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THE VENERABLE ROBERT NUTTER O. P. († 1600)

BY

GODFREY ANSTRUTHER O. P.

I

According¹ to the most reliable catalogue of the English Martyrs, Robert Nutter was born in the parish of Burnley, in the county Palatine of Lancaster (XXII). Burnley however was not at that time a parish but a parochial chapelry in the far-spreading parish of Whalley, some thirty miles north of Manchester. Nutter himself is credited with a statement that he was of Clitheroe Castle (X). Clitheroe lies on the western side of Pendle Hill, where no family of the name of Nutter is found before the 18th century, but the townships of Ightenhill Park and Reedley Hallows, situated in the chapelry of Burnley, were extra-parochial and their spiritualities belonged to the chapel of St Michael in Clitheroe Castle². The name Nutter is very common in both these places, and doubtless Robert was born in one of them. All that is known of his family is that he had an elder brother John, of whom more anon, but no branch of the family has been discovered with brothers named

¹ The purpose of this paper is to place on record the documents that must form the basis of any life of this English Dominican martyr. They are referred to by roman numbers in brackets. The arabic numbers in the text refer to the foot-notes. This commentary is intended for those who are familiar with the outline, but not with the details of the religious and political history of the reign of queen Elizabeth I (1558-1603), with which reign Nutter's life nearly coincided.

The following abbreviations are used in the notes:

APC: J. R. Dasent, Acts of the Privy Council, London 1907 onwards. — ARSI: Archivum Romanum S. J. — CRS: Publications of the Catholic Record Society. — D: T. F. Knox, First and Second Diaries of the English College, Douay, London, 1878. — F: H. Foley, Records of the English Province S. J. London 1877-83. — MOPH: Monumenta Ord. Fratrum Praed. Hist. — PRO: Public Record Office, London. — R: Liber Ruber Venerabilis Collegii Anglorum de Urbe (CRS. XXXVII). — SP. 12: State Papers Domestic of the reign of Elizabeth I (in PRO). — VENN: J. Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses. Pt. I. — WCA: Westminster Cathedral Archives.

² Registers of Burnley. Lancashire Parish Register Society, Vol. II 1899 Pre, face p. v.

John and Robert at this period. The registers of Burnley, which do not begin till 1562, are too late to contain the record of their baptism. Possibly the elder boy is to be identified with the John Nutter who was baptized at Whalley 24 Sept. 1554³. The only document in which the names John and Robert Nutter are associated is a record of gifts of cloth to the poor of Burnley in 1569 (I). The Janet Nutter also mentioned there was daughter of Ellis Nutter⁴, but there is nothing to show what relationship she had to the two boys.

From the date of his ordination it may be inferred that Robert was born not later than 1557, and probably during the brief reign of queen Mary, when England was reconciled to the Holy See. Heresy had made little impression in the north of England, and in the wild, sparsely-populated townships of Pendle Chase there had probably been no interruption in their religious traditions. But Robert was only a child when queen Mary died; queen Elizabeth succeeded in November 1558, and once more established protestantism as the official religion of the country. Helped by its geographical position, its distance from London and the conservative character of its country-folk, Lancashire was destined to resist the alteration of religion for centuries. But not all the Nutters remained Catholic. There was a John Nutter who had been ordained deacon under Q. Mary⁵. He now conformed to the Established Church, rose to be dean of Chester⁶, and was a bitter enemy of Catholics. A certain Alice Nutter of Pendle Chase, and doubtless a relative of Robert, was burnt as a witch in 1612⁷. Another became steward of Clitheroe Castle⁸, a position of some local importance that would not have been given to a known Catholic. Indeed there is no evidence of a Nutter being convicted of recusancy before 1628⁹, though it is probable that some of them escaped conviction by evasion and not by conformity.

Robert Nutter was educated at what is now Blackburn Grammar School, under a certain Lawrence Yates, a noted grecian scholar and a secret papist (II). Yates took his B. A. at St John's Cambridge in 1568¹⁰,

³ Registers of the Parish Church of Whalley. Lancs. Par. Reg. Soc. 1900 p. 22.

⁴ She was baptized 10 November 1564. (Registers of Burnley, p. 3).

⁵ Chetham Library, Manchester. Raines Bequest XLIII, 92, 96.

⁶ *ib.* XX, 160.

⁷ *ib.* VI, 20, 34.

⁸ Chetham Society Publications XIV, 66.

⁹ W. Bennett, *History of Burnley*. London 1930, II, 123.

¹⁰ Venn. IV, 488.

and was the first master of the school which was refounded (it had been founded as a chantry school in 1514) by royal charter of 8 August 1567¹¹. John Nutter, who presumably was also at school at Blackburn, matriculated at Yates' old college at Easter 1573¹², as a "sizar", i. e. a poor scholar who got his education free in return for services rendered as a servant either to the college or to some more wealthy student. He does not appear to have taken a degree, perhaps because that involved taking the oath of supremacy and denying his religion. Robert never went to the university. He has been confused with a namesake at Brasenose College, Oxford, who was admitted in 1564 or 5¹³, so could not have been under Yates at Blackburn.

The next we hear of the two boys is not till 1579 when they broke the law by crossing the seas, for priestly studies no longer possible in England.

II

The first seminary for English students, debarred from priestly studies in their own country, was founded by William (afterwards Cardinal) Allen in 1568, at Douai in the Spanish Netherlands. It was the earliest seminary to conform to the new decrees of the Council of Trent¹⁴, and it proved to be as fruitful as it was edifying. But political intrigues, in which the English queen played a part, had forced it in March 1578 to make a hurried departure from Spanish territory and to settle for a time at Rheims, where it remained till 1594. So it was to Rheims and not to Douai that the Nutter brothers directed their steps. They arrived a day or two after Allen had set out for Rome, which was 21 August 1579 (III). With them were two other youths, William Hildesley and William Hartley. The former went as far as minor orders but bad health necessitated his return to England. Hartley was destined like his two companions to lay down his life for his faith. John Nutter was considered sufficiently advanced to begin theology; Robert presumably spent some time on philosophy.

For youths brought up in a country where their religion was proscribed and Mass said only in secret, there was much to see and to enjoy

¹¹ Victoria County History of Lancashire, II, 590.

¹² Venn, III, 272; CRS. V, 62.

¹³ Brasenose College Register (Oxford Hist. Soc. LV, 1909) I, 33.

¹⁴ D. 4.

in a Catholic country. One youth who arrived about this time came simply to see the Mass celebrated openly, and there were others who came for Confirmation or to make their Easter duties. When the Nutters had been there just a month the Diary records the presence in the refectory of two Rheims Dominicans¹⁵. It was Robert's first glimpse, and perhaps his last, of the habit that he was to call his own, though never to wear.

Life at Rheims was enlivened by the constant ebb and flow of Catholic men, some scarcely out of their teens, some to join the college, some to be reconciled to the Church, some on the way to and from Rome. They brought with them the latest news and the much treasured letters from relatives in England. At first the news was exhilarating. The fields were white for the harvest: the priests were taking miraculous draughts of fishes. The Catholics of England were responding with a zeal unknown for centuries. The year 1580 brought many distinguished visitors to Rheims. Bishop Goldwell the only English bishop at liberty arrived from Rome in May, awaiting an opportunity, which never came, of returning to England. In June Robert Persons and Edmund Campion spent a week there on their way to begin the momentous Jesuit mission.

Then in September the news began to grow ominous. The government was alarmed at the growth of popery. It was a tragedy that the Jesuit mission so nearly coincided with a papally-backed Spanish invasion of Ireland. Reports reached England from Rome that Allen had spoken to the English students there with enthusiasm of the Spanish landing, and in the same breath had asked for volunteers for England¹⁶. It was inevitable that the government of Elizabeth would associate the two, and regard or represent the new arrivals in England as emissaries of Spain, sent to prepare the ground for a Spanish invasion that was to restore the true religion by force of arms. Time was to show that, with very few exceptions, the seminary priests (as they were called) kept aloof from politics and thought only of their ministry. Many of them died with fervent protestations of loyalty to the queen. But in 1580 this loyalty had still to be vindicated, and the queen distrusted them as potential if not actual traitors.

In January 1581 the students at Rheims first heard of the use of

¹⁵ «Die 24 [Septembris 1579] duo patres Dominicani Rhemenses ultro id expetentes interfuerunt mensae nostrae ». D. 156.

¹⁶ B. M. Add. 48023 (Yelverton MSS), f. 99.

torture. Two priests had been cruelly racked, and a third compressed in the "scavenger's daughter", an iron ring that fitted behind neck and knees and was tightened till the blood burst out of nose and ears¹⁷. In February they heard of the proclamation forbidding anyone to harbour them under heavy penalties, and ordering all students abroad to return to England¹⁸. In August came details of the torture of Alexander Briant, who was not only shockingly racked but had needles thrust down his fingernails. At the same time came news that a priest of their own seminary, Everard Hanse, had been executed at Tyburn with more than the customary barbarity¹⁹.

It was with this constant reminder of what was in store for them that the Rheims students pursued their studies; studies that were crammed into an incredibly short period. In December 1581, after less than two and a half years, Robert Nutter was judged ready for ordination. News had just arrived that sent a thrill of horror through the seminary. Edmund Campion and four other priests had been executed at Tyburn on 1 December²⁰. With this news ringing in his ears Robert set out on Friday for his ordination on Ember Saturday, 22 December 1581 (III). Robert himself tells us that this ordination was at Soissons, fourteen miles from Rheims (X), and that he was ordained by the bishop of Laon, (XVI). A great many of the students were ordained at Laon, perhaps because the bishop was a fellow-exile, a Scot named Valentine Douglas, but it is strange to find him ordaining in another's cathedral. Of the twelve Englishmen who received orders that morning, three were destined for the martyr's crown, two others were condemned to death, and three more suffered imprisonment for the faith²¹.

There was usually a delay before a priest celebrated his first Mass, and it was not until after the Christmas festivities, on Thursday 4 Ja-

¹⁷ D. 174.

¹⁸ D. 176.

¹⁹ D. 181.

²⁰ D. 184.

²¹ George Haydock, martyred 12 Feb. 1584.

William Dean, martyred 28 Aug. 1588.

Robert Nutter, martyred 26 July 1600.

Thomas Stevenson, condemned and banished 1585.

Samuel Coniers, ditto.

William Birkbeck, imprisoned Kingston-on-Hull 1585.

David Kemp, imprisoned York 1585, London 1588.

Christopher Dryland, imprisoned 17 years in all. Banished 1603.

bruary 1582 that Nutter and another future martyr George Haydock celebrated theirs. Twelve days later on 16 January 1582 these two set out together for England (III).

III

We have already intimated that the violence of the persecution in England had greatly increased during the Nutters' sojourn abroad. It was wiser to travel, indeed to live permanently, under an assumed name, and Robert chose to be known as Askew.

In England there was more fervour than organization. The immediate superior of all the secular priests was the president of the college at Rheims. He gave them their faculties, and no doubt such advice as he could. But there was no superior in England, and each priest had to find a home and a centre of operations, and to do so with the greatest secrecy. Most of them travelled from one catholic house to another, often covering several counties, and of course often finding themselves where they were least needed. In some houses there would be four or five Masses on a single day, while whole counties were almost without a priest. It was far too dangerous to commit to paper the details of such an apostolate, and for what little we know of the houses that welcomed and sheltered these priests we are indebted to spies. In 1583 Nutter persuaded a youth named Edward Dodwell to go to Rheims, but he left after a month, was captured on landing in England and was soon prevailed upon to put his accurate knowledge of the seminary priests at the disposal of the government. It is from him that we learn all that is known of Nutter's missionary journeys. From his very long and detailed report²² we find that Askew *alias* Nutter was at various catholic houses in Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Hampshire and Sussex. One of the houses in Sussex was that of Antony Fortescue, whose family had already given a Dominican martyr to the Church in the person of Bl. Adrian Fortescue a tertiary, who was executed in 1546. Dodwell also pays a remarkable tribute to the effect of Robert Nutter's labours (IV).

