and defended herself from a possible invasion from the interior of Scotland. The papal plan for the recovery of England had received its second stinging set-back, and called for further planning, which was forthcoming. Two courses were left open for Catholicism: The assassination of Elizabeth and a victorious Catholic uprising, or a direct invasion with a powerful sea and land force from Spain.



X Dundee

X Dunbar

X Berwick

SCOTLAND

X Lancaster

IRELAND

X Tutbury
X Chartley

X Yarmouth

X Fotheringay

X Cambridge

X Hatfield

X Oxford

X London

X Milford

Canterbury

X Deal

X Dunkirk

X Dover X Gravelines

X Callias

X Boulogne

X Bidford

X Southampton

X Portsmouth

I. of Wight

X Exeter

X Portland

X Plymouth

X Lizard Pt.

THE COMING OF THE JESUITS

From the time the Jesuit Order was gainfully employed by the papacy in the Counter-Reformation, repeated overtures were made to include England in the field of Jesuit missions. Loyola himself, shortly before his death, had drawn up plans to send Jesuits to England. But, previous to 1580, England had felt the presence of only a sole Jesuit, one Edmund Hay. He arrived in England in 1565. But his stay was brief, and with the coming of spring, 1566, he left as suddenly as he had appeared, having accomplished nothing of lasting importance.

But when the plan against England was in process of formation, William Allen, feeling his seminarists too weak to fulfill their part of the program unaided, requested the aid of the Society of Jesus. His request was directed to Mercurian, the General of the Society, and was taken under advisement by the Jesuits. Cladius Aquaviva, an influential man in the Order and shortly to be elected its new General, heartily approved the request and was one of the first to offer his services in the coming campaign. At length the Jesuits approved the venture. And while Sanders was on his way to Ireland to begin the first step in the three-fold plan, plans were drawn up for the Jesuit Action In England.

First of all it was decided that only English speaking

priests should be included in the mission. Two personages were especially qualified, Robert Parsons and Edmund Campion. Both were Englishmen and exiles for conscience sake, both had for a time associated themselves with the seminary at Douay, and both had been received into the Society and had been engaged in its activities.

Parsons had been a professor at the College of St. John's, Oxford, but was forced to retire because of his leanings toward Catholicism and because of frequent college quarrels. He left England in 1574 and almost immediately became associated with Allen at the seminary at Douay. Soon afterwards he entered the Society. In 1578, he was chosen the first Rector of the seminary at Rome. There with the help of other Jesuits he succeeded in settling the disputes between the English and Welsh students. When the request was made for Jesuit aid in the English mission, he was among the first to approve. As plans were made for the Jesuits in the coming campaign, Parsons was chosen to head the expedition. His qualities as a lover of politics, a born intriguer, the most informed on the situation in England were thus recognized.

His able assistant was to be Campion. He had become distinguished at Oxford as a humanist and orator. Though not in full accord with the progress of the reformation, he took the supremacy oath and accepted deacon's orders. Soon qualms of conscience forced him to leave England. In 1571 he was received into the Catholic Church, and became attached to the seminary at

Douay. Two years latter he made application and was received into the Society. He spent his novitiate in Hungary. Following a period of two years as a teacher in Prague, he was ordained into the priesthood in 1578. From Prague he was called to Rome to receive instructions for his part in the campaign against England. Whereas Parsons was a born intriguer, Campion was a lover of souls, filled with the true mission spirit.

At the same time when D'Aubigny was securing his foothold in Scotland, Parsons and Campion were receiving their instructions. Parsons alone was taken into confidence. The whole papal plan was revealed to him. Full authority was vested in him, and he was to act as occasion and circumstance dictated. He was granted the right to organize resistance against the Queen and the English Church, and lay plans for the intended invasion.

Parsons alone was taken into confidence, because it was essential that the mission appear as nothing more than an attempt to maintain the Catholic faith in England; and, should persecution arise, (and it was hoped that persecution would arise to incite the Catholics to anger, resistance, and hope for the intended invasion,) that those who were made to suffer should appear to suffer only for their faith and not for treason.

Campion and the others, accordingly, were instructed to keep to the work of preaching and conversion, not to enter the field of politics, nor mention public affairs in any communications abroad, nor to speak against Elizabeth.

That the mission might appear nothing more than an attempt

to maintain Catholicism in England, Campion and Parsons petitioned the pope, Gregory XIII, to render the Bull of Excommunication less severe, so that if and when charges of treason should be levelled against them, they, as well as the English Catholics, might appeal to this official statement of the Church and declare themselves faithful to England and the Queen. Gregory complied, and, in April, 1580, declared that "the bull always binds Elizabeth and the heretics, but, while things remain as they are, in no way binds the Catholics, except when public execution of the said bull shall become possible."¹

It left them (the English Catholics) free to profess themselves loyal until circumstances would allow the sentence to be executed. Catholic English gentlemen, that is, were to be allowed to call themselves good subjects of Elizabeth, to disclaim all disloyal intention, to lead the Queen to trust them by assurance of devotion and fidelity, until the Spaniards or the French or the Scots were ready to invade the country, and then it would be their duty to turn against her.²

Of this papal interpretation of the bull of excommunication, Meyer writes, "the sentence itself was not revoked, but its execution was delayed. The explanation was not a declaration of peace, but only a truce--for an indefinite period."³

During the planning there were fears that "there would be disputes with the secular priests, and there were no bishops to hold the balance or to exercise proper ecclesiastical jurisdiction."⁴ To remedy this fear, Dr. Goldwell, Bishop of St. Asaph,

1. Meyer, op. cit., p. 138.

2. Froude, op. cit., pp. 338-339.

3. Meyer, loc. cit.

4. Usher, op. cit., p. 148. Footnote.

was appointed to become a member of the first party to go across to England.

Gregory sent the first party on their way with his blessing on April 18, 1580. Just how many comprised this first group is not clear. In addition to Goldwell, who, because of illness, was forced to retire from the party, and Parsons and Campion, Froude states there were "seven of their Oxford pupils, now Jesuits like themselves,"⁵ while Campbell states there were thirteen secular priests, an additional Jesuit, Ralph Emerson, a lay-brother, and two young men not in orders,⁶ and Harney states there were ten seminary priests and a lay-brother.⁷ At intervals additional groups of Jesuits and seminarians set out on the way to England.

After a brief stop at Milan, this first group then journeyed on to Rheims. Here they were delayed longer than they had anticipated because of the illness of Goldwell. Parsons wished to delay until Goldwell fully recovered and could continue on the journey. But, much to Parsons' displeasure, Gregory recalled Goldwell, and Parsons and his group bid him farewell and continued on the road that led to the coast.

As they neared the coast, the group split up into smaller parties, for they had received word that the English were expecting them and were guarding the coast to intercept them as

5. Froude, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

6. Thomas J. Campbell, *The Jesuits 1534-1921*, p. 138.

7. Martin P. Harney, *The Jesuits in History*, p. 148.

they attempted to land. It was decided that they should meet at an assigned place in London. Then to various points along the coast of France they scattered, hoping thereby that they might all land safely in England without detection. The news that reached them informing them that the English were expecting their arrival, and the exhortation not to attempt to make the crossing did not halt them, for they believed they had many friends in England who would aid them should they be apprehended, and they were certain that their disguises would prevent their detection. And so early in July they set out to cross the English Channel.

In the meantime the English spy-ring sent frequent and detailed reports to their homeland of the proposed sending of Jesuits to England. Information was also in-coming from Ireland of the papal campaign headed by Sanders, as well as briefs that were circulating in Ireland encouraging the Catholics to rise in revolt and giving the promise of the speedy arrival of a fleet from Spain. Information had also been received in London concerning the explanation of Gregory on the Bull of Excommunication. Papers were found lying in the streets of London branding Elizabeth a schismatic.

All this roused the government to action, and the nation was alerted for a possible invasion from Spain. This was England's darkest hour. Immediately the laws forbidding the hearing of mass were enforced with all diligence, and offenders were detained. A royal proclamation was issued that demanded that

all who had relatives abroad were to recall them at once, and threatened prosecution to all who were discovered harboring and protecting Jesuits and seminary priests. Another proclamation was issued asking Elizabeth's subjects to examine her administration and remain faithful and loyal to her in this dark hour of their country's existence. Guards were stationed at intervals along the coast to be on the look-out for the expected invaders from the coast of France.