But these labours lasted less than two years. On 2 February 1584, Robert was captured and imprisoned in the Tower of London. This was the most important prison in England usually reserved for state

²² Printed in full, F. VI, 719.

prisoners and dangerous traitors. It was only here that prisoners could be tortured. On 4 February he was loaded with heavy chains, which he wore for forty-three days, and was cast into what was known as the Pit. This was a dungeon twenty feet below ground where the prisoners endured, among other sufferings, perpetual darkness. Here he remained for forty-seven days, being brought up however on the 6th and 8th to suffer the hideous torture of the "scavenger's daughter" which he had heard all about at Rheims. On the very day he was first cast into the Pit, five priests received sentence of death and were brought to the Tower to await execution. Three of them, heavily manacled, were cast into the Pit beside him. Even in the utter darkness it would not have taken him long to identify them, for all three had been his fellow students at Rheims. There was James Fenn, an old boy of Winchester College; there was Thomas Hemerford, ordained in Rome only a year ago. The third he knew best of all, for it was his own brother John (VI).

John Nutter, though the elder brother, had been ordained after Robert. This was because, having had a university education he was sent to teach at what we should now call a *petit séminaire* for English boys at Verdun. Thus his ordination was delayed till September 1582. In November he embarked at Newhaven in a ship bound for Scarborough, but they were driven ashore and wrecked on the Suffolk coast. There was no loss of life, but John Nutter, suffering from a high fever, was captured with a companion, and both were soon discovered to be priests. In due course they were sent up to London and committed to the Marshalsea prison 1 February 1583. After a year in prison he had now been condemned to death for treason, and fate had decreed that the two brothers should spend their last days together in utter darkness and bitter cold²⁸. On 12 February the five priests were dragged on hurdles across London to the gallows at Tyburn. The first to die was George Haydock who had said his first Mass on the same day as Robert Nutter, and travelled with him to England. It was intended that he should suffer the extremity of pain, in the hope of terrifying the others into submission. The barbarous execution for treason included the small mercy of allowing the victim to hang until he was half-dead,

²⁸ The fullest account of John Nutter is in J. Bridgewater, *Concertatio Ecclesiae Catholicae in Anglia... Augustae Trevirorum* 1588, f. 156. This is the basis of the account in R. Challoner, *Memoirs of Missionary Priests*, edition of 1924, p. 94-7. cf. CRS V, 37, 51.

before he was cut down for disembowelling. The sheriff exercised considerable discretion in the interpretation of this clause. Sometimes the victim was allowed to hang till he was quite dead, but at other times he was cut down fully conscious in order to increase his sufferings. This was the fate decreed for Haydock, but the executioner, perhaps out of mercy, so bungled the cutting of the rope that the martyr was already dead. The sheriff was furious and saw to it that the other four suffered the greatest possible pain. They were cut down immediately and butchered while they stood and professed their faith. John Nutter had to witness the butchery of the first three before his turn came. All died with the greatest constancy. Indeed it was said at the time that their wonderful example caused the authorities to defer the execution of a further fourteen or fifteen who had also been condemned to death (V). It was not good policy to show the world such fortitude. Perhaps Robert Nutter, lying alone now in his dark prison, lost the martyr's crown at this time because of the heroic example of his brother.

He was brought out of the pit a little before 26 March 1584, when his name first appears in the Tower bills (VII). Apparently no charge was made for the time spent in the pit. On 4 May Nutter and a number of the other priests were indicted in the Queen's Bench, and a true bill was found by the jury against all of them (VIII). This was equivalent to establishing a *prima facie* case against them, and the next step was the arraignment. But none of these priests was in fact arraigned. Doubtless the courage of the recent martyrs counselled different tactics, but there was another reason. The form of the indictment used for all these priests (who were divided arbitrarily into groups of three or four) was identical with that used for Edmund Campion and his companions in November 1581 and for all the martyrs since. They were all accused of plotting on specified days, at Rheims and at Rome, the dethronement and death of the queen. By the simple expedient of changing the dates, the same formula had done service for three years. The dates are almost invariably the first or last day of the month. They bear no relation to the known movements of these priests and are obviously chosen at random. One of Campion's companions had been returned "not guilty" because he proved that he was in England at the dates mentioned for his plotting abroad. But the addition of the phrases "et in aliis locis", "et aliis diebus" etc., had rendered any attempt at accuracy quite unnecessary. We do not know what evidence was offered at the trials. Probably the testimony of one renegade student would be ample for them all. It would be idle for Nutter to contend

that some of the dates assigned to him were demonstrably false and that he had never been to Rome. What about the other places and other times?

By 1584 this indictment — never very satisfactory — was threadbare and discredited. Its continued use could only bring the proceedings into contempt. It was therefore decided to pass a new statute making the mere returning to England as a priest an act of treason. The priests already in prison were to be banished with a warning that if they returned they would be executed. This device had other advantages. It could be made to look like an act of clemency on the part of the queen, would effectively deprive Catholics of their pastors, save the expense of keeping them in prison and throw the burden on the college at Rheims, that had neither sufficient accommodation nor means for their support. Meanwhile these priests were remanded to their prisons.

On 10 November Nutter was again condemned to the Pit, and there he is said to have languished two months and fourteen days (VI). This presumably means that he remained there till he finally left the Tower. It is not known why he was singled out for exceptional ferocity.

On 21 January 1585, Nutter and his companions, twenty priests and one layman were forcibly embarked at Tower Wharf on the *Marie Martin* of Colchester. They were given no reason for this act, and it was only after being at sea for some days that their escort was prevailed upon to produce the queen's warrant for their banishment²⁴. When this was read to them and they heard of the charge of treason against them, their indignation knew no bounds. They loudly demanded to be taken back to England to stand their trial. But all was in vain. After much delay caused "by force of weather and chase of pirates"²⁵ they

²⁴ The very long and tedious warrant of banishment, dated 15 January 27 Eliz. [1585], has already been printed (F. III, 288). The priests are divided into three categories, that seem to bear no relation to the facts. Four are said to « stand and be indicted and attainted of high treason for divers and sundry heinous and horrible treasons against us committed ». Ten « stand and be indicted of high treason ». The other seven « have been and are holden vehemently suspected of, and to be touched with the like heinous offences ». This last group includes Nutter (who had certainly been indicted and should be in the second group) and John Colleton who had been found not guilty by the jury that condemned Campion and his companions. The warrant then rather over emphasises the mercy of the queen in merely banishing them, and warns them that if they return without her express licence they will have « the justice and execution of our laws to be presently thereupon executed upon them ». It goes on, curiously enough, to empower the Lord Chief Justice and others to banish any other priests or papists at their discretion.

²⁵ R. Holinshed, *The Chronicles of England...* Ed. 1587, III, 1379.

were landed at Boulogne and left to fend for themselves (IX). They made their way, some on foot some on horseback, to Abbeville and so to Paris where Mendoza the ambassador of Spain befriended them²⁶. At Paris they dispersed. Seven reached Rheims on 3 March²⁷. Allen writes on 8 March to say that fifteen out of the twenty-one had arrived, that there was no room for them, and that he was therefore sending six of the students to Rome on the morrow²⁸. Nutter is not mentioned, but may well have been one of them. The next reference to him is on 8 July when he with another priest and four young students "came to us recently returning from England (III)". This seems to mean that Nutter had braved the queen's anger and returned to England, and was now engaged on the perilous task of smuggling young students across the narrow seas.

The new Act of Parliament making it treason to be a seminary priest had been introduced on 19 December 1584, a month before the banishment of the priests. After the Christmas recess parliament reassembled on 4 February 1585, and that very day the bill was read for the first time. It finally received the royal assent on 29 March²⁹. This "Act against Jesuits, seminary priests and other such disobedient persons" made it high treason for a subject of the queen, ordained priest since 26 June 1559, to be within the queen's dominions. It did not apply to the old priests ordained under Mary (the Marian priests as they were called) nor to foreigners. This Act also made it felony, punishable by hanging, to relieve or shelter a seminary priest. Priests actually in England were allowed forty days from the end of the session, i. e. till 8 May, to quit the realm. Most of the martyrs for the next hundred years were the victims of this savage law.

IV

It soon became the custom at Rheims to send the raw recruits to England under the expert charge of a veteran who knew the ropes. About Allhallows 1585 Robert Nutter was entrusted with the passage of three such new priests. One was John Bolton, an old schoolmate

²⁶ Cal. S. P. Spain III, 531, 533.

²⁷ D. 204.

²⁸ T. F. Knox, *The Letters and Memorials of William Cardinal Allen*. London 1882, p. 250.

²⁹ S. D'Ewes, *Journals of all the Parliaments*. London 1862, p. 365.

of Blackburn, recently ordained in Rome. The others were William Clargenet and Nicholas Knight. They embarked at Calais on a French ship, bound (so it was afterwards claimed) for Scotland. As they were skirting the coast of Kent they were sighted by an English man-o'-war³⁰. The *Bull* (Captain Burrows) was a barque of 160 tons³¹, sister-ship of the *Tiger* immortalised by Shakespeare³². The French ship was boarded; the four priests were discovered, removed to the *Bull*, landed at Gravesend on 11 November, and committed to the Marshalsea³³.

Nutter had taken the precaution of changing his *alias* from Askew to Rowley, but it proved no protection. An old school-fellow, who had not profited by the popery practised in Lawrence Yate's little school, thought it his duty to inform the authorities that Robert Rowley was none other than Robert Nutter the banished priest (II). Nutter was accordingly brought to the Guildhall on 30 November, examined by Sir Richard Young, and committed to Newgate prison (X). Now Newgate was the "hanging prison". Situated at the eastern extremity of the city it was the starting-point of the *via dolorosa* across London to the gallows of Tyburn beyond the western boundary. To be sent to Newgate was tantamount to being sentenced to death, and it seems certain that an example was to be made of one thus openly flouting the new law. Once more the martyr's palm seemed almost within his grasp. But other counsels prevailed. Nutter remained over a year in Newgate, till, in December 1586, it was recommended that he be again sent into banishment. By 20 July 1587 he was back in the Marshalsea³⁴.

By this time the courage of the seminary priests had won the day. The government was nonplussed. What were they to do with these

³⁰ Their departure from Rheims is not recorded in the Diary proper, but Knight and Clargenet are in a list of Rheims priests sent to England this year (D. 30). Bolton is not given, as he was a Rome priest, and we should not expect Nutter's name to appear as he was not setting out for the first time. It is clear however from their examinations (CRS. V, 161 and document XVI) that they were all captured at sea by Captain Burrows in November 1585, so I have assumed that they travelled together.

³¹ These ships in 1580 carried 88 mariners, 12 gunners and 20 soldiers (SP. 12 199 no. 88, and 143 no. 20). They were both still in service in 1600 (Sir. T. Wilson, *The State of England* (1600). Camden Soc. 3rd Series LII (1936) p. 36.

³² « Her husband's to Aleppo gone, master o' the *Tiger*. » (*Macbeth* I, iii, 7).

³³ CRS. V, 161.

³⁴ CRS. II, 256, 273. His *alias* had at least the effect of making two men of him. They are listed separately as Robert Rowley and Nutter. This must have worried the keeper when he counted his prisoners.

young men who were coming over in increasing numbers, undeterred by threats of a terrible death? If they left them alone they made converts³⁶: if they put them to death, they made even more converts³⁶: if they banished them they gave some useful advice to the students at Rheims, and then came back to England³⁷: if they imprisoned them they made the very prisons the nerve-centres of their apostolate³⁸. But alas this situation did not last long enough to achieve any permanent results. In the summer of 1588 the government received a gift from heaven in the shape of the Spanish Armada. In the face of the threat from a powerful and hated foe, the Catholics of England rallied round their queen. Much though they longed to see England catholic they were not prepared to pay the price of vassalage to Spain. Staunch catholic laymen who had paid huge fines and were suffering imprisonment rather than take the oath of supremacy were asked what became notorious as the "bloody question". If the pope sent an army to restore the catholic faith in England would they join it or fight against it? Many solemnly swore that the pope had no power to depose her majesty for any reason whatsoever, and vowed to spend their lives "for the peace

³⁶ As early as 1582 William Fleetwood, Recorder of London had publicly expressed the despair of the government: « Nay then, we strive in vain. We hoped these old papistical priests dying, all papistry should have died and ended with them. But this new brood will never be rooted out. It is impossible ever to be rid of them or to extirpate this papistical faith out of the land » (E. H. Burton and J. H. Pollen, S.J., *Lives of the English Martyrs 2nd Series, I, London 1914, p. xxiii*).

³⁶ « The means to stay the declining in religion. The execution of them, as experience hath showed, in respect of their constancy, or rather obstinacy, moveth many to compassion and draweth some to affect their religion, upon conceit that such an extraordinary contempt of death cannot but proceed from above, whereby many have fallen away ». Undated but 1586 (SP. 12 195, no. 114). Printed in full in J. Strype, Oxford 1822, *Life of Whitgift III App. no. XXXV*.

³⁷ « Banish no more [priests], for that is the way to breed traitors. When you have them keep them not long in prison, unless you know them, which is the way but to seduce others...; as long as they live their practices will never cease » H. Caesar to Walsingham 9 Dec. 1588 (SP. 15/30 no. 120).

Speaking of Dr. Thomas Worthington, who was banished with Nutter and became president of the college at Douai, a spy reports in 1602 that he was « sometime prisoner in the Tower of London, condemned, and by her majesty's mercy banished with a great many more of his consorts, whom, as I heard say, some of them came into England with the next wind ». (SP. 12/283, no. 86 II).

³⁸ Richard Young to Sir Francis Walsingham 26 August 1587. Whereas your honour thinketh it convenient that some should be sent to Wisbech, it is most assured that lying in London at liberty in the prisons, they do much harm to such as resort unto them. (SP. 12/203 no. 20).

and quiet of queen Elizabeth and this present state against any invader, by what authority, Bull, or direction he shall do it, of prince, priest, potentate or prelate whatsoever”³⁹. The priests in prison were asked the same question, but were more guarded in their answers. Most of them refused a direct answer⁴⁰. None said that they would fight for the pope, but some apparently said they would take the queen’s part. The evidence for this last statement is, however, far from satisfactory. The actual examinations of the priests have not survived, and we have only a hastily written list of prisoners drawn up by Sergeant Puckering who was prosecuting on behalf of the Crown. This document has, of course, no judicial value. It is not evidence in a legal sense. It is simply a list of Catholics whose arraignment on a charge of treason was contemplated. Puckering divides them into two classes: those against whom the evidence was (to his mind) conclusive, and those who might escape on some technicality. Most of those in this first list were in fact put to death. The few that escaped did so by breaking prison or by conformity, and not because of a flaw in the evidence. It is only the second list that concerns us here (XI). It is headed: “Would take the queen’s part etc.”, and the “etc” is crucial. It is a list of priests who, *for one reason or another*, could plead exception from the law that made priest-hood treason. One reason was that they had said that they would take

³⁹ Thus Andrew Oxenbridge, prisoner in Wisbech. (SP. 12/160, no. 44). Sir Thomas Tresham, the leader and spokesman of the lay Catholics, and one who suffered years of imprisonment for his faith, swore as follows:

« In the simplicity of my heart I do unfeignedly protest before the majesty of Almighty God, that queen Elizabeth is my undoubted sovereign lady and queen *de jure et de facto*. That her highness also is supreme governor of this realm of England and all other the dominions belonging to the crown of England, as of all her subjects within the same. Among which I acknowledge myself her highness’ native loyal subject. Whereby I am religiously bounden in Christian duty, either readily to do or humbly to endure her sacred highness’ will: and for no cause whatsoever to be stirred to lift up my hand against her majesty, God’s anointed, but in all readiness defending her royal person from violence, and preserving this realm and all other her highness’ dominions from invasion, against all persons without exception: be it prince, pope or potentate whosoever, under what colour or pretext soever the same shall be attempted. I offer and avow myself to serve therein in person, and to spend my lands and life in so just and honourable a quarrel. Finally, if any shall attempt to murder, wound or hurt her majesty, my righteous and revered lady and queen, that I in true subject-wise will to my uttermost might and ability prosecute such wicked wretch to death ». (J. Strype, *Annals*, Oxford, 1824, III pt. 2).

⁴⁰ See, for instance, the statement of Fr. William Weston, S. J. (P. Caraman, S. J., *William Weston*, London 1955, p. 121).

the queen's part against a papal army. But there were other more valid reasons. Some were in prison when the act was passed and had been there ever since: others had been captured at sea and brought to England by force. These could all plead that they did not intentionally return to England after the statute of 37 Elizabeth (1585). Puckering himself informs us that two had been in prison all the time, and two had been captured at sea. Of the others, Kemp, Vivian and Marsh, three Bridgetines, were captured by the Huguenots and sent to England already prisoners: Weldon was arrested in Flanders and similarly brought over by force. Concerning James Taylor, Meredith and Robert Nutter, Puckering volunteers no information. Nutter had of course been captured at sea. Only one in this list is stated to be prepared to take the queen's part — John Weldon. What little value can be attached to this document as a guide to the real sentiments of the priests is shown by the fact that Weldon, the only one who is alleged to be ready to take the queen's part, is also the only one in this list who was in fact put to death.

Catholic loyalty in the face of the Spanish Armada was openly admitted by the government, but the victory was celebrated by the execution of Catholics on an unprecedented scale. Between 28 August and 5 October twenty-five were put to death, and these executions were spread over a wide area of the south of England. These victims aroused little sympathy, and evoked execrations from the people. Even Margaret Ward, the only woman amongst them, moved few to compassion. "I saw them", writes the Spanish ambassador, "being taken in a cart to be executed, followed by an enormous crowd of people who were exhibiting every sign of rejoicing. A gentlewoman present said some words expressive of pity for the death of the poor creatures, and one of the two sheriffs who were going to hang them, at once ordered two sergeants to arrest the lady and take her to prison"⁴¹. The Armada was the turning-point of the catholic revival in England. The government had always said that these seminary priests were merely a "fifth column", and here was the proof.

The prime mover in the execution of so many priests was the queen's favourite Robert earl of Leicester. It was only his timely death on 3 September 1588 that prevented a far more extensive massacre. Robert Nutter, lying in the Marshalsea prison, saw his old friend William Hartley, who had been sent into banishment with him and was now

⁴¹ Cal. S.P.Spain, IV, 420.

his fellow prisoner, taken out to be hanged on 5 October. But the fury of the storm was over and there were no further executions in London. Once more the angel of death had passed him by.

V

Most of the priests in the London prisons who survived the Armada massacres were sent to Wisbech Castle. This was situated in the dismal and unhealthy Cambridgeshire fens, and had been used as a prison for priests since 1580. Here the ancient hierarchy had died out in the person of Thomas Watson, bishop of Lincoln. Here the last abbot of Westminster, John Feckenham ended his days, and with him many important priests, secular and regular, of queen Mary's reign.

It was hoped that the inaccessibility of Wisbech would deprive these priests of any apostolate, but soon Catholics were coming from all over England to visit them.

They numbered about thirty, and for the first five or six years after Nutter was sent there they were treated with considerable rigour. They were allowed to meet only for meals and a brief period of exercise within the castle grounds. The rest of the time they were locked up in solitary confinement⁴². But in May 1594 there was a change of keeper, and the new one, William Medley, treated them more humanely, and indeed was in trouble with the privy council for his laxity. They were able to model their life on that of a seminary, with fixed hours for prayer, reading at meals, and even lectures in Greek and Hebrew. They built up a library that was the envy of the priests at liberty. They were allowed to have boys to wait on them, and by this means were soon running a school and preparing boys for the priesthood⁴³. Ten at least of these boys eventually became priests. Wisbech became known for the holy lives of these confessors of Christ, whose only hope of release was the death of the queen⁴⁴.

⁴² For an account of Wisbech written by one of the inmates see P. Caraman *op. cit.* pp 162-172.

⁴³ « Concerning the taking of certain boys to the priests into the castle of Wisbech to serve them, being the sons of gentlemen, and by their means nursled up in papistry, by which means that place appointed for a prison doth serve for a seminary to corrupt youth », (SP. 12/272 no. 107).

⁴⁴ « The state of the seminary priests and Jesuits at Wisbech, by liberty and favour of their keeper, growing to be as dangerous as a seminary college, being in

But this holy and happy quasi-monastic life was doomed to be wrecked, and Wisbech to become the battleground of a bitter contest that caused no little scandal. It is impossible to do justice to it in a few lines⁴⁵. Its remote cause was the age-long jealousy between seculars and regulars. Its immediate cause was the action of the majority in deciding to live a more strictly religious life under the direction of a pious and able, but perhaps rather rigid Jesuit, whom they elected as their superior. There was a minority which strongly resented the suggestion that they needed any such régime, and before long the two parties were not only not on speaking terms, but were writing and printing inflammatory pamphlets that are painful reading still. Bancroft, the bishop of London, was delighted and did all he could to fan the flames. Perhaps not enough credit has been given to his evil genius by partisans of either side⁴⁶.

In all these disputes Nutter sided with the majority, though he does not appear to have taken a leading part. His signature is attached to three memorials drawn up on behalf of his party and that is all⁴⁷. He

the heart and midst of England ». (B.M. Harl. 6998, f. 219. Printed in Strype, *Annals* IV 273-5).

⁴⁵ The fullest accounts of these quarrels, written from different standpoints, are: T. G. Law, *A historical sketch of the conflict between Jesuits and Seculars in the reign of Q. Elizabeth*, London 1889. and J. H. Pollen, S.J., *The Archpriest Controversy*, London 1916.

⁴⁶ « Not any man in this land hath done greater service to this state than the bishop [of London], for he hath caused them [the priests] to write one against another and to subscribe their names, which all the world thought impossible ever to come to pass » (Stonyhurst MSS. Anglia III no. 9).

Bancroft's successor, George Abbot, wrote in 1620 of the heartburning between Jesuits and seculars, which « if fomented, it would produce as great a breach as my lord Bancroft made between the Jesuits and the appellants in the end of Elizabeth's days. Though my leisure serve me not to do as he did, I do not quite neglect it ». (Downshire MSS. Purnell Transcripts in PRO, I, 42).

⁴⁷ (i) *Litterae sacerdotum in castro Wisbicensi ad P. Garnet, pro confirmanda electione P. Edmundi* [William Weston] 7 Feb. 1594 [-5]. Printed in M. A. Tierney, *Dodds Church History of England*, London 1839-43, II, CIV.

(ii) *Litterae Presbyterorum Wisbicientium ad R. admodum Dominum Archiepresbyterum* 30 Sept. 1598. Printed in C. Plowden, *Remarks on a book entitled Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani*. Liège 1794 Append. III. The original, with the actual signatures, at Stonyhurst, Anglia A ii 43.

(iii) *Communes litterae plurimorum in Anglia Sacerdotum ad SS. D. N. Clementem VIII datae* 8 Nov. 1598. (ib. Append. IV).

In none of these memorials is Nutter given as a Dominican, although such an

was, says a contemporary priest, "robustus corpore" (XVIII), and on one occasion was called upon to use his strength to prevent a Fr William Wiggs from being brained with a pewter pot by an irate opponent, who had been accused of unfairly distributing the common alms (XII). Some years later, in 1601, Wiggs was involved in a similar quarrel, but there was no Nutter to keep the peace, and he was stabbed to death⁴⁸.

In such an atmosphere of dissension and violence, Nutter must have looked back wistfully to the weeks he spent in the Pit. But it was amid the Wisbech quarrels that he came to the strange decision to become a Dominican. Many secular priests had become Jesuits while in prison, but there is no record of their joining any other Order as early as this. The only Dominican in England at this time was a fugitive from Rome who had promptly apostatised and caused much scandal. The return of the Dominicans to England was still twenty years away, when this most strange drama was enacted within the grim prison to which all the other Orders had already contributed their holy confessors. His profession was witnessed by some of his fellow-prisoners, the document smuggled out of the country, delivered to the Provincial of Portugal, and by him confirmed. That is all that is known (XVI). What possessed Robert Nutter to become a Dominican we shall never know. A Jesuit who knew him has left it on record that he once had thoughts of entering the Society (XVII).

The bitter quarrels or "stirs" as they came to be called had started in 1595. They reached their climax in November 1598, when an incredibly stupid plot to murder the queen was said to have been unearthed. A certain Edward Squire recently returned from Spain was arrested and questioned. He strenuously denied it, but after being tortured several times he was induced to confess that he came to poison the pomel of the queen's saddle. He inculpated a Jesuit in Spain named Edward Walpole (who had provided the wonderful poison) and also

appellation would have added weight to (ii) and (iii) which are on behalf of the Arch-priest, and possibly also to (i) on behalf of a Jesuit.