This then was the setting in England when the first wave of Jesuits and priests were crossing the English Channel. However, in spite of the precautions taken against the invaders, only a few were apprehended. The remainder landed safely on the coasts of England and hastened on to London for the rendezvous.

Parsons boarded a craft at Calais, dressed as a naval officer, pretending to be returning from the Low Countries. He walked ashore without so much as a question concerning his identity. Audacious as always, he approached the port warden and asked for a passport for his merchant friend, "Patrick", who was waiting abroad for permission to cross over to England. "Patrick," of course, was Campion.

Campion, however, was not quite so fortunate as Parsons had been. For as he came to the port of entry, he was detained by the warden, who eyed him suspiciously. "You are Doctor Allen," the warden charged. "Indeed, I am not," replied Campion. "Well, you are a suspicious character, at all events, and your

case must be looked into."⁸ Then and there a parley was held, and it was decided that Campion should be sent to London under guard. But, as the escort was about to leave with Campion, suddenly the warden changed his mind and said that he was mistaken and that Campion could go on his way. Hastily he made tracks for London.

Meanwhile, Parsons went freely about London. He visited Catholic prisoners at the Marshalsea in search of information. From the freedom of movement which Parsons enjoyed, we can conclude none other than that the Catholics were not strictly confined, but were merely detained, and received good treatment, and enjoyed many liberties. Through his visits he was introduced to a wealthy Catholic layman, a Mr. Gilbert, who offered lodging and financial aid to Parsons and his party, who were even now arriving in London. Gilbert formed an association of Catholic gentlemen, whose purpose was to aid and protect the Jesuits in their mission. The membership of the association included such men as Throgmorton, Babington, Tichbourne, Tilney, Abington, Salisbury, and Tresham, all of whom were later implicated in plots for the assassination of Elizabeth.⁹

One of the first moves of Parsons following the forming of the association was to call a general meeting of the secular priests from all parts of the country and the Jesuit party. The

8. This event and conversation are taken from Campbell, op. cit., p. 139, who gives credit for the information to the writings of Campion sent to his superiors.

9. Froude, op. cit., p. 343, lists these names.

purpose of the meeting was to acquaint the secular priests with the instructions sent out by the General of the Society, that they were to abstain from politics altogether, lest they be accused of treason. The Jesuits made plain that they condemned the practise of Catholics attending Anglican services. This meeting resulted in disputes between the Jesuits and seculars, which was to heighten as time moved on. The secular priests resented more and more the authority taken and exercised by the Jesuits, because they had become used to acting independently.

Before the conference ended, a request was made that both Parsons and Campion should prepare a written statement concerning their purpose in coming to England, that it might be drawn upon when need demanded, and that it might also be presented to Elizabeth's Council. Both did so. Parsons wrote a simple report, but Campion, well suited to writing, "extended his statement into a letter to the Privy Council, declaring in measured terms that he was a priest and Jesuit, that he had come to fight only sin and ignorance, that he had no concern with politics and that he wished, trusting the Scriptures and the truth of his doctrine, to meet the Protestant divines in a public disputation."¹⁰ Thereupon, both parted and went their separate way.

While the Jesuit party moved from place to place, greater effort was put forth to apprehend those who stood in defiance of the Church and those who refused to attend services. Prisons were filled, and more were provided. Especially was this true

10. Harney, loc. cit.

in the North, where the Catholic population was dense. Admonitions were sent to the various sheriffs, instructing them to be more faithful in the fulfillment of their duties in enforcing the laws concerning Catholics and attendance at worship. Greater emphasis was placed on the tracking down and capturing of the Jesuits, and the arrest of those who were known or suspected of harboring them. Spies and additional police were sent out into the various parts of the country. Up to this time the Jesuit party had little trouble eluding their would-be captors. Campion even boldly preached in the streets of London, and while masses were said in secret meeting places, they were held openly in the North country.

Campion's statement of purpose, known often as the "Brag", was so warmly received by those of the Catholics who read it, that it was published, and soon many copies were scattered about the countrysides. So great was the effect of the Jesuit party's "massing," and so popular had the "Brag" become in its defiance of torture and even the gallows of Tyburn as well as its challenge to public disputation, that even greater measures were taken for their capture. Campion became number one on the list of wanted men, so thoroughly had his "Brag" angered the Council. As Campion continued on his way, he somehow got possession of a printing press, and soon published a "Censure" and a "Brief Discourse," the first in defence of his "Brag", and the second restating why the Catholics should refuse to attend the Protestant services. Thus Campion succeeded in starting a literary war, to

continue unabated until his capture and demise.

Meanwhile the Jesuit party went through the country in disguise. Sometimes in the garb of Puritans, sometimes pretending to be Protestants, sometimes merchants, lawyers, schoolmen, doctors, peddlers. They employed whatever means they had at their disposal to prevent detection. "From house to house they were passed along, at each saying Mass and hearing confession and reconciling the lapsed."¹¹ They were sheltered in private homes, homes of Catholics and sometimes even in homes of sympathetic Protestants. They hid in caves and holes dug in the ground, many of which still exist today. They hid in the mountains and in the forests. They hid wherever it was convenient, and often sought their place of refuge in a hurry, whenever the alarm was given that an apprehendor was near. And so the game of hide and seek continued.

But never doubt for a moment that their efforts went without reward. For daily greater numbers of the lapsed embraced the old faith openly. So great was their success, that the Council in early winter took the situation in hand, fearing that foul play was in the making. Though up to this time Elizabeth would permit no severe measures to be taken with those apprehended, the Council under the pressure of Walsingham demanded that the captured be dealt with more sternly, that information be gathered from the captured, even if force were necessary. The seriousness of the situation compelled Elizabeth to comply

11. Maynard, op. cit., p. 224.

with the wishes of Walsingham and the Council. From this date forward, the use of the iron boot and the rack to extort information became progressively more prominent.

The spy system of Walsingham was organized to work more efficiently. Spies were sent everywhere, pretending even to be Catholics. No one could be trusted, and the slightest suspicion caused an immediate arrest. No place was above suspicion, and all places were frequently visited by the vast network of spies. All were especially on the lookout for the Jesuit Campion, for his arrest was deemed more important for the immediate future than any other. And such organization bore fruit, for from the outset of this more extreme and determined policy arrests and captures multiplied greatly.

In December a number of the seminary priests were captured, and, upon refusal to name those who had concealed them, were placed on the rack, and thus the information was acquired. Though the use of the rack had been outlawed, it was deemed necessary now in this crisis for survival. For it was now being generally accepted, that there were two parties in England, each swearing allegiance either to the pope or to Elizabeth. Though the use of torture and the rack seem hideously cruel to us today, we must remember that its use was not infrequent in that day, that we cannot measure actions of that age with our present day code of honor and decency, and that in times of extreme emergency any weapon at all that promises victory is an acceptable means to employ. Elizabeth did not desire the employment of torture,

racking, drawing-and-quartering any more than did our present day scientists desire the use of the Atomic Bomb in this past World War. But then, as in our day, that which might bring victory was deemed essential and wise. On the use of the rack, this must be said: "It is fair to recognize that the rack and boot were not employed wantonly, but, as it would seem, honestly: with the single intention of obtaining true information for the unravelment of plots which endangered public weal, and only on persons who were known to possess that information."¹²

With such a dual system, the employment of spies and forcing information from victims by torture, government apprehension of the increasing numbers of Jesuits and seminary priests, arriving steadily in numbers of ten and twenty, progressed favorably. Legislation passed by Parliament in 1581 made the work of "conversion" more difficult for the Jesuits and seminary priests. An Act was passed that made it treason either to proselytise or to join the Catholic Church; fines were levied, amounting to twenty pounds a month for non-attendance at services, and fines and imprisonment were imposed for celebrating mass. A further Act provided "sharp penalties for slanderous news and seditious libels, of which the Sectaries hereafter were to feel the weight."¹³

The passing of the Treason Act made the Catholic population sit up and take notice. Those who were Catholic by birth were patriotic and had no desire to lose their lands or to be forced

122 Innes, op. cit., p. 324.

13. Frere, op. cit., p. 218.

into any disloyal act. And if it were only permissible, they would have happily conformed to the law and attended the Anglican services. Yet the Jesuits had firmly denounced their attendance at such services. Now they referred their problem to Parsons and Campion.