⁴⁸ « Altera religione discessit et sacerdos factus est et incarceratus in carcere de Wisbech, et ibi a quodam generoso qui ibi etiam incarceratus, quaestione orta, confoditur ». *Catalogus Sociorum*, printed in W. H. Stevenson and H. E. Salter, *Early History of St John's College, Oxford*. Oxford 1939, p. 334. But this tragedy took place about Dec. 1602 after the prisoners had been moved from Wisbech to Framlingham Castle in Suffolk (F. I, 620).

Christopher Bagshaw, the leader of the minority at Wisbech ⁴⁹. Bagshaw was suddenly removed to the Tower of London and his room minutely searched. He was said to have been treated with great courtesy and even friendliness by the lieutenant of the Tower, though he always denied it ⁵⁰. After a month he was taken back to Wisbech, and the four principal men among his opponents, including Fr Weston S. J., the superior, were lodged in the Tower in his place ⁵¹. The prisoners firmly believed that Bagshaw had purchased his release from the Tower by accusations against these four opponents. One may perhaps detect the sinister wiles of bishop Bancroft in fomenting this quarrel.

But Nutter could stand it no longer. He made a desperate bid for freedom, but was overpowered before he even got out of the prison precincts. He had heard, he said, from the secretary of a privy councillor that Bagshaw was a spy. He would not have attempted to break prison if Weston had not been taken away. One point in this report by the keeper should be noted. He refers to Nutter as a friar (XIII).

Nutter bided his time and his next attempt to escape was more carefully planned. There was a noted Catholic family named Price at Washingley in the next county of Huntingdon. The two boys of this family made themselves responsible for horses (XIV). The porter, who had charge of the keys of the castle, was prevailed upon to leave the gate unlocked, and on the night of Monday before Palm Sunday, 10 March 1600, Nutter and five companions ⁵² stole quietly out into the darkness (XVI). He was free again after nearly fifteen years, twelve of which had been spent at Wisbech.

Two of his companions, Alexander Gerard and Christopher Southworth had been in Wisbech as long as himself; the other three had been there only a few weeks. The veterans set out for the north: the novices made for London. All three of the novices were taken again and one of them, Thomas Hunt, was martyred at Lincoln, 11 July 1600. Those that went north fared better. Lancashire was still the "very sink of popery" ⁵³, and a priest was safer there than in any other county. Ge-

⁴⁹ SP. 12/268, nos. 83 and 86 dated 12 October 1598.

⁵⁰ An Answer of M. Dr Bagshaw to certayne pointes of a libell called An Apologie of the Subordination in England. Paris 1601, p. 6.

⁵¹ 19 Dec. 1598 (APC, XXIX, 373-4).

⁵² « From Wisbech are lately escaped 6 of the priests, viz. Wright, Southworth, Nutter, Gerard, Hunt *alias* Benstead and Tempest » Richard Cowling S.J., 21 June 1600. (ARSI. Anglia 37, f. 265).

⁵³ So it had been called by the Privy Council in 1574. (APC. VIII, 276).

rard and Southworth were never recaptured, though the latter was very much sought after in 1612 on the strange charge of encouraging the witchcraft for which Alice Nutter was burnt ⁵⁴.

Robert Nutter was home after an absence of twenty-one years. Lawrence Yates was still running his little school at Blackburn ⁵⁵. The faith was as strong as ever and people knelt openly in the streets for a priest's blessing ⁵⁶. Robert joined forces with a young priest, Edward Thwing, who had been working in Lancashire for three years. Together they paid several visits to a Jesuit, Fr Richard Cowling, who was chaplain to a widow at an unknown address. It was while returning from one of these visits that the two priests were suddenly captured. Such a thing was unheard of in Lancashire and Fr Cowling declares that it would not have happened if they had shown more resistance. As it was, the first news he had of them was that they were secure in irons in the local gaol (XVII). This was early in May 1600 ⁵⁷. They were later removed to Lancaster, and it would seem that on the journey "Fr Robert without a surname" was rescued by the crowd, though it is not certain that this document concerns Nutter (XV). At all events he was soon recaptured, and the two priests stood their trial at the summer assizes holden in July 1600.

⁵⁴ Pott's *Discovery of Witches* 1613. reprinted in Chetham Soc. VI (1845) *passim*.

⁵⁵ His will is dated 1606 (Preston Record Office).

⁵⁶ « Tanta vero copia sunt ibi Catholici ut liberrime per villas et pagos discurrant sacerdotes. Atque in medio pagi in quo residebam ego obvii mihi facti catholici fixis in terra genibus flexaque cervice benedictionem meam petere solebant: nullus enim in toto pago habitat haereticus ». R. Cowling S. J., 25 Sept. 1600. cf. XVII.

⁵⁷ On 13 May 1600 the privy council wrote to Robert Hesketh, high sheriff of Lancashire: We do understand by your letter the care you have used in apprehending a seminary priest, of which sort of persons there are more plenty in that county than in any other part of the realm, and as we do commend your care herein, so we could wish the rest of the Justices would likewise be more vigilant and extend their uttermost endeavours to apprehend these kind of lewd people that do greatly infect that country. For Hargreeves, whom you have already committed to the gaol, we think it fit at the next assizes that he be proceeded withal without removing him to any other place, because it appeareth by his examination that he is a person of very perverse and lewd disposition, and in the mean time you may advise him to bethink himself better and to confess in what place he hath most conversed there, and what other of his sort he doth know that keep in those parts (APC, XXX, 321). Hargraves is probably an alias for Thwing. It is not until 25 May that they announce that one of the priests who escaped from Wisbech « is taken in the county of Lancaster » (ib. 348). This must be Nutter, and may refer to his definitive capture, after being rescued, (as the bishop seems to imply) on his way to Lancaster.

The assize rolls for Lancaster for this year are lost and no details have come down to us of the conduct of this trial ⁵⁸. Fr Cowling had been called to Flanders to become spiritual director at Douai, so he was not able to be an eyewitness. But fortunately one who had seen the execution arrived at Douai before Cowling had finished his letter, and thus we have a vivid description of the last scene. It was Saturday 26 July in the jubilee year 1600. The gallows at Lancaster stood on a hill to the north of the town; the castle lies to the south-west. Thus the martyrs would have been dragged through the main streets. There was apparently no interruption till the executioner began the quartering. Then the men caused a disturbance, and while this was being quelled by the soldiers, the women rescued the martyrs' hearts from the blazing caldron, and later recovered the quarters. None of these relics are now preserved (XVII).

It is interesting to compare the demeanour of the two priests on the scaffold. Nutter, the experienced veteran, knew it was useless to argue with anglican divines. Their function was simply to trap the martyrs, surrounded by all the instruments of their passion, into some unguarded statement. Thwing had yet to learn the futility of it all, but he seems to have learnt it before the end. One witness at least did not doubt that "much good will come by this little severity, as well to terrify the priests from those parts as for satisfaction of the people. For there was never any seminary priest executed in that county before; which toleration has made them overbold" (XVI).

It was literally true that Nutter was the first seminary priest to be executed in Lancashire. There had been two martyrs there in 1584, but they were a Marian priest and a layman. Whether this "little severity" had the desired effect may be in doubt. The memory of Nutter and Thwing was long kept green in Lancashire by a ballad containing the couplet:

Nutter's bold constancy, with his sweet fellow Thwing
Of whose most meek modesty, angels and saints may sing ⁵⁹.

⁵⁸ Challoner (op. cit. p. 249) prints two letters from Thwing, written in Lancaster Castle, 31 May and 21 July. Though both are addressed to Dr Worthington, now president of Douai, they make no mention of Nutter, nor give any hint that Thwing had a companion in his ordeal. It is just possible that Nutter was still at large, and was recaptured only on the eve of the assizes.

⁵⁹ This ballad, of which there are no less than thirty-three stanzas, is preserved in a MS. Volume (BM. Add. 15225, p. 61) which all seems to be in the handwriting

VI

If there were many faithful Catholics in England to remember Robert Nutter as a martyr, there were none of his brethren there to remember him as a Dominican. His very explicit statement at his trial remained buried among the private papers of the earl of Salisbury, and became known and accessible only in modern times. The reference to him as a friar was equally inaccessible among the papers of bishop Bancroft, now in the Petyt Collection in the Inner Temple. When this collection was calendared his name was read as Wotter, so that even then the reference was overlooked. Never in any of the old catalogues of the martyrs is there any suggestion that Robert Nutter was a Dominican.

But amongst the Spanish Dominicans there was a tradition that he belonged to the Order. The earliest writer to claim him is Fernandez, whose book was published in 1611 (XIX). He refers to relations out of England. He seems to have had a manuscript before him, for he has mis-read Lancastro as Bancastro. He also gives the wrong date for the martyrdom. He has been followed by later Dominican writers, Lopez (1615), Malpé (1635), Fontana (1675) and Souéges (1696)⁶⁰, but they all depend on Fernandez, many repeat the misreading Ban-

of Lawrence Anderton, S.J., alias Brekeley, a prolific writer. (Gillow op. cit. I, 34). He was a scholar under Lawrence Yates at Blackburn, but not a contemporary of Nutter. He went up to Oxford with a school-friend Robert Bolton. They both determined to go abroad and become priests. They arranged a rendez-vous on the coast of Lancashire, but only Bolton turned up. Disappointed he returned to Oxford and eventually became a noted puritan divine. It is he who tells the story, and also tells us that his friend was «for his eloquence called Golden-month'd Anderton when he was but a Scholar» (R. Bolton, *Four Last Things*, 3rd ed. 1635, p. 12). Perhaps Anderton actually wrote this ballad in honour of the martyrs who suffered at Lancaster. It is evidently prior to 1616, for it does not mention two local men, John Thules, a priest, and Roger Wrenno a weaver from Chorley, who were executed at Lancaster in the March of that year. The ballad is printed in full in H. E. Rollins, *Old English Ballads 1553-1625*, Cambridge 1920, pp. 71-8.

⁶⁰ I. Lopez, *Quarta Parte de la Historia de Santo Domingo y de su Orden de Predicadores*. Valladolid 1615, pp 788, 1101.

P. Malpaeo, *Palma Fidei Ord. Praed.*, Antwerpiae 1635, p. 156. Refers to Lopez, corrects Bancastro, but keeps the wrong date.

V. Fontana, *Monumenta Dominicana*, Romae 1675, pp. 537, 565. Refers to Lopez.

T. Souéges, *L'Année Dominicaine*, Amiens 1696, 25 août, p. 433. Refers to Lopez.

castro, and all give his wrong date of 25 August. Thus their testimony adds nothing to his. Unfortunately for the reputation of Fernandez as a reliable historian of English affairs, he claims a second Dominican martyr, a certain Fr Master Thomas, a Frenchman of the province of Languedoc (XIX). No such martyr is known, and it is incredible that a French priest, who was not subject to the laws, could have been publicly executed without comment.

Another witness is the English Dominican, Nicholas Vincent, evidently the leader of a small community at Lisbon. He again depends on Fernandez (XX). His statement that Nutter received the habit in prison is probably a deduction from Fernandez's (wrong) statement that he was twenty-two years in prison. But the interesting information that Nutter's picture was painted on the walls of S. Maria d'Atocha is not from Fernandez, and implies that the Spanish Dominicans were satisfied with the evidence for Nutter's profession. This letter of Nicholas Vincent was submitted to a secular priest in England, probably in 1626 when the vicar-apostolic was going to immense trouble to make his famous catalogue as accurate as possible. The suggestion that Nutter was a Dominican was contemptuously dismissed as a "flat fable" (XXI).

For three centuries the only document that could settle the matter lay unnoticed at Hatfield House. Its publication has put the matter beyond dispute, and the Spanish tradition, however unconvincing and unlikely, has been triumphantly vindicated.

DOCUMENTS

I

Gifts of cloth to the poor of the district in Lancashire by Dean Nowell and his brother Robert, in July 1569. — A. B. Grosart, The Towneley Hall MSS. The Spending of the Money of Robert Nowell of Reade Hall, Lancashire, Brother of Dean Alexander Nowell, 1568-80. Edited from original MSS at Towneley Hall. Printed for private circulation 1877., p. 360.