Their answer was that no Christian was able to keep the faith fully should he pray and worship with the heretics, and, therefore they must refrain from attending such services. Yet English law was in their favor, since no one need incriminate himself, and before anyone could be indicted, full proof of his guilt had to be established. Then the new law condemned only those who were absent from services without "lawful excuse." But if one could not free himself from the charges of the law on these grounds, then he must brave the consequences and confess his faith, proclaiming that no law could compel a man to endanger his faith and lose his soul.

Though both Campion and Parsons believed that the mission was bearing much fruit, and that it was but a matter of a short time until the Catholic faith would demand recognition and equal rights with the Protestant faith, and that these new Acts of Parliament would not only not hinder the determination of the Catholics, but would greatly enhance their zeal, the true result of this new legislation of Parliament can be found in the correspondence of Mendoza to Philip. On April 6, 1581, Mendoza wrote:

The leading Catholics of this country have signified to me that, besides the troubles and miseries which they have undergone in the two last years, a persecution now awaits them of which the first was

but a shadow. They must not depart from the realm; and unless they will forget God, and profess the errors which are here established, they will not only lose lands, liberty, and perhaps life, but, through these laws now passed through Parliament, they may leave tainted names to their children. They place themselves in the hands of God, and are willing to sacrifice life and all in the service, but scarcely with the burning zeal which they ought to show. They feel as men the shame of figuring before their descendants as traitors to their Prince; yet they see also that these unjust and rigorous laws may be the means of extirpating the Catholic religion out of the land, unless in some way the execution of them be prevented....They address themselves, therefore, to your Majesty as the pillar and defender of the faith. They ask your pity, and they ask your help: and they beseech your interest with His Holiness, if the tares of heresy are not entirely to choke the good seed which God had planted by the seminary priests, to appoint some English Cardinal, such as Father Sanders or Father Allen. If they have no head or no leader, they will crumble away under these statutes. A cardinal only can help them; and one gentleman had offered a thousand dollars annually for his support.¹⁴

On May 14, 1581, he wrote: "God for our sins, permits the spirits of the Catholics to sink more and more, while with the heretics, whatever happens inspires them only with fresh courage to maintain their delusion."¹⁵

At the beginning of July, 1581, Parsons determined to return to London. Campion, in the company of Emerson, was to go to Norfolk, where he could be more easily concealed from the hunters. For the chase was getting warm, and Parsons feared that Campion would soon be taken, if he were not sent to the North country. But at Lyford there were eight nuns dwelling in the manor of a Mrs. Yates. Though two priests were also there

14. Froude, op. cit., pp. 363-364.

15. Ibid., p. 364.

in residence, the nuns, having heard that Campion was in the neighborhood, were determined that he should come to them. Parsons granted Campion permission to go, on the condition that his stay be no longer than one day. As Campion and Emerson neared Oxford following their departure, they decided to linger a while. Here they were quickly discovered, and a great number of students surrounded them. Then a group of Catholic gentlemen rode up from Lyford and persuaded Campion to return. Campion's return to Lyford was the talk of the campus of Oxford, and a great number of the students resolved to journey to Lyford for the following Sunday, when Campion was to conduct mass and preach to the assembly.

It so happened that one of the group of students that made the trip to Lyford was one of Walsingham's agents, named Eliot. When he arrived at Lyford, having a warrant in his pocket for the arrest of Campion, he hurried to the office of the chief magistrate, and told him the good news. A posse was quickly formed, and they were placed in hiding about the estate of Mrs. Yates, while Eliot went to attend the mass. While Campion was in the midst of the mass, Eliot slipped out and returned with the posse. But before they could apprehend him, a servant sounded the alarm, and Campion was hastily concealed in a secret compartment of the manor, together with the two priests who were here in regular attendance. The search proved fruitless, and the magistrate was about to leave, when Eliot produced the warrant and demanded a further search, convinced that no one had

left the premises and that Campion must still be there. The search continued until night-fall, but still no trace was to be found of Campion. The searchers were then invited to spend the night, a move on the part of Mrs. Yates to remove all suspicion on the presence of Campion in the house.

During the night Campion and the two priests were left out, but during the farewells the searchers awoke. The three were once again hastily concealed in the compartment. In the morning the search was renewed. The search again proved fruitless, and the searchers were about to leave. But as Eliot came down the stairway from above, he tapped the walls, and the secret compartment was found. Campion and the two priests were then arrested and taken to the house of the Berkshire sheriff. From there he was taken to London, and imprisoned in the Tower.

Shortly afterwards he was brought before Elizabeth and given the chance to save himself. All that was required of Campion was that he make a declaration of loyalty to the Queen, and repudiate the right of the pope to excommunicate Elizabeth. But Campion refused. He was again taken to the Tower, and, on July 31, he was submitted to questioning in the Tower. For a letter written by Allen to Algazzari was intercepted by a spy at Rheims and sent to Walsingham. The letter boasted of the successes of Campion, of the great number of Jesuits and priests who had eluded the searchers of Dover and were busily engaged in England, and of the great number of converts (the lapsed) they were reconciling. The letter also stated that Parsons was continually con-

ferring with a number of noblemen (undoubtedly noblemen from the North who favored the overthrow of Elizabeth and the enthroning of Mary Stuart, including such men as the Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Arundel, Lord Paget, Lord Lumley, and Morley) and members of the Council (Elizabeth's Council was also represented by a few Catholic leaders).

When he refused to answer the questions directed at him, he was placed on the rack. There he gave up the names of a few who had befriended him. One thing is to be noted here. With the apprehension of Campion and following his questioning in the Tower, for some unexplained reason, a great number of the recusant prisoners were released. One reason might have been that by this method the dangerous could be sifted out of the harmless.

On August 31, Campian's desire for a public disputation was fulfilled. Campian and Sherwin were to debate against Nowell and Day in the Queen's chapel. Near the debaters sat the Council and a number of Catholic prisoners. The public was also invited, and when the debate began in the morning, the chapel was filled with spectators. In the debate Campion showed all his eloquence, and would not be bested by his opponents. The debate lasted for three sessions. And while the Council hoped to discredit Campion, the effect was just the opposite. After three sessions "it was found by the government that all hopes of a victory were gone, and that their prisoner was gaining credit, consideration, and pity, rather than discredit and confusion."¹⁶

15. Frere, op. cit., p. 220.

Following the disputation Campion was returned to the Tower. Now the government agents were busy trying to find evidence against Campion and others of the imprisoned priests and Jesuits. A diligent search was made to find the printing press Campion had used to publish his written statements in defense of his presence and work in England. In the meantime Campion was offered a pardon if he would only appear at one of the Protestant services. But he refused. The rack was once again employed in an attempt to wring further incriminating evidence against him, but Campion revealed no more. The Council then determined to bring him together with other imprisoned priests to trial. On November 15, the grand jury of Middlesex returned an indictment against Campion and fourteen other priests, charging them with conspiracy to deprive the Queen of her dignity, to alienate her subjects from her, and to induce foreigners to invade England. On November 20, court was called to order in Westminster Hall, Sir Christopher Wray the presiding judge.

The State charged the defendants with treason under the treason statute of King Edward III. The defendants were not tried under the new law, lest charges be later hurled that they were convicted not for treason but for religion. Though no testimony was presented to prove Campion and the others were involved in actual treason, the jury returned a verdict of guilty. The testimony was rather circumstantial, and on the grounds of circumstantial evidence--he refused to disavow the Queen's excommunication or the right of the pope to do so--he and twelve oth-

ers of the accused were declared guilty. The other two of the defendants established loyalty, by declaring that they would not give up their allegiance to Elizabeth even at the pope's request, and so were acquitted of the charges against them.

On December 1, Campion, Sherwin, and Briant, three of the condemned, the latter two being seminary priests newly received into the Society, were hanged at Tyburn. Their execution started a wave of protest. This protest "was partly due to Campion's reputation, partly to the notorious partiality of the trial, and partly to the fact that it raised in an acute form whether these men were put to death for religion or for treason--a question which was discussed all over Europe, and in which leaders such as Allen on the one side and Burghley on the other took their share."¹⁷

By the end of 1582 eighteen priests had been hanged, and by the end of the reign 124 of the clergy and 63 women and men of the laity had been hanged. Since the trial and conviction of Campion, the remainder had been convicted under the new Treason Act.