Jenete Nuttere iij yeards wollen John Nutter & Robte Nutter v yeards di wollen.

II

Answers of John Barcroft¹. Undated. After Whitsun 1592. — PRO, SP. 12/240, no. 105, II.

1. The tyme when my brother Thomas Barcroft was made preist I knowe not ².

2. he went first ouer at Whittsunday last was ten yeares ³, being then not xvj yeares of age ⁴.

3. he came agayne into England in november last was two years ⁵, and it was more then fyve monethes after before I see him, in which tyme I deliuered a Supplication to S^r ffrauncis Wallsingham, beseeching his honour that my brother might be apprehended, and committed to the keepinge of some goodly and learned man that would labour to convert him, and then did my cosen Robert Houghton speake in this behalfe to M^r doctor Wittiker ⁶ and M^r Chaterton ⁷ M^r of Emanuell Colledge in Cambridge, but S^r ffrauncis Walsingham departing this world ⁸ I left my Suitte and this S^r Owen hopton and M^r Justice younge knowe to be true.

¹ John was the eldest of five brothers: he was baptized 6 April 1563 (Burnley Par. Reg.).

² He was ordained at Rheims 23 Sept. 1589 (D. 229).

³ He arrived Rheims 1 June 1582 (D. 187).

⁴ He was baptized 18 May 1566 (Burnley Par. Reg.).

⁵ He left Rheims 12 Oct. 1589 (D. 227).

⁶ William Whitaker of Burnley, Master of S. John's College Cambridge, ob. 1595 (Venn IV, 385).

⁷ Laurence Chaderton, Master of Emmanuel, 1584-1622 (ib. I, 313).

⁸ He died 6 April 1590.

4. At his comminge ouer as I heard by one Nicholas Barcroft, seruantt to M^r John Towneley Esquyer, he stayed in London and about London about one moneth, lyinge sometymes as a guest at the whytt horse in fleett streette, and sometymes at the abouesayd M^r Towneleys, recusant, then dwelling neere Suffeilde, and from thence he went into Lancashire wher he abode untill after Easter. wher he made his abode ther, I certaynly knowe not, but as some thinke at my lady Heskettes called Marthome⁹, at M^r Yates schollmaster of blackburne¹⁰, at Robert Lawes neere Whalley, at henry hindleys in pendle whose child he baptized, and at Rychard Studderds in Ightnell¹¹ parke, in all which houses ther are recusanttes. who hath mayntained him I knowe not but many thinke that M^r Towneley is a folower of such as he is.

9. What frendes he hath if your honour meane his kinsfolkes, truly there is not a papist of the name, him excepted, nether brother nor sister, nor cousen that is neare a kine unto us, I thanke God, nether did anyone of us knowe of his first departure out of England, but the seducers of him were, as it is most likely, M^r Townley abouesayd, M^r Yattes abouesayd, yett living, and Thomas holden and laurence Townley being dead, which laurence Towneley I caused by M^r Justice Younge about foure yeares since to be apprehended in London for recusancye.

17. Papist at liberty I knowe but 2 in this country. they are brethren borne in lancashire called Soulkes. the one is an attorney, the other sayd he dwelleth with a gentlewoman in kent. I haue sene them both with my brother. they have a brother dwelleth in grayes Inne lane or neare grayes Inne, but of what religion he is I knowe not. most of the papistes in Lancashire haue ben compelled this last winter to come to the church, and some are sent to prison, and some haue forsaken the country, as I heare. ther is no house worse in Lancashire that I knowe then M^r Yates Schollmaster at blackburne, whose wife¹², daughter¹³ and mayd are recusantes¹⁴. his mayde is knowen to haue done much hurtt among the schollers by meanes of her M^r, and yett he is suffered to keepe her.

⁹ Martholme. cf. CRS. II, 306.

¹⁰ Lawrence Yates matriculated as a pensioner of S. John's College, Cambridge, Lent 1564-5, and took his B. A. 1567-8 (Venn. II, 48). He became the first master of the Grammar-School at Blackburn, which was refounded by royal charter dated 8 Aug. 1567. (Chetham Soc. publications, old series XCVI, 37).

¹¹ Ightenhill.

¹² Lawrence Yates married first, Margaret Clayton, 29 Jan 1571-2. She was buried 20 March 1574-5. Secondly, Isabel Holdsworth, 27 June 1575 (Burnley Par. Reg.).

¹³ Anne Yates, baptized 10 June 1576 (ib.).

¹⁴ Lawrence was never convicted of recusancy, but Isabel appears in the earliest Recusant roll (1592-3), and next to her is Alice Smith, who may be the maid. (CRS. XVIII, 200).

18. Preistes at libertie in Inglad I knowe none, nether euer did, my brother excepted, but I haue enformed M^r Justice young of them, and of such also as I haue knowen beyonde the seas. in prison at Wisbiche I knowe Robert Wodrof¹⁵, John Bolton¹⁶ and Robert nutter, which nutter was once banished, and afterwardes comming agayne he called his name Rowley, which when I knewe I told S^r owen hopton¹⁷ therof, and he sent me to the recorder¹⁸, whom I told what rowley was. my countrymen¹⁹ yett beyond seas, for any thing that I know are Daniell haldsworth²⁰, Christopher hodgeson²¹, one hawkesworth²², one Talbott²³, and John Sudgreard²⁴: all theise with those at wisbiche and some dead, and some executed were M^r Yattes schollers.

III

Extracts from the Douai Diary.

[21 August 1579. Departure of Dr. Allen for Rome] Post unum aut alterum diem venerunt duo Nutteri fratres, quorum alter theologus, Hartleius²⁵, Hildesleius²⁶ nobilis et theologiae studiosus. — *D. p. 155.*

21^o die [Decembris 1581] ordinandi profecti sunt undecim ex nostris, redieruntque ad presbyteratum promoti octo, videlicet D. Georgius Haddocke, D. Rob. Nutter, D. Stevenson, D. Birkbecke, D. Ric. Smith, D. Deane, D. Kempe, D. Hardwicke. Quo etiam tempore ad presbyteratum admissum esse dicunt D. Petrum Copley nobilem. Rediit autem diaconus unus, viz. Mr Coniers; subdiaconi duo, D. Christoferus Drilande, D. Joannes Shelborne. — *ib. p. 184.*

4^o Jan [1582] primitias celebraverunt D. Haddocke et D. Robertus Nutter. — *ib.*

¹⁵ Ordained English College Rome c. 1582 (R. 11).

¹⁶ Ordained *ib.* Nov. 1584 (R. 12; CRS. V, 161).

¹⁷ Lieutenant of the Tower.

¹⁸ William Fleetwood, Recorder of London, ob 1594.

¹⁹ i.e. men from the same county.

²⁰ Holdsworth, ord. Rome Oct. 1583 (R. 22).

²¹ Hodgson, ord. *ib.* 1583 (R. 12).

²² Robert Hawkesworth ord. *ib.* 10 Aug. 1593 (R. 87).

²³ Thomas Talbot, ord. *ib.* 1 March 1597 (R. 81).

²⁴ Sedgrave or Sydgrave, left the English College to become a Carthusian (R. 75).

²⁵ Bl. William Hartley, executed 5 Oct. 1588.

²⁶ William Hildesley. He returned to England through ill health and never became a priest.

In Angliam missi sunt 1582 Jan. 16. D. Rob. Nutter, D. Georgius Haddock. — *ib.* p. 261.

8^o die [Julii 1585] venerunt ad nos nuper ex Anglia redientes D. Rich. Smith presbyter, D. Nutter, Guil. Tempest, Cawtericke, Stampe, Rob. Middlemore, Philippus Tremain. — *ib.* p. 207.

IV

A brief note of suche thinges as are specialie to be considered. — PRO. SP. 12/168, no. 35.

Afield al[ia]s Badger ²⁷, Sommerfeild als Holland ²⁸, Woodfen ²⁹, Askew als Nutter, Barnes als Bond ³⁰, Yonge als Addames ³¹, theis preistes are to be apprehended wth asmuche spede as maye be, for they wth drawe more subiectes from their obedience towardes hir Ma^{tie} then anie in England of equale number, theis are the men that councele them to be stedfaste in their opinion, perswadinge them that the Protestantes religion cannot laste longe, and when the world changeth they shall lyve in credit for euer, they giue counsell to whome so euer they are acquainted to go ouer.

V

Exemplar litterarum P. Richardi Barretti ³² *ad P. Rectorem Collegii Anglorum de Urbe* ³³. Remis 6 Aprilis 1584. — ARSI Fondo Jesuitico 651, no. 605.

Jam tandem his proximis diebus aliquid certi audivimus de martyrio eorum quinque de quorum nominibus tandiu erat dubitatum. Primus omnium Georgius Haddocus sacerdos et alumnus Collegii Anglorum de Urbe et nepos Domini Alani ³⁴ fuit, qui mirabili quadam atque summa constantia atque alacritate sociis suis ostendebat qua via esset insistendum ad coelestem illam patriam quam tanto desiderio omnes sitiebant, ut pro ea adipiscenda proprium sanguinem libentissime paterentur profundi. Georgius enim ante reliquos

²⁷ Bl. Thomas Alfield, executed 6 July 1585.

²⁸ Henry Holland, ord. Rheims 19 March 1580 (D. 162).

²⁹ Ven. Nicholas Woodfen, executed 21 Jan. 1585-6.

³⁰ Probably John Barnes ord. Rheims 29 March 1578 (D. 8).

³¹ Ven. John Adams, executed 8 Oct. 1586.

³² Professor, and later President of the College at Rheims (1588-99).

³³ P. Alfonso Agazzario, S. J.

³⁴ William Allen, President of Rheims and in 1587 Cardinal.

omnes ductus est ad mortem sociis tamen praesentibus atque spectantibus, si forte huius exemplo perterriti aliquid apprehenderent ex metu illius crudelissimi supplicii unde sententiam mutarent atque veniam peterent. Cogitabant enim Georgium non semivivum sed viventem plane atque perfecte sentientem statim dimittere in terram, sed qui debuisset funem abscindere tam imperite tractabat illud negotium quod mortuus sit antequam potuisset expedire. In reliquis tam cito atque tanto artificio absolvit quod sibi erat mandatum quod delapsi ac potius dimissi ex patibulo in terram stabant recti in pedibus aspicientes in coelum, ac fidem suam non gestu solum corporis atque aspectu, verum etiam lingua profitentes et clamantes ut omnes audirent atque admirarentur: Dominus meus et Deus meus. Quales voces iterabant atque repetebant etiam tum cum carnifex ipse sanguinolentas manus immiscet in ipsa viscera atque praecordia ut avulsa projiceret in flammam quam de more habet paratam, atque ut angerentur dolorum vehementia et acerbitate novo atque inusitato modo pectora dissecabantur atque dividebantur paulatim ne statim perveniretur ad cor, quo invento putabant nihil esse amplius quo possent angere atque intendere dolorem quod omnibus modis conabantur. Et quod magis est mirum, hanc crudelitatem et plus quam scyticam immanitatem praeseferebant atque ostentabant populo ita quod haereticus quidam clamaret nimium eos saevire in sanguinem humanum, qui statim reprehensus ob hanc loquendi libertatem non cessavit tum clamare: Oh nimiam crudelitatem. Tota vero crudelitas non in uno aut altero tantum, sed in omnibus quattuor exercebatur, nempe in Thoma Emerfordo³⁵ [*margin* Sacerdos et alumnus Collegii Anglorum de Urbe et missus fuit in Angliam anno praeterito in Paschate], Fenno³⁶, Mundino³⁷, Nuttero³⁸, duo posteriores huius seminarii sacerdotes. Fuerunt reliqui tres V. R. praeclare noti, duo autem charissimi filii iam sunt, eruntque in coelo patroni donec patrem suum Alfonso secum habeant. Spero quod orabunt pro vestra paternitate continuo et reliquis suis olim fratribus iam supplicibus in Christo.

Praeter istos, 14 vel 15 alii quotidie expectant eundem calicem quem bibitori videntur brevi, nam condemnati differuntur ad tempus quod illis instar mortis videtur; in his sunt Pittus³⁹, Bishopus⁴⁰ et Tydder⁴¹, V. R. optimi atque praestantissimi filii tam constanter atque intrepide fidem professi sunt ut nemo vel planius vel apertius.