The question of whether Campion and the rest of those tried with him were hanged for treason or religion had been debated ever since. I cannot agree with those who believe these men were martyrs for religion's sake. For religion misapplied certainly cannot excuse these men on the grounds of religion. Campion himself admitted that he would remain loyal to the Queen only so long until the Bull of Excommunication could be enforced

against her. At such a time, he must abide by the decision of the pope. And even though he may have believed that his mission was one of religion only, and though he had not participated in the forming of plans against the overthrow of the existing government, nevertheless, he could not plead innocent of knowing what was being planned. Surely, if the Council was well informed of the plotting going on in Paris and other places, and knew even the details of such plotting, then Campion was also informed. As such he was a part of the plotting to overthrow Elizabeth and her government, and as such he was guilty. As one who insisted that the English Catholics refrain from attending the Protestant services, he was conspiring against the existing government in that he alienated the loyalty of the English subjects. Nor can I be convinced that Campion's own claimed loyalty was sincere, rather I believe it was a grasping, and that knowingly, at the loophole provided by the pope in his mitigation of the Bull of Excommunication. True, no actual proof of active treason could be charged against him, but circumstances certainly were in favor of a conviction on the charges of treason.

The death of Campion and the others was hailed as martyrdom by the Catholic populace. And its result was a more defiant Catholicism and a massing together of the Catholics, as well as a swelling of their ranks. This in turn resulted in a more lenient treatment of recusants and priests on the part of the government. Many were arrested only to be released. And from this moment forward, all disguise was stripped off the true purpose

of the Jesuits' presence in England. From this point plots for the Queen's assassination and plans for the invasion of England by Spanish forces come to the fore.

TRYING TO ASSASSINATE ELIZABETH

Following the hanging of Campion and the escape of Parsons to the Continent, the Jesuit mission was stripped of its disguise. Thence forward it appeared in its true purpose. Abroad Parsons and Allen plotted with Guise of France and the Spanish Ambassador De Tassis for the assassination of Elizabeth and the invasion of England by armed force. In England itself the Catholics took advantage of the leniency of Elizabeth, who took every opportunity at her disposal to prevent harsh treatment and bloodshed. "The Paris correspondent of the great Austrian banking house of Fugger wrote to his principals that she was secretly giving money to various arrested Jesuits in order to enable them to cheat the gallows by escaping abroad."¹ The reasons for Elizabeth's leniency were her abhorrence of torture and the knowledge that a martyred Jesuit was more dangerous than one still active. The death of Campion had proved this to her.

Sentence after sentence she commuted or mitigated; in every capital case she required it to be made out to her satisfaction that the offender had threatened the security of the State, not merely by infringement, however aggravated, of the religious statutes, but by actual treason. There were unhappy instances, of course, of ordinary persecution, yet altogether, during the whole period of the Jesuit invasion, the executions averaged only seven a year, as contrasted with eighty under her predecessor and hundreds, even thousands, in Spain, France, and the

1. Waldman, op. cit., p. 234.

Netherlands.²

"After the executions of 1581 and 1582 the government was slow and very careful in its dealings.... Priest after priest thus passed through the hands of the government only to be set at liberty."³ It did not take the Catholic noblemen and Jesuits and priests long to realize how safe they were. And this led to bolder action on their part. No longer was the mission merely one of conversion, if it ever had been, on the part of the main body of Jesuits and priests. But from this time forward (after Campion's death) they became progressively more involved in politics. "They conspired behind it (her leniency) against her throne and life."⁴ The noblemen of the North (the Earls of Cumberland, Rutland, Northumberland, Arundel, and the Pagets) threw greater effort, agreement, and determination in the plans for the overthrow of the government and the enthroning of Mary Stuart. To such an extent was politics becoming the mission of the Jesuits, that "many a knight and gentleman who had continued Catholic"⁵ was wafted over into Protestantism. Finally, "to be a Catholic was to cease to be an Englishman."⁶

"Without exception every plot for Elizabeth's assassination could be traced to one of the Jesuit missionaries."⁷ Nor was it difficult to find men to attempt Elizabeth's assassina-

2. Ibid., p. 233.

3. Frere, op. cit., p. 241.

4. Froude, op. cit., p. 385.

5. Ibid., p. 390.

6. Ibid.

7. Waldman, op. cit., p. 232.

tion. For the Church had offered to canonize the volunteer should he be killed in the attempt. And from 1583 until 1586 a number of assassination plots were attempted, several in connection with plans for an invasion, and several independent of such large scale planning.

Already in 1582 the plotters were busy in Paris trying to get the ball rolling towards the invasion of England. The Jesuits Holt, Allen, and Crichton conferred with the Spanish ambassador, Baptista de Tassis. Lennox had already written to De Tassis from Scotland, and to Mary Stuart imprisoned in England, that he was ready to assist in the invasion of England. Crichton testified to the sincerity of Lennox's offer; that he had the Catholic interest at heart. Holt then proposed that the invasion begin from Scotland. Then the magistrates, so the Jesuits believed, in many locales would call out men for the defence of the homeland only to join the invading forces. The Jesuits so believed because they "had confessed too many of them to be unaware of their condition and resolution."⁸ All were assured that with Spanish help success would crown their venture.

Shortly thereafter the Duke of Guise and the Archbishop of Glasgow consulted with De Tassis. They did not agree with the Jesuits' desire of Spanish participation. For they were evidently well aware of the fact that the Jesuits supported the Spanish interest in England. The Spanish interest then was

8. Froude, op. cit., p. 511.

their first talking point. Spain need not furnish men and arms, if only Philip would secretly aid the cause financially. The pope could undertake the responsibility, as he had done in the case of Ireland. Nor were they satisfied that such large support could be depended on from the English Catholics, as the Jesuits had believed. They suggested that an army of five or six thousand Italians and Germans be raised and trained in Italy, as if in preparation for a campaign against the African Corsairs. They then would be shipped to Scotland to join the forces of Lennox and invade England from the north. Simultaneously, Guise with a small army of Frenchmen would land in Sussex. Meanwhile, the pope could declare the forces from Italy were sent to free Mary Stuart. They advocated an immediate undertaking, for haste was necessary, lest England learn of the plan through its widespread secret service. Their plan was for an August invasion; now it was May. In the interval money and provisions should be transported to the two bases Lennox had secured in Scotland, Dumbarton and Blackness. But this strategy was overruled by Mendoza and the Queen of Scots, who believed that such action at this time was unwise, and that the success of such a venture depended upon Spanish support. And Philip was not inclined to be of help. Nor was the King of France, Henry III, sympathetic to the scheme, for at this time Elizabeth was involved in another of her diplomatic romances, this time with Alencon of France.

Just a year later, in May of 1583, a fresh plot of invasion

was in the making. Time was changing circumstances, all in the favor of England. For in August of 1582, the Raid of Ruthven took place, and Lennox fled for his life to France. And from this time forward Scotland could no longer be counted upon as a certain stepping-stone to England. James now aligned himself more and more with England, having been encouraged by Elizabeth in his hopes of one day becoming King of England. Thus new strategy became necessary.

But the plotters were at odds with one another. The Jesuits, seminarists, and English exiles favored an immediate invasion. They were convinced that the greater part of the masses in England could be counted on for assistance. Guise and Philip were not assured that so great an assistance of the English Catholics could be relied upon, Philip, in spite of the fact that Mendoza boasted of the enthusiasm of a host of Catholics favoring an overthrow of the government if Mary should succeed Elizabeth. The Jesuits, Parsons a leading spokesman, were opposed to any great part of the French in the invasion, while the English refugees, tired of Jesuit authority, showed their hostility to the Jesuits' desire for only a strong Spanish participation. Charles Paget and Thomas Throgmorton, members of the English gentry, "set themselves to thwart and contradict Parsons, 'Liking not that gentlemen should be directed by priests'."⁹ Philip was involved in a war with William of Orange (William the Silent) in the Netherlands, and "he was as reluctant as ever to take an Eng-

9. Ibid., p. 637.

lish war upon his shoulders until he had completed the subjugation of the Netherlands."¹⁰ Mendoza, unwilling that France should dominate England, would only favor a plan in which French would play no more than an equal part with the Spanish, but willing that Guise should lead the expedition, as was being planned, supposing that circumstances would later demand dependence on Spain. Then, to add to the mounting confusion, there was disagreement as to who should succeed Elizabeth. All these facts led to weeks and weeks of negotiation and compromise. With the continued reluctance of Philip to invade England in the near future, "Guise was obliged to consent to wait until the following spring."¹¹ Only in one point were all parties in agreement. "All the parties...were prepared to yield unofficial sanction to the simplification of the problem by assassination."¹²

What then was the true situation among the English Catholics, of whose support the Jesuits were so assured, and Philip and Guise so doubtful?