³⁵ Bl. Thomas Hemerford.

³⁶ Bl. James Fenn.

³⁷ Bl. John Munden.

³⁸ Bl. John Nutter.

³⁹ Arthur Pitts.

⁴⁰ William Bishop, afterwards Bp. of Chalcedon.

⁴¹ William Tedder, afterwards apostatised.

VI

Nicolai Sanderi De Schismate Anglicana, Romae 1585, Appendix.

Rerum pro Religione Catholica ac in Turri Londinensi gestarum Ab Anno Domini 1580 ad Annum usque 1584. Indiculus seu diarium Ab eo observatum atque collectum qui toto illo tempore captivus interfuit ⁴².

A.D. 1584 Febr.

2. 3. Robertus Nutterus presbyter capitur, et post biduum in Lacum ⁴³ ad dies 47 coniectus, compedes ad dies 43 gessit, die autem quarto et sexto post apprehensionem Scavingeri filiam bis passus est.

4. 5. 10. Georg. Haddocus, Joannes Mundinus, Jacobus Fennus, Thomas Hemerfordus et Joannes Nutter, presbyteri sententiam mortis acceperunt, quorum posteriores tres in Lacu post condemnationem ad dies sex compedibus ferreis onerati jacuerunt quousque omnes martyrio afficerentur.

No[vembris].

10. Robertus Nutterus iterum in Lacum compingitur mensibus duobus et diebus 14.

VII

Tower Bills. — CRS. III, 16.

Item for the dyett and chardgs of Robert Nutter beginninge the xxvj March 1584, and ending the xxvth of June next followinge, being thirtine wicks at xiiij^s iiiij^d the wicke for hym selfe

⁴² This diary is traditionally attributed to Edward Rishton, one of the priests sent into exile with Nutter. Rishton certainly brought Sanders up to date, and edited the first edition, published at Cologne in 1585. But Rishton was never a prisoner in the Tower, and the diary is not in his edition of Sanders. It makes its first appearance in the Rome edition published in the same year. There are three or four priests who were in the Tower during the whole period covered by the diary, but nothing to show which of them was the author. Many events recorded in the diary can be checked by other documents, and there is no reason to doubt its authenticity or its accuracy. The purist, however, may note that Nutter's second term in the pit lasted two months and eleven (not fourteen) days, as he was banished on 21 January.

⁴³ With grim humour the Pit was nicknamed Whales' Bower. A letter of 2 October 1581 describes it as « una fossa molto profunda e oscurissima, e alcuni son stati là più di due mesi senza letto ne altra commodità ». (ARSI, Fondo Jes. 651).

One Keaper at v^s y^e wicke iij^l v^s
 Fewell and candell at iij^s y^e wicke lii^s
 Amountinge to the Some of xiiij^l x^s iij^d

viiij^l xiiij^s iij^d

Tower Bills. — CRS III, 18.

Robert Nutter dismyssed

Item for the dyett and chardgs of Robert Nutter beginninge the fyrste of October 1584, and endinge y^e xxjth of Januarie next folowinge, being xvj^{tn} wicks, at xiiij^s iij^d the wycke for hym selfe

xiiij^l xiiij^s iij^d

One Keaper at v^s ye wicke iij^l
 Fewell and candell at iij^s y^e wicke iij^l iij^s
 Amountinge to the Some of xxj^l xvij^s iij^d

VIII

Indictment for Treason. 4 May 1584. Queen's Bench. — PRO. K.B. 9/661, no. 113.

Middlesex.

Juratores praesentant pro domina Regina quod Robertus Nutter, nuper de London clericus, Thomas Stephenson nuper de London praedicto clericus et Willms Smithe nuper de London clericus, ut falsi proditores contra illustrissimam et Christianissimam principem dominam nostram Elizabeth dei gratia Angliae, Franciae et Hiberniae Reginam, fidei defensorem et supremam dominam suam, timorem dei in cordibus suis non habentes, nec debitas legiantias suas ponderantes, sed instigatione diabolica deducti, cordialem dilectionem & veram & debitam obedientiam quam veri & fideles subditi de domina Regina erga ipsam dominam Reginam gererent & de iure gerere tenentur, penitus subtrahere delere & extinguere intendentes, ultimo die mensis Decembris Anno regni dominae Reginae nunc vigesimo quarto ⁴⁴ apud Rhemes in Champania in partibus transmarinis & diversis aliis diebus & vicibus postea & antea, tam apud Rhemes praedictum quam in diversis aliis locis in partibus transmarinis, false, malitiose & proditorie conspiraverunt, imaginati fuerunt, circumvenerunt & compassaverunt dictam dominam Reginam, supremam dominam suam non solum de regali statu, titulo, potestate & regimine regni dicti Angliae penitus deprivare dejicere & exhereditare, verum etiam eandem dominam Reginam ad mortem & finalem destructionem adducere

⁴⁴ 31 December 1581. Smith had left Rheims for England on 30 November (D. 183).

& ponere, Ac seditionem in dicto regno Angliae suscitare levare & facere, Acetiam stragem miserabilem inter subditos dictae dominae Reginae per totum Regnum Angliae generare & causare Ac insurrectionem & rebellionem versus dictam dominam Reginam supremam & naturalem dominam suam procurare & instigare Ac gubernationem eiusdem Regni Angliae & sinseram dei religionem in eodem regno Angliae recte & pie stabilitam pro voluntate et libito suis mutare & alterare. Necnon statum totius Reipublicae huius regni Angliae, per universas omnes partes bene institutum & ordinatum, totaliter subvertere & destruere. Et quod superinde iidem Robertus Nutter Thomas Stephenson & Willelmus Smithe eodem ultimo die Decembris Anno regni dominae Elizabeth nunc Reginae Angliae vigesimo quarto supradicto, apud Rhemes praedictum, ac diversis aliis diebus & vicibus postea, tam apud Rhemes praedictum quam in diversis aliis locis in partibus transmarinis inter seipos false & proditorie conspiraverunt, tractaverunt & adinvicem colloquium habuerunt, quibus viis & modis mortem & finalem destructionem dictae dominae Reginae nunc supremae & naturalis dominae suae adducere potuerunt, Ac seditionem in dicto regno Angliae suscitare levare & facere potuissent. Quodque ad illa nequissima & nefandissima proditioes & proditorias Imaginas, compassas intentiones & proposita sua praedicta perimplenda & perficienda, praedicti Robertus Nutter, Thomas Stephenson & Willelmus Smithe postea scilicet primo die Aprilis Anno regni dictae dominae Elizabeth nunc Reginae Angliae vigesimo quinto ⁴⁵ apud Rhemes praedictum Ac diversis aliis diebus & vicibus antea, tam apud Rhemes praedictum quam in diversis aliis locis in partibus transmarinis proditorie concordaverunt ut iidem Robertus Nutter Thomas Stephenson & Willelmus Smythe proditorie et festinanter ad hoc regnum Angliae irent ad movendos & persuadendos tales subditos dictae dominae Reginae huius regni Angliae quales ipsi obtinere potuerunt, in proditoriis & nequissimis propositis suis praedictis eis adhaerere ad guerram & rebellionem in eodem regno Angliae erga ipsam dictam Reginam supremam dominam suam faciendam, movendam & levandam, ac sinseram dei religionem in eodem regno Angliae recte & pie stabilitam ad libitum suum proditorie mutare & alterare. Ac quod praedicti Robertus Nutter, Thomas Stephenson & Willelmus Smythe postea scilicet praedicto primo die Aprilis Anno regni dictae dominae Reginae nunc vigesimo quinto supradicto apud Rhemes praedictum nequiter, false & proditorie iter eorum susceperunt & quilibet eorum iter suum suscepit a Rhemis praedicto versus hoc regnum Angliae ad proditoria proposita eorum supradicta perimplenda & perficienda contra legiantias suas debitas Ac contra pacem dictae dominae Reginae nunc, coronam & dignitatem suas, et in legum huius regni Angliae contemptum manifestum Ac contra formam diversorum statutorum in huiusmodi casu editorum et provisorum Etc.

⁴⁵ 1 April 1583. On this day Smith and Nutter were in England, and Stevenson still at Rheims (D. 194).

[*in dorso*] Capta coram domina Regina apud Westmonasteriensem die lunae proxime post mensem Paschae ipsae eodem Termino per sacramentum

Radulphi Typpyng generosi

Thomae Cleybroke generosi

Roberti Atkynson

Willelmi Pyrrey

Roberti Foxe

Richardi Cowper

Thomae Chappel

Henrici Turke

Richardi Starturn

Roberti Osborne

Willelmi Downes

Richardi Ferrys

Thomae Montgomery &

Hugoni Hyll

Billa Vera

IX

A Brief Historical Account of the Behaviour of the Jesuits and their faction for the first 25 years of Q. Elizabeth's Reign. Anon. London 1689, p. 28.

To all Magistrates &c. This may be to give Certification, That we whose Names are here under-written, who were embarked at the Tower-Wharfe of London, January 21 1584[-5] were Friendly & Honestly entreated, and with careful Diligence safely transported to the Province of Normandy, February 3 1584[-5] ⁴⁶.

⁴⁶ The document, but without the names of the priests, is also given in R. Holinshed, *The Chronicles of England, Scotlande & Ireland*, edition of 1587, III 1379. Holinshed (or rather his continuator) expatiates on the mercy of the queen: «O Lord what a merciful queen is this, in such sort to forgive and forget injuries, yea treasonable injuries, as by banishment only to chastise them that deserved extreme punishment. Yea with a banishment scarce fitly to be termed; sith in the execution thereof there was such clemency shewed, as that the banished by their own confessions have left acknowledged under their own handwriting». He applies to her the words of Ovid:

*Est piger ad poenas princeps ad praemia velox
Cuique dolet quoties cogitur esse ferox.*

There are several other accounts of this banishment. The most detailed is that by Edward Rishton in his continuation of Sanders (op. cit. pp. 478-482), also that of Thomas Worthington. *A Relation of Sixtene martyrs, Doway, 1601, p. 91*, reprinted in R. Challoner, *Memoirs of Missionary Priests*, ed. 1924 p. 248.

For testimony whereof we have hereunto set our Hands, this present third of February 1584.

Jasper Heywood	Edward Rishton
John Hart	James Bosgrave
William Tedder	Samuel Comes [Coniers]
Arthur Pitts	Will. Warmington
Richard Slake	Will. Hartlie
Richard Norris	Will. Dean
William Bishop	Robert Nutter
Thom. Stevenson	John Colleton
Christ. Tomson	Thom. Worthington
John Barnes	Will. Smith
	and
	Henry Orton, Gent.