If Romanism could have remained loyal its power would have been far greater. Plain country gentlemen are swayed by prejudice rather than by theological argument. Their prejudices might...be in favor of medieval ways; and, so long as they had to do with men like Vaux (he had written a Catholic catechism, which was widely spread in England, and did much to bring many of the lapsed back into the Church) and the bulk of the seminary priests, they might prefer the familiar Latin mass, with all its perils, to the security of a dull morning prayer or a dreary homily at their parish church. But when questions of politics inevitably came in, and it was even hinted that

10. Innes, op. cit., p. 329.

11. Ibid., pp. 329-330.

12. Ibid., p. 329.

their religion should be secured to them through the conquest of England by the Spaniard, or by the assassination of Elizabeth and the substitution of Mary of Scotland, the matter assumed a very different aspect in their eyes. Great, therefore, as was the growth of recusancy at this time, and greater still the number of men well disposed to a return of the Marian position, it was a perpetual miscalculation when the leaders of the rebellion, either at home or abroad, thought that they could count upon large support. The men who would go a long way to welcome the non-political recusant recoiled from the political intriguer; and it became increasingly clear that the papacy, by attempting to recover England through foul means, had forfeited the chance of doing so by fair ones.¹³

Friests once captured were granted freedom if they would enroll in the spy system. Now apostate priests were in the seminary at Rheims, in prison seeking the confidences of their fellows, in disguise going about the countrysides saying mass and hearing confessions, all on the watch for information, whether it be oral or written, concerning the Jesuits' and government dignitaries' plans to retake England for the papacy. So widespread had Walsingham's secret service become, that no planning remained unknown to the Council for long. And so also with the plans of 1583 for the invasion of England. By the time autumn had arrived, Walsingham had a rather accurate account of this newest of plots for the invasion of England.

In November Francis Throgmorton was arrested and taken to the Tower. As he was returning from Spain, where he was in consultation with Sir Francis Englefield (a Catholic nobleman who, fearing apprehension, had fled to the Continent and thence to Spain) concerning the invasion of England, he was met by another

13. Frere, op. cit., p. 240.

fellow countryman, Thomas Morgan, Mary Stuart's chief agent in Paris,¹⁴ who revealed to him the recent invasion plans. Throgmorton then returned to London, where he served as the middleman of correspondence between Morgan and Mary Stuart and Mendoza. His activities as a letter carrier and his frequent visits at the residence of Mendoza brought him under the suspicion of the secret service. No doubt Throgmorton's activities were tied in with the information incoming from abroad.

And with the arrest of Throgmorton, the whole conspiracy was torn wide open. Though he succeeded in keeping a number of compromising documents from his captors by sending them with a maid to the residence of Mendoza, "a list was found of the Catholic English confederates, plans of harbours sketched by Charles Paget, and described as suitable for the landing of a foreign force, treatises in defense of the Queen of Scots' title, and 'six or seven infamous libels against her Majesty, printed beyond seas'."¹⁵

Though Throgmorton would not answer the questions of his interrogators, he yielded under the rack.

All was revealed: the spot where Guise or the Duc de Mayenne was to land; the force that was coming over; the names of the noblemen and others whose assistance had been promised. Then came the past history of the plot, the correspondence between the Jesuits, the Pope, the King of Spain, the Queen of Scots and the two Spanish Ambassadors; then Charles Paget's visit, the particulars of which he knew from his brother, who had come up secretly to London at

14. Waldman, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

15. Froude, *op. cit.*, p. 642. Innes also makes reference to the above, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

the time, and had brought with him the plans of the harbours. He acknowledged the sending of the casket to Mendoza. It was past recovery, but the general contents of it were admitted to be traitorous. He confessed that Mary Stuart had been consulted upon every detail: he described the plans which had been formed in England for her rescue as soon as the invaders should have landed: he told how Mendoza was to communicate 'with sundry recusants, being in commission of the peace, to raise the Catholics when the Duke of Guise should arrive, under pretext of her Majesty's levy, afterwards to use them against her Majesty'.¹⁶

After his confession he was kept in the Tower for a few months, then tried and executed at Tyburn. As a result of Throgmorton's confession, Northumberland and Arundel were arrested and imprisoned at the Tower. A number of seminary priests and well known Catholics throughout the realm were watched closely. Mendoza was ordered to leave the country. Many of the Catholics fled to escape the arm of justice, and many were captured and imprisoned. And in January, 1584, England mobilised, fleets were manned, armies were alerted, and Catholic officers and suspicious were discharged, the training of recusants was begun, fortifications and defenses were set in order, visitations were conducted to determine the loyalty of lawyers and magistrates. England was on the alert, preparing herself for the worst.

There were, or were believed to be, still five hundred Jesuits and seminary priests in England.... The Council ordered that every priest now under arrest in any house or gaol, should be examined on the authority of the Pope; and that those who would not

16. Ibid., pp. 644-645. Innes states, "He told the whole story--possibly more than the truth, though that is hardly possible....", op. cit., p. 330.

swear without reserve to be loyal to the Queen, should be banished 'with judgment to be hanged if they returned;' others 'should be straightly imprisoned' where they could infest no one with their doctrines; 'while the charge of their diet' was to be furnished out of the forfeitures of the recusants.¹⁷

The exposure of this "main plot" was followed in the spring by the revelation of an ancillary "bye-plot", for the murder of Elizabeth. There had been some hesitation amongst the higher conspirators over the selection of an assassin (recall how all parties in the plan of 1583 had desired the simplification of their problem by the assassination of Elizabeth), the choice lying between Dr. George Gifford, an active, and William Parry, a renegade, priest as well as a criminal. Parry was chosen and given a hundred thousand francs for the job....¹⁸

Parry had been pardoned by Elizabeth for attempted murder in 1580. Special favor was shown Parry, because he had been a worker in the household of the Queen. He was permitted to go to France by Elizabeth with the hope that he would repair his character. Here he became a Catholic and a priest. While in Paris he came in contact with the Jesuits, seeking someone to undertake the assassination of Elizabeth.¹⁹ Fully convinced of the assassination of Elizabeth, he consented to the plot and received payment. For a time scruples of conscience prevented him from carrying out the plan, and he would not continue with the plan until he received papal approval. When he received his sought for approval, "communicated to him by the Cardinal of Como,...he returned to his intentions."²⁰ Upon arriving in Eng-

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 648-649.

18. Waldman, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

19. This is a supposition on my part, which I believe Waldman wishes to convey and in returning to his statement, "Without exception every plot for Elizabeth's assassination could be traced to one of the Jesuit missionaries."

20. Frere, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

land, he communicated with Elizabeth and was received back into the household. Here frequent opportunities presented themselves, but Parry hesitated. Then his nerve failed him. "...The reason he gave was that Elizabeth looked too much like Henry VIII--so he refunded the money and entered Parliament, instead."²¹ When a bill was introduced into the Lower House, "providing that priests who were found in England, in spite of their sentence of banishment, should be guilty of high treason,"²² Parry, much to the offense of the other members of the House, spoke sharply against it. This led to his detention, but, after due apology and the Queen's intervention, was released. Since his effectiveness in Parliament had proved fruitless, he returned to the idea of assassination and included Edmund Neville in his plans. While he continued to delay, Neville became distempered and revealed the plot to the Council. "On his arrest, he told the whole story, the papal dispensation was found, and no link of the chain was wanting. His trial was speedily carried through on February 25, 1585, and his execution followed five days later. The bills for the assurance of the queen's safety and for the sharper dealing with recusant clergy passed with the greater expedition."²³

Previously, in the fall of 1583, a young man, John Somerville, set out for London from Warwickshire to assassinate Elizabeth. But he was loose-tongued, and boasted openly of his plan. Thus word was quickly brought to Walsingham, and Somerville was

21. Waldman, loc. cit.

22. Frere, loc. cit.

23. Ibid., pp. 243-244.

apprehended. Upon questioning he revealed that he had been influenced by writings of Allen and Parsons, which led him to believe that Elizabeth was a "serpent and a viper" and to determine to shoot her and set her head on a pole,²⁴ that he was persuaded to attempt the assassination by Father Hall, a priest in disguise by his father-in-law, an Arden, who was the High Sheriff of Warwickshire, and that Arden did not object to his plan when he spoke of it at table. Sommerville cheated the gallows by committing suicide in prison. His father-in-law was executed at Tyburn. The priest, Hall, saved his neck by becoming a government spy.

Two events outside of England in 1584 were of tantamount importance. The first was the death of Alencon. So long as Alencon lived, being next in line to the throne of France, the Duke of Guise was free to plot the death of Elizabeth and the invasion of England. But with the death of Alencon, Henry of Navarre was heir apparent to the throne of France, and Henry III, fearing the Guises more than the Protestants, soon proclaimed Henry of Navarre next in line for the succession. This, of course, was a revolting development to Guise, for Henry of Navarre was the champion of the Huguenots. And in seeking to prevent a Huguenot succession, which ended in a long and losing civil war, Guise's participation in the offence against England was virtually at an end.

The other was the death of William of Orange, who was the

24. Waldman, op. cit., p. 232, and Froude, op. cit., p. 640.

victim of an assassin. While Orange lived, Elizabeth through diplomacy was able to keep England out of the Netherland's conflict. Though overtures were made to her to secure the aid of England to halt the advancing armies of Philip II under the leadership of Parma, Elizabeth hesitated. Even after the death of Alencon and Orange, and against the better judgment of her advisers, she would not enter the conflict, but played strongly to involve France, and thus take France's attention off her country. The Hollanders fought desperately under Orange, and as they continued the fight and held off the Spanish, she did not enter the conflict.

But these events made one thing clear and certain. Her fight was now with Spain, and Spain had to be reckoned with and engaged in war, if she was to maintain England's advances and independence. And unless she wanted Spain to control the Netherlands and have easy access to the Straits of Dover, she would have to intervene and aid the Hollanders. This half-hearted support of the Netherland's struggle came in 1585, when the formation of the Holy League in France ruled out her hopes of entangling France in the Netherlands' War.

Meanwhile, in England, the populace was alarmed. Fearing an invasion, and greatly alarmed over the safety of the Queen, because of the several attempts to assassinate her, the leading Protestant figures introduced and organized an Association for the Preservation of Her Majesty. "The Association began at the Council board on October 18, 1584...."²⁵ It was signed by "the

leading nobility and gentry of the country"²⁶ and by the imprisoned Mary Stuart.

The subscribers, being natural-born subjects of this realm of England and having so gracious a lady, our sovereign Elizabeth by the ordinance of God, our most rightful Queen, reigning over us these many years with great felicity, to our inestimable comfort, (bound themselves) with our whole powers, bodies, lives and goods, and with our children and servants...to withstand, pursue, and offend, as well by force of arms, as by all other means of revenge, all manner of persons...that shall attempt...anything that shall tend to the harm of Her Majesty's royal person; and will never desist from all manner of forcible pursuit against such persons, to the utter extermination of them, their aiders and abettors...(To any who) shall pretend title to come to this crown by the untimely death of Her Majesty so wickedly procured...was promised "utter overthrow and extirpation".

The document concluded with a vow on the part of the signatories never to separate from their association 'upon pain of being by the rest of us prosecuted and suppressed as perjured persons, and as public enemies to God, our Queen and our native country.'²⁷

"It was sufficiently obvious that the declaration was aimed directly against Mary; but it may be said that the entire nation forthwith enrolled itself. And with the bulk of them, the enrollment was anything but empty form."²⁸ Even strongly Catholic Lancashire and Cheshire adopted the new Association declaration as completely as the other counties. In February of 1585, Parliament gave the Association legal standing.

It enacted that an invasion, rebellion, or attempt on the Queen's person, on behalf of any one with a claim to the succession, should disqualify

25. Frere, op. cit., p. 242.

26. Waldman, op. cit., p. 235.

27. Ibid.

28. Innes, op. cit., p. 332.

such person from the succession absolutely, if complicity in the attempt should be proved after due enquiry. A commission was appointed to put the Act in execution in the event of assassination; and the Association was sanctioned subject to these provisions. Subsidies were then voted, and parliament prorogued, after an unusually gracious speech from the throne.²⁹

The purpose of the Association from the beginning, I feel sure, was to trap the Queen of Scots. She had been known to have full knowledge and even agreement with the plans for the invasion of England and the assassination of Elizabeth. And it was assumed that she would be tied in with any other such planning, and here now was the voice of the people demanding that she be forever quieted. For Elizabeth was averse to the shedding of blood. And should Mary Stuart be put out of the way, the framers were sure that assassination plots would cease.

29. Ibid.

THE EXECUTION OF MARY STUART

On May 16, 1566, Mary, Queen of Scots, became a self-exile to England, and was thereupon placed under protective custody, to remain so until her death. The reason for her exile proves quite interesting. Mary's husband, Lord Darnley, as well as many other lords, were jealous of the attention Mary showed to her secretary Rizzio. A common hatred of Rizzio united them in a plan for the murder of the secretary. In March, 1566, the conspirators broke into Mary's room at Holyrood and assassinated Rizzio "almost before her eyes."¹ Shortly after the birth of James in June, another band of conspirators plotted to kill Darnley. Lest Darnley become suspicious, Mary pretended reconciliation, while at the same time she carried on an extra-marital affair with Lord Bothwell. Shortly thereafter, Darnley became ill and was taken to Kirk o' Field, a house near Edinburgh, and was there joined by Mary. While Mary attended a bridal masque, the house was blown up, and the nude, unmarked body of Darnley was found in the garden. The murderer was Bothwell.² Within three months, Mary became the wife of Bothwell. This sudden marriage soon convicted Mary in the eyes of her people as the accomplice of Bothwell in Darnley's murder and as the mistress of Bothwell before the deed was done. The lords rose

1. Ibid., p. 269.

2. Ibid., p. 270.

up in rebellion against Bothwell and Mary. The forces of both met at Carberry Hill, where the lords soon had the upper hand. Bothwell, seeing the futility of staying on, fled, and Mary surrendered. She was then imprisoned at Lochleven Castle. At the end of July, Mary was compelled to abdicate in favor of her infant son James. Murray was then appointed regent. Being sympathetic to the Protestants of Scotland, he enforced the anti-Catholic laws with an iron hand, which soon greatly ired the Catholic populace. In May of 1568, Mary escaped from Lochleven and rallied to her side the discontented Catholics. On May 13, a battle ensued, and Mary's attempt to regain the throne of Scotland was quickly put to an end. Three days later she crossed the Solway into England and became the prisoner of Elizabeth.

It was towards the close of the Pontificate of Gregory XIII. that two young English Jesuits, Anthony Tyrell, who tells the story, and Foscoe or Fortescue, better known as Ballard, and concerned afterwards in the Babington conspiracy, set out upon a journey to Rome on a noticeable errand. Their object was to learn from the lips of the Pope himself whether 'any one who, for the benefit of the Church and the delivery of the Catholics from their afflictions, attempted to destroy the Queen of England, should have for the fact his pardon.' They halted on their way at the Seminary at Rheims, where they found the fraternity occupied with the same subject as themselves. The preacher of the Easter-day sermon, an English convert, called Elizabeth 'the monster of the world, worthy of deposition,' and he said from the pulpit that 'Pity it was there could not be found any of that courage to bereave her of her life.' Father Allen, the principal, spoke afterwards in the same strain, 'inveighing most heinously against the Queen, saying that her law exceeded for cruelty both heathen and Turk, and that she sought nothing but blood.' Language of this kind was congenial food for Tyrell

and his companion, and they went on upon their way greatly strengthened and comforted. Tyrell was not a stranger in Rome. He had been educated at the English College, and thither he went on his arrival, taking Ballard with him. He explained to the rector, Father Alfonzo Algazari, the object of his coming. The rector 'being rejoiced to hear of priests of that mind,' consulted Everard Mercuriano, the general of the order to which the Englishmen belonged. Mercuriano sent for Tyrell, and enquired who Ballard was, 'whether he was of credit in England,' 'whether he was wise and fit for any great action;' and the answers being satisfactory, he procured for them the interview which they desired with the great person whom they had come to consult. Gregory received them in his cabinet. They prostrated themselves, kissed his foot, and remained kneeling, while Algazari, as their spokesman, described their errand.