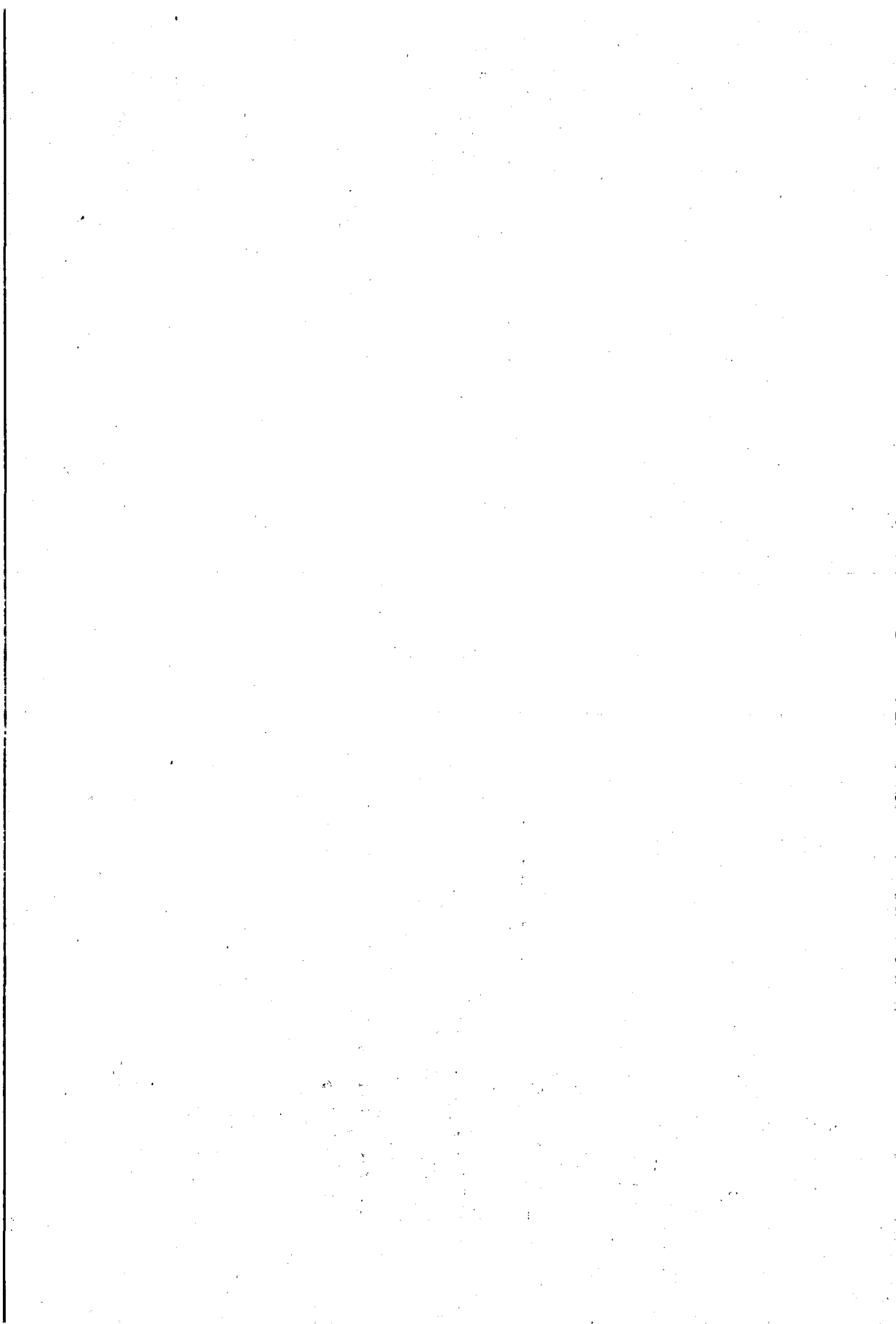
X

The examination of Robert Rowleye 20 April 1586 [Endorsed]. — PRO SP. 12/188, no. 31.

London 20 April 1586.

Robt Rowley nameth himself of Clythero Castle in the countye of Lancaster priest made at Swethson [Soissons] in ffrence xiiij^{ten} myles frome Reynes iiij^{or} yeres past and was Taken upon the seas by Capitayne Borrowes goinge into Scotlande And was sent to the prison of the marshallsey Bye the [Right *inserted*] honorable Sr ffancis Walsingham. And the xxxth daye of November 1585 was from the Guild hall sent vnto the Gaiole of newgate By Richard Young Esquier on of the commissioners appoynted for the Examynynge of Semynaries, Jesuites, massing priestes and Recusantes ffor the Romyshe Religion, by the report of Edmond Lynde servant vnto Williame dayes keper of the Gaiole of Newgate

Wm deyes



prospect of James Taylor
to James Taylor

in James Taylor's

~~James~~

Don't into the book. ~~take by James Taylor~~
from the book. ~~all before the eyes of the people~~
to be sent out against the people.
James Taylor
John W. Taylor
John W. Taylor

John W. Taylor (the & the) manuscript's book, before the eyes of the people.
James Taylor
William Taylor
~~John W. Taylor~~

Committed before the people 27 mar.
against the people's interest in
prison and justice.

XI

Sergeant Puckering's List of Priests against whom the evidence was incomplete.
— *BM. Harl. 6998, f. 232' (Undated.)*⁴⁷.

preestes that wyll take y^e Qs parte &c.

worcestersh. James Taylor

Essex Jonas Meredythe

[Bucks *struck out*]

Sent ynto y^e Realme John Bolton [taken by m^r burrowes & comytted
from y^e seaes W^m clargenet also before y^e statute of 27 against
preestes *struck out*]

to be sent over	Dauyd Kemp	} taken by the king of Navers people
agayne	John vyvion	
	John marshe	
	Robt Nutter	

John weldon (take Q parte) monasticallye vowed⁴⁸, desirethe
to go over &c.

Glocestersh.	Thomas haberley	} Comitted before the statute 27 made against preestes & remayned yn prison ever synce.
Salop.	Willm parrye	

[John bolton also supra *struck out*]

⁴⁷ Printed in full in CRS. V, 154-7. The date is August 1588. The part concerning Nutter is here reproduced in facsimile. The examinations of these priests are not extant. All that we have are summaries of the evidence against those that were to be tried outside London (ib. p. 160). The law demands that a prisoner be tried where the crime was committed. The crime of coming to England as a priest was committed at the place of landing. Hence Bolton and Clargenet, who were brought ashore at Gravesend, were to be sent to be tried in Kent. Nutter is not mentioned, and perhaps was to be tried on another count, namely of returning from banishment against the express commands of the queen. This would make him subject to the jurisdiction of the court whose orders he had disobeyed, and may explain why he was not scheduled for Kent with the others. The summary of evidence against Clargenet states: « He will pray for the army that shall come hither to supplant religion ». This is the very opposite of taking the queen's part, and shows that the heading of Puckering's list cannot possibly be meant to apply to all the priests named below it. Both he and Bolton escaped execution, not because they said they would take the queen's part, but, as this summary clearly states, they were «spared, quia sur le mere».

⁴⁸ There is no evidence that Weldon (whose true name was Hewett) was monastically vowed. The fact that he was alleged to be ready to take the queen's part did not prevent his being put to death. He was hanged 5 October 1588.

XII

Deposition of Giles Archer, Archpriest's Proctor in Rome against Fr Thomas Bluet. English College Rome, Scrit. 55, (Undated) ⁴⁹. [Describes a quarrel at Wisbech over Bluet's distribution of alms.]

Ithello sua pars negatur: hic contra Bluettum paulo vehementius insurgit Dominus Wiggisius; clamat Ithello injuriam fieri; crumenam pecuniarum e manibus Bluetti extorquere nititur. Retinet Bluettus marsupium et una dat plurimos pugnis ipsi colaphos. [Vi fregit?] per duas vices. Tandem a mensa corripit stanneum poculum magni ponderis, elevat, et in caput predicti sacerdotis impingere summa vi conatur. Hic nisi a Patre Edmundo [Weston, S. J.] et Domino Nutter detentus esset, ut plurimi existimant, ipsius cerebrum a capite eius excussisset, quamquam antea usque ad sanguinis effusionem eundem verberasset.

XIII

Information from the keeper of Wisbech Castle (Undated) ⁵⁰ — *Inner Temple, London. MSS 538, vol. 38, f. 399.*

There is under my charge a friar they call him Nutter, and one Wiggs a Jesuitical priest, who, when I stayed my three prisoners that wold have broken out of their window, gave me their keeper, Richard Blunt being the high constable and Thomas Edwards one of the right hon L. North his men that came to my assistance, verie wilde and leud speaches, in so much that by multiplynge of wordes they justified Walpole his actions that was in Spain, callinge us knaves and traytors, and that all those whosoeuer are knaves and traytors that wold say y^t Walpole was a traytor.

Nutter revyled me, and said y^t myself was y^e cause that they meant to escape; his reason was for y^t he had sent him word from a secretarie (as he said) who was appertayninge unto a great Counsellor, that Bagshawe was a spie and myself was y^e cause that Edmondes, Archer, Southworth and Pound were sent for from y^e castle, telling me that if Edmonds had ben here still he wold never have attempted to have gon away.

⁴⁹ This deposition was made when Archer was in Rome, between April and November 1602, but it refers of course to events at Wisbech some years before. This particular incident must have taken place before September 1597, when Ralph Ithel was summoned to London (APC. XXVIII, 17). Both he and Thomas Bluet (who was over twenty years in Wisbech) succumbed to the wiles of bishop Bancroft, and found unworthy employment in his house.

⁵⁰ This document is after 19 December 1598, when the four prisoners were committed to the Tower (APC. XXIX, 373).

XIV

25 March 1600. — APC. XXX, 200.

Letter from their lordships to Robert Bevell, John Repes and other justices of the peace of the county of Cambridge, and overseers of Wisbech castle, to cause the son of Mr Pryce of Washingley, that did provide horse for the six priests that brake forth of late out of Wisbech castle, or any other that were privy to the practice, to be apprehended and committed to prison, and to cause Pryce himself to be sent up by Ralfe Mason a messenger of the chamber, to answer the matter before their Lordships ⁵¹.

XV

Richard [Vaughan], bishop of Chester to Sir Robert Cecil, 21 May 1600. — MSS of the Marquis of Salisbury at Hatfield House, vol. 180, no. 96.

I have been acquainted by the bearer hereof, the high sheriff of Lancashire [Robert Hesketh], with the apprehension of certain seminary priests. One is now in safe custody; the other strangely escaped by the practice of some favourers. I have thought it my part to intimate the loyal and christian endeavours of the sheriff, by so much the more to be esteemed because few of place and authority in these parts do so sincerely affect the present proceedings, or so zealously bend themselves against those popish pioneers which, with their faculties from Rome, labour so mainly to undermine the state both of policy and religion. It is a matter of wonder to apprehend any priest in these parts, because of their many favourers of the best sort, and, your honour, by the escape of this notorious priest, Father Robert without a surname, so well attended and watched, may conceive that it is a very hard matter to do either God or her majesty any great service in Lancashire...

⁵¹ There is much more about this enquiry in the Council registers. The two sons of Mr Price were sent to the gaol at Huntingdon (APC. XXX, 279).

XVI.

*Thomas Hesketh*⁵² to *Robert E. of Salisbury*. *York, 17 August 1600. — MSS of the Marquis of Salisbury at Hatfield House, vol. 87, no. 107.*

S^r I Trust the Busshopp of Chester (who was present at the Last Assizes holden at Lancaster) hath Informed yo^r honor how All thinges past Concerninge the Seminarie Priestes w^{ch} were Prisoners there & are now executed. But because it maie be he hath not done it, I thought it no lesse then my dewtie to make yow partake therof.

It Appeared that the true name of one of the Priestes was Robert Nutter, borne in Lancashire. he departed owt of England xxijth yeares past & After that he hadd bene Scholler at Rames & at Rome he was made Priest by the Busshopp of Laon & then Retorned into England, before the Statute made in the xxvij yeare of her ma^{ties} Reigne, And [then, *struck out*] was then Apprehended & Banished. And After that havinge An Intencon to go owt of ffrance into Scotland he was taken uppon the Seas in A ffrench Shipp by Captain Burrowes & Browght into England where he Remained in wisbich & other Prisons xj years⁵³. And uppon the mondaie before Palmesondaie Last⁵⁴, he Escaped owt of wisbich the gate beinge left open by the Porter. he wold not Confesse wher the Porter was, nor what became of him. he Confessed that he was Professed A ffryar of the Order of S^t dominicke duringe the tyme he was prisoner in Wisbich, where in the presence of dyver priestes he did take his vowe the w^{ch} was Certifyed to the Provinciaall of that Order at Lisborn⁵⁵, & by him Allowed. This ffryar was no Scholler, but verie Ignorant in All Professions. At his Execucon being Requyred to praie for her ma^{tie} & to Aske her fforgevenesse he wold not Answere, And beinge Requyred to declare whether he did take her highnesse to be o^r Lawfull Quene the Popes Excommunicacon not wth standinge he wold not Answere.

The True name of the other Priest was Edward Thwinge, borne in the Citie of Yorke. he hadd named himself hylton & so are his Examinacons Sent to yo^r honor. he was some tyme Called nysaunce. The Busshopp & I did

⁵² Thomas Hesketh was an attorney of the court of Wards, and much engaged in harrying priests. He must be distinguished from Robert Hesketh who was the sheriff of Lancashire.

⁵³ As Nutter was captured in November 1585, he was more than fourteen years a prisoner. The eleven years may refer to his time in Wisbech (1589-1600).

⁵⁴ 10 March, according to the English calendar.