'May it please your Holiness,' he said, 'here be these reverend priests lately come from the hot harvest in England, who have come hither partly to gain strength to give the enemy a new encounter, but chiefly to obtain such spiritual graces from your beatitude as the nature of their country doth require. One thing I am to move your Holiness in their behalf--for without the fullness of your Apostolical authority they dare attempt nothing--if any person moved with zeal should take out of this life their wicked Queen, whether your Holiness would approve the action.'

The Pope--it was the same Pontiff who had sung Te Deums for the massacre of St. Bartholomew--turned to the kneeling pair, and said: 'Children, beloved in the Lord, we embrace you in the bowels of Christ. We have always had a fatherly and pastoral care of you and your country. We have opened the bowels of our compassion upon you, and have long bewailed upon your miseries. As touching the taking away of that impious Jezebel, whose life God has permitted thus long for our scourge, I would be loath you should attempt anything unto your own destruction, and we know not how our censure on that point amongst her subjects which profess themselves our children would be taken; but if you can wisely give such counsel as may be without scandal to the party or to us, know you we do not only approve the act, but we think the doer if he suffer death simply for that to be worthy of canonisation. And so with our Apostolic benediction we dismiss you.'³

At a later date Tyrell claimed this story was nothing more

3. Froude, op. cit., pp. 326-329.

than a figment of his mind.⁴ But with the passing of another year he once again verified the story.⁵ Further proof for the reality of this story is the finding of the papal dispensation sent to Parry through the Cardinal of Como,⁶ which granted the same apostolic blessing, the same approval for the contemplated deed, and the same promise of canonization should he lose his life as a result of the assassination attempt.⁷

Bolstered by this papal sanction by word of mouth, a fresh attempt on the life of Elizabeth was stimulated by the Jesuits. A comprehensive planning for the invasion of England and the slaying of Elizabeth was soon begun. Both were to work hand in hand.

As the double plot was forming in Paris in 1585, Anthony Babington appeared on the scene. He was soon drawn into the circle of plotters. Here he met Thomas Morgan, who outlined to him the scheme for Elizabeth's assassination. The plan appealed to Babington, and he was soon placed in charge of the attempt. He, together with five of his friends,⁸ who had easy access to the court of Elizabeth, were to assassinate not only Elizabeth but also her chief ministers. At the same time, another group was to free Mary Stuart and, bringing her to London, proclaim her the new queen. A Spanish invasion was to follow, and a simultaneous rising of the English Catholics.

4. Ibid. From Strype, Annals, III, Part 2, p. 425.

5. Ibid. From Strype, Annals, III, Part 1, p. 698.

6. Frere, op. cit., p. 243.

7. Froude, loc. cit. From State Trials, I, Parry's trial.

8. Innes, op. cit., pp. 335-336, and Waldman, op. cit., p. 248.

The plot was, in Mendoza's opinion, and he was an expert in such matters, by far the best yet devised for Elizabeth's undoing. Babington and his friends were unsuspected persons, the Queen of Scots was more laxly guarded than she had been for some time past, and Spanish arms were nearly ready to take advantage of the opportunity that success would create. On his ambassador's recommendation Philip sent the conspirators his grave approval of their efforts and a hundred thousand crowns to help defray their expenses, together with the suggestion that Burghley should be exempted from the ministerial slaughter, since he was friendly to Spain and in any event too old (the Lord Treasurer was then sixty-six) to do much harm.⁹

On his return to England, Babington associated himself, by means of letters of introduction, with a number of active partisans of Mary Stuart and with John Ballard, the Jesuit. Ballard and Babington conferred together on the plan of assassination. Ballard then worked out the details of the plot.¹⁰

As the first rumors of this new plot were brought to Walsingham, he seized the opportunity to incriminate the Queen of Scots. His one wish at the moment was to get Mary Stuart out of the way. And, since she had signed the Bond of Association, here was the golden opportunity to send Mary to her death.

In June of 1586, at her own request, Mary's place of confinement was changed from Tutbury to Chartley. Her new keeper was the Puritan Sir Amyas Paulet.

Nearly all supervision of her visitors and correspondence was removed and in general she was treated more as a guest than as a prisoner. She believed that her own cunning in dealing with Elizabeth had deluded the Queen into granting her these

9. Ibid. (Waldman)

10. Ibid.

favours, never dreaming that it was Walsingham who had intervened to obtain them for her so that she might have full freedom to incriminate herself in the Babington conspiracy.¹¹

Without the slightest inkling of what was actually happening, Mary entered boldly into the conspiracy. All correspondence between Paris, Flanders, and England passed through her hands. And daily, with the aid of two secretaries, messages were coded and deciphered.

One of the most active members of the conspiracy was Francis Gifford, (once almost chosen to attempt to assassinate Elizabeth) now in the employ of Walsingham, who reported the progress of the plot to Walsingham.

The letter carrier for Mary was a brewer, also a member of the spy system, who delivered beer to Mary's household at Chartley manor. The letters Mary thought were being smuggled in and out without the least suspicion, were promptly turned over to Phillips, the master of codes, who deciphered all the messages. Copies of the messages were turned over to Walsingham, and the originals were sent on to the intended recipients. Throughout the summer of 1586 the process so continued. Walsingham was biding his time, until he had sufficient evidence against Mary, that not even Elizabeth could refuse the death penalty.

On July 17, Mary, in answer to a letter from Babington describing the details of the actual assassination, wrote to her 'Trusty and well-Beloved' endorsing in all respects his plan for the Queen's murder. If that was not enough, reflected Walsingham, Elizabeth must positively desire a dagger between her

11. Ibid., p. 250.

ribs. Early in August he ordered the arrest of Babington and his fellow plotters.¹²

Somehow the conspirators were alerted. And, while the police were on their way to arrest the conspirators, they fled. Several days later, Babington and several others of the would be assassins were seized at Harrow. The rest of the conspirators were captured in other parts of the country before the end of August. All were apprehended save the Jesuit Ballard, who escaped to France.¹³ Mary was seized by her jailer, Paulet, and was removed to the castle of Fotheringay in Northamptonshire before she had the opportunity to destroy her letters and codes. Her rooms at Chartley were "ransacked and all her papers impounded."¹⁴

Upon the confessions of the conspirators, "Again, as after the Throgmorton conspiracy, fleets were manned and musters called out. In September, the conspirators were tried and executed, and a commission was appointed to try Mary herself in October."¹⁵

Mary was now brought to trial on October 12, 1586, charged with high treason, "before a jury of forty-six of the leading men of the realm."¹⁶ The copies of the letters she had written were submitted as evidence, as well as the confessions of the conspirators and her secretaries. Mary was found guilty of

12. Ibid., p. 251.

13. Frere, op. cit., p. 245, states that Ballard was also executed with the rest of the conspirators.

14. Innes, op. cit., p. 336.

15. Ibid.

16. Waldman, op. cit., p. 253.

high treason ten days later by a unanimous vote.

The sentence was left for Parliament and the Queen to settle. The Parliament which had passed the recent Act of the Defence of the Queen was dissolved, and a new one was summoned. On its meeting in November, it petitioned for Mary's execution, in accordance with the terms of the "Association" which Mary herself had offered to join. The publication of the sentence was received with public acclamation; but whether the Queen would assent to it remained to be seen.¹⁷

"Political expediency, therefore, entirely favoured her death, unless the execution would bring France or Scotland against Elizabeth in arms. France protested earnestly, but clearly intended nothing stronger than protests, and it very soon became equally clear that no serious trouble need be feared from James."¹⁸

Still Philip's fleet delayed, no French army landed to rescue its queen dowager, no hindrance was offered by the Scottish king on behalf of his mother, no rising was made to eject the protestant from the throne and seat the papist in her place. Only the reluctance of Elizabeth delayed the execution, and, when she overcame it and signed the warrant, before she could recall her signature, Mary was beheaded on February 8, 1587.¹⁹

Thus came to death the colorful personage of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, murderess, intriguer, and plotter.