⁵⁵ Portugal at this time was under the domination of Spain, but the Dominican province of Portugal had kept its independence. No reason has been suggested why the certificate of Nutter's profession should have been sent to the Dominican provincial at Lisbon rather than to any other provincial.

Examyne him. It Appeared that he hadd bene A Scholler of some vnderstandinge And much Esteemed Amongst the Papistes. And yett he did defend Amongst manie other grosse opinions That wth owt Offence he might Equivocate (as he termed it) before the magistrate, w^{ch} Equivocacon is plaine lyinge for beinge blamed because he hadd Affirmed vpon his first Examinacions that he was Borne in northymberland, whereas it Appeared that he was Borne in the Citie of yorke, he said he did Equivocate. he lykewise defended that if A Private man were Excommunicat [by the Pope *inserted*] his Landes & goodes were Confiscated ad fiscum ecclesiae, for beinge vrged that the Pope could not depose Annie Sovereaigne Prince from his kingdom, because he Could not for annie Offence take Awaie the ffreehold or Inheritance of A Private person being not his Subiect, he was dryven to hold that he might. he held that the Law made [against *struck out*] for the Banishmt of Jesuites & Seminaries was wicked & uniuert, vpon w^{ch} Occasion & because he openlie said the same at his Araignment, I did Sett furth vnto All the hearers, manie Just Causes for w^{ch} the Law was made, & that that Lawe was more mercifull [& mylde *inserted*] then Anie of the Ancyent Lawes of this nacion or anie other nacion Against such lyke Offenders. I Cannot Certifye yo^r honor everie particular because I have not the examinacions, but I hope the Busshopp hath done it.

At th'execucon of this Priest he was demaunded by me the Lyke Questions as were propownded to the ffryar. he Acknowledged her ma^{tie} to be his Lawfull Quene & that he wold praie for her, But beinge vrged ffarthyer whether she ought to be so the popes Excommunicacon notwth standinge, And whether he wold Affirme so much if the Pope hadd not Allowed certein ffaculties to him & others for that purpose. To the first he did Bidd vs Looke to it o^r selues, And to the Second he wold not Answere, And there vpon was Executed wth owt delaie.

Yo^r honor maie Easilie discerne, And so did All men as I thincke that were at the execucon what notable Traytors these kynd of People are, ffor not wth standing all their Glorious Speeches yett their Opinion & their doctrine is, That her highnes is but Tenant at will of her Crowne to the Pope. mannie that were ffavorors of Poperie & were present at the Arraignment & at the Execucon (as I heare) did Saie that thei wold not have thought the Papistes hadd holden such grosse Opinions Eyther Against her ma^{tie} or in Relligion, ffor the Busshopp at the Arraignm^t [did *struck out*] Tutchinge dyvers pointz of Relligion did so ffullie by disputacon And Argument wth the priestes disprove there weaknesse that I hope mannie hearers that were before Staggeringe are Confirmed I do not dowbt but much good will Come by this Lyttle Severitie Aswell to Terrifye the Priestes from those partes as for Satisfacon of the People. ffor there was never Anie Seminarie Priest executed in that Contrie before w^{ch} Tolleracion hath made them overbold. And if the Relyvers & mainteyners were sharpelie delt wth there is no dowbt but

the Cuntrie wold be Reformed. The People are naturallie zealous in that Relligion w^{ch} thei professe for where thei are good there are none Better, & where thei are Badd there are none worse.

Thus I have troubled yo^r honor overlong And therefore wth my hartie prayer for yo^r healthe I humblie take my leave at the Citie of Yorke where I am now Attendinge her ma^{ties} Service, the xvij of August 1600

Yo^r honors most Bownden
& Assured
Tho: Hesketh.

XVII

Richard Cowling, S. J. to Claudio Aquaviva, the General S. J. From Douai
25 Sept. 1600. — ARSI, Fond. Jes. 651 no. 614.

[Having been recalled from England after three years, to become Confessor to the students at Douai, he feels he ought to notify the General of the good health and good work of his brethren in England under Henry Garnet, a born ruler, and amid so many perils. Gives a graphic account of the hardships of the English mission, and of the greater freedom enjoyed by Catholics in Lancashire, where he had for the past two years served as chaplain to a widow of good family].

Accidit vero non ita pridem ut duo sacerdotes D. Eduardus Thwingus et D. Nutterus (quorum hic paulo ante e carcere Wisbicensi evaserat et ad Societatem vestram aspirabat ⁵⁶, ille per aliquot annos Lancastrensi provinciae colendae strenuam navarat operam) dum ad me negociorum causa ventitarent, ambo in recessu caperentur a nebulone quodam pessimo, eaque celeritate abducerentur in carcerem ut prius catenis constrictos quam captos audiremus. Novum erat hoc et inauditum in illis partibus quod neque tunc quidem contigisset si sacerdotes illi paulo se gessissent animosius. Triduo post idem nebulo cum suo famulo obviam mihi solo factus, nec verbum dixit, cum tamen et vestes accurate descriptas haberet et equum cui insidebam, sed nimirum audiverat pariter non ita facile nec sine certamine me capiendum.

⁵⁶ Nutter had always supported the party at Wisbech led by Fr William Weston, S.J., and it is not surprising that he should have had thoughts of joining the Society. What is surprising is that Fr Garnet, the Jesuit Superior, seems to have had no inkling of it. In his long letters to his General he usually mentions all the recent martyrs, but quite naturally has rather more to say of his own brethren, and of those who aspired to enter the Society. Yet in his account of events in 1600, he deals in some detail with the martyrs, but makes no mention whatever of Nutter and Thwing. (ARSI, Anglia 31, f. 174).

Illi vero iam inclito martyrio clausurunt dies suos, maximam ad aedificationem totius Provinciae. Interfuerunt huic extremo certamini quamplures catholici (ut retulit quidam huc recens appulsus); dum autem carnifex membris illorum dissecandis insisteret, impatientes morae catholici latentem in praecordiis fervorem ulterius dissimulare nequibant, sed audacter insilientes [in carnificem *struck out*] martyrum vestes, digitos, capillos et quicquid contingere poterant secum abripiabant. Quin et mulieres interea temporis viriliter egerunt, dum namque satellites tumultui sedando incumbere ipsae martyrum corda ex ardentibus rogis extracta secum abstulerunt. Paulo post diebus etiam capita et membra in catholicorum potestatem venire, frementibus interim et freudentibus tartareis Reginae ministris. Haec ad eum finem scribo ut Paternitas Vestra intelligat quam praeclara messe discesserim.

XVIII

*Antonii Champnaei*⁵⁷ *Annales* p. 992. — *WCA*.

Hoc eodem anno et mense [Julio 1600] vigesimo sexto die, parem triumphum de carne mundo et diabolo reportarunt duo alii venerabiles sanctique sacerdotes Robertus scilicet Nutterus et Edwardus Thwingus, uterque de collegio Duaceno, qui Lancastriae pro fide usque ad mortem strenue decertarunt. Horum prior una cum multis aliis sanctis Dei confessoribus in exilium deportatus fuit anno 1585: qui iterum in Angliam rediens iterumque comprehensus, diuturnos carceres passus est. Hic una cum altero ex duobus praedictis martiribus, Thoma scilicet Hunt et quattuor aliis e Castro Wisbiensi ubi cum pluribus aliis captivi tenebantur, ante paucos menses evasit, et iam tertio captus, Deo volente illum martyr corona decorare, die et loco memoratis agonizavit. Vir robusto quidem corpore sed animo multo robustiori, qui mortem non tam superavit quam despexit, tanta alacritate et iucunditate socium suum ad supplicium praecedens ut non ad supplicium sed ad convivium properantem diceret, unde et maximum sibi odium ab hereticis et honorem a catholicis et admirationem ab omnibus sibi conciliavit.

⁵⁷ For Anthony Champney see DNB, and J. Gillow, *Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics*. He was ordained in Rome 1596 and sent to England in September 1597 (R. 89). He was thus a contemporary of Nutter. He was himself a prisoner at Wisbech in November 1600, and may have actually been there with Nutter. He was strongly opposed to the Jesuits. His *Annales* remain in manuscript but were much used by bishop Challoner for his *Memoirs of Missionary Priests*, first published in 1741.

XIX

*A. Fernandez, O. P., Historia Ecclesiastica de nuestros tiempos. Toledo, 1611.
p. 558.*

Capitulo XXXVI. De algunos Religiosos de santo Domingo, san Francisco y de la Compañia de Jesus. Y de otros muchos martires que han muerto en Inglaterra por la Religion Catolica.

Fray Roberto Nuttures, de la Orden de santo Domingo (Ingles de nacion) por predicar nuestra verdadera Religion en aquel Reyno, fue preso. Auia hecho abundantissimos frutos, assi reduziendo a muchos Caluinistas, como conseruando a los Catolicos en la fe de la Iglesia Romana. Tu uieronle veinte y dos años preso en vna molestissima prision, y el año de mil y seiscientos a veinte y cinco de Agosto, le martirizaron en la ciudad de Bancastro. Ahorcaronle, abriendole luego viuo, sacaronle el coraçon y entrañas, y hizieron su santo cuerpo quartos.

Margin Relaciones de Inglaterra.

El Maestro fray Tomas (de nacion Frances) fue de la Prouincia Occitana, o Lenguadoc, y de la Orden de santo Domingo: predicó en Inglaterra por este mismo tiempo. Sabia la lengua y assi hizo grandissimo prouecho en aquel Reyno. Echaron mano del, descubriendo que era Sacerdote Religioso Catolico, y le martirizaron con crueles tormentos, confessando con grandissima constancia la fè por quien padecia.

XX

*Nicholas Vincent*⁵⁸ *alias Hildinge, O. P. to John Ainsworth*⁵⁹, *a priest in England, from Lisbon, 22 July 1616. — WCA XV, no. 109*⁶⁰.

[He is sorry that their enemies were still making capital out of two Dominicans who apostatized in England many years before].

Besides one Martir (I hope) is more hono^r to an order then the falling of two can be discredit, the w^{ch} if they will grante, wee haue a Martir to show of o^r order in these times of o^r afflictions, father Nutter that glorious man, and that they may not thinke I speake this upon my owne head wth out foundation, a father of o^r order a Spaniard who some 7 or 8 yeares agoe wrote on ecclesiasticall history of these o^r daies, amongst other Martirs putteth downe Fa Nutter for one of o^r order, and for his prooffe citeth relations out of England, the w^{ch} Martir as it seemeth tooke the habitt in prison. I had not longe agoe an Informacon in my Cell of what I haue said firmed and approued by 4 graue fathers of o^r convent of Madrid, but fa Paule at his being here wth mee carried it away wth him into Andaluzia⁶¹, so that I cannot write yo^u the name

⁵⁸ There were two English Dominicans named Nicholas living about this time in the convent of S. Domingos de Bemfica near Lisbon, viz. Frey Nicolao da Cruz and Frey Nicolao do Rosario. The latter was a London merchant, converted and attracted to the Order by the former. He died July 1622 (L. de S. Catharina, O.P., Quarta Parte da Historia de S. Domingos. Lisboa 1767, p. 142.) His proper name was Nicholas Price, and he joined the Order « a while before » 1622. (T. Robinson, *The Anatomy of the English Nunnery at Lisbon in Portugal*, London 1622, p. 25). Unless there was yet a third Nicholas, he must be the « fr. Nicholas de Sancta Maria, Anglus », of the province of Portugal, who was assigned to the convent of S. Paul at Seville, 19 June 1615. (Arch. Gen. O.P., IV, 60, f. 122). I presume that the other, Nicolao da Cruz, was the writer of this letter. Lucas de S. Catharina says he was « pessoa de virtude e letras, déstro nas controversias com rebeldes á Igreja, como o que nellas triunfava cada dia para gloria sua » (op. cit. p. 143). He is probably to be identified with the Nicholas Vincent of Lincolnshire who spent eight days in Rome in June 1596 (F. VI, 568).

⁵⁹ John Ainsworth was ordained at Seville in 1607, and may have got to know Vincent in Spain. He was committed a prisoner to Newgate 7 October 1608 (SP. 14/45, no. 62), transferred to Wisbech 16 April 1615 (APC, 1615-16, p. 110), and sent into banishment in June 1618 (SP. 14/97, no. 95). He was thus