17. Innes, op. cit., pp. 336-337.

18. Ibid., p. 338.

19. Frere, loc. cit.

THE COMING OF THE ARMADA

"In England itself, the death-blow of the Scots Queen was the death-blow also to the chances of a Catholic revolt. Despite the fervid dreams of Allen and Parsons, the entire nation was ready to oppose an undivided front to any foreign assailant."¹

In Spain, Philip was busy outfitting and strengthening his navy in preparation for a naval attack on England. His able admiral, Santa Cruz, was at work, formulating the plan of attack. Two events turned Philip's mind from the Netherlands to England: the dogged resistance of the Hollanders and Leicester's presence in the Netherlands in the name of the Queen of England, and the Cartagena raid led by Sir Francis Drake.

But Philip was to suffer delay. On April 2, 1587, Drake set sail with a small but efficient fleet. His fleet was turned in the direction of Cadiz. For it was a well known fact that stores and ships were here concentrated. Here Drake's second raid was most effective. One ship was sunk, provisions were loaded onto the English ships, and the bulk of the fleet was set afire with their anchors cut loose. At Cape St. Vincent Drake resisted his persuers and threw "the whole of Philip's transport arrangements out of gear."² Thereupon, he sailed to

1. Innes, op. cit., p. 355.
2. Ibid., p. 357.

the Azores, where he stopped an East Indiaman and availed himself of the spoils. Fully satisfied and having rendered the expected Armada's sailing for England practically impossible in 1587, Drake turned his fleet toward home port.

Yet reconstruction in the Spanish shipbuilding yards progressed at a rapid rate. And Philip sent word to Parma to be ready for the Armada's arrival in September. The plan was for Santa Cruz to keep the Channel clear and for Parma to pour his troops, reinforced by soldiers aboard the ships of Santa Cruz, into England.

All the planning was done with full papal knowledge and financial support. The pope had offered a large sum for the undertaking, half to be paid when the Armada set sail, and the remainder when the deed was done. Philip was to become King of England, and Allen, created a cardinal by this time, was to become Archbishop of Canterbury and, as the papal legate, was to reconcile England to Rome.³ Drake's unexpected raid forced the pope to make payment before the deed could be begun. And with this payment, the reconstruction was begun.

The Armada did not sail in fall. Santa Cruz was skeptical of weather conditions and feared the dangers of squalls common to the Channel at that time of year. And so the departure of the Armada was postponed.

But Philip, the man of patience during the past fifteen to eighteen years, now became the impatient one. Not willing to

3. Hore, op. cit., p. 316.

delay the expedition any longer, he ordered the Armada to proceed to England in January. But once again the Armada was forced to lay at anchor. The death of Santa Cruz destroyed the plan. This act of God was probably the event which saved England from the Spanish attack. For at the time, assured that no Spanish fleet could yet appear, the English fleet was unprepared for action.

On May 20, 1588, the Spanish Armada set sail from Lisbon under the leadership of the Duke of Medina Sidonia. Three weeks later the fleet was scattered by a storm. At Corunna the fleet reassembled, where the Duke "vainly urged that the expedition should be given up."⁴

On July 12, the Armada was once again on the way towards the English Channel. On the twentieth, the Armada was sighted, and on the following morning the first blows were struck. The two types of naval warfare employed by Spain and England proved their relative worth in the ensuing days. The Spanish fleet was mainly manned with soldiers. The purpose of Spanish naval warfare was to run aside the enemy vessel and board the ship and settle the issue in hand to hand fighting. But not so the English. Their ships were smaller and of far greater manoeuvrability. The purpose of English naval warfare was to cripple and destroy enemy shipping by delivering broadside blows, a running type of battle rather than hand to hand fighting. After several days' fighting English strategy proved to be vastly

4. Innes, op. cit., p. 363.

superior, and the Spanish never had an opportunity to employ their method of sea fighting.

A week later on the twenty seventh, the Spanish fleet anchored in Calais Roads. The Duke realized that the plan of securing a base on the Isle of Wight and at Portland was futile, and now planned to meet Parma and his troops at Dunkirk and make a direct invasion assault. It now became the object of the English fleet to prevent such a juncture at Dunkirk.

Pursuing the Spanish fleet to Calais Roads, a new strategy was called for. During the evening of July 28, eight ships were set afire and were directed towards the anchored Spanish fleet. The approaching fire ships created a panic. The Spaniards cut their anchors and made for the open sea.

On the following morning the partially reassembled Spanish fleet was heavily broadsided by the English off the coast near Gravelines. All the while the anchor-less Spanish ships were drifting nearer and nearer to the dangerous coastal shoals. The English drew off, due both to lack of ammunitions and the rising squall, which was to grow to the near proportions of a hurricane. The Spanish fleet moved in the direction of the North Sea before the fierce gale. Many wreckages were left in the wake of the storm, and many sunk to a watery grave. Following a course round Scotland and proceeding southward along the Irish coast about half the original Armada reached Spanish ports. Survivors of the wreckages were quickly put to the sword. And thus the English survived the Spanish assault.

The winds and the seas had but given an awful completeness to the already triumphant handiwork of the English Seamen.... Philip might stiffen his pride and boast that he could yet send forth fleets mightier than the lost Armada. But on the day of the fight off Gravelines the doom of his power was sealed; and the Empire of the Ocean passed from Spain to England.⁵

Its collapse formed a landmark in the history more definitely than it was possible to realise at the time. As the prayers that went up at the imminent expectation of its arrival melted gradually into thanksgiving, while the news of its failure and dispersion spread from place to place through every town and village, the nation breathed again, and with a cry of relief leapt into an impulsive optimism. Great as the blow was, it could still hardly be foreseen that Spain would never recover from it, that the Spanish influence was thenceforward, for one cause or another, a waning element in the politics of England, and that the prospect of England's return to the Roman obedience was a fading ecclesiastical vision. But through the anxieties, negotiations, plots, struggles, and diplomacy that still remained, these facts slowly emerged; and since 1588, it is hardly too much to say, England has been politically and ecclesiastically another country.⁶

And thus we come to the end of this era of the history of the Church in England. It was a gallant era filled with tragedy, suspense, intrigue, diplomacy and success. The Jesuits had come filled with desire and ambition. And though they were not yet to completely disappear from the shores of England, they never again were a serious threat. For all their efforts to eradicate Protestantism from England had failed. All the Catholic powers were used to bring fulfillment to their venture, and had for one reason or another retreated from the picture. Never again were they to reach the heights they

5. Ibid., p. 368.

6. Frere, op. cit., pp. 255-256.

scaled during the reign of Elizabeth. Never again were they to come near choking the life from the Church of England as they had so nearly done in its infancy.

Bibliography

- Beckett, W. H., The English Reformation of the Sixteenth Century, London, The Religious Tract Society, 1890.
- Bloxam, H., A New Guide To Knowledge of Church History, New York, Marshall Brothers, Limited, 1920.
- , Cambridge Modern History, The, III, Cambridge, University Press, 1904.
- ✓ Campbell, Thomas J., The Jesuits 1534-1921, I, New York, The Encyclopedia Press, 1921.
- , Catholic Encyclopedia, XIV, New York, Appleton Company, 1912.
- , Encyclopaedia Britannica, VIII, fourteenth edition, New York, Encyclopaedia Britannica, Incorporated, 1927.
- Frere, W. H., A History of the English Church In The Reigns of Elizabeth and James I (1558-1625), New York, Macmillan and Company, 1904.
- ↓ Froude, James Anthony, History of England, XI, XII, New York, Scribner, Armstrong, and Company, 1875.
- Gairdner, James, A History of the English Church In the 16th Century from Henry VIII to Mary, New York, Macmillan and Company, 1903.
- Halley, Henry H., Pocket Bible Handbook, sixteenth edition, Chicago, Henry H. Halley, 1944.
- Harney, Martin P., The Jesuits in History, New York, The America Press, 1941.
- Hore, A. H., History of the Church of England, for Schools and Families, London, James Parker and Company, 1895.
- Innes, Arthur D., England Under the Tudors, New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1937.
- ✓ Maynard, Theodore, Queen Elizabeth, Milwaukee, Bruce Publishing Company, 1940.
- ✓ Meyer, Arnold Oskar, (McKee, J. R., translator), England and the Catholic Church under Queen Elizabeth, St. Louis, E. Herder, 1916.

Nes, William H., The Breach With Rome, Milwaukee, Morehouse Publishing Company, 1924.

Qualben, Lars F., A History of the Christian Church, revised edition, New York, Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1940.

Usher, Roland G., The Reconstruction of the English Church, I, II, New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1910.

Waldman, Milton, England's Elizabeth, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1933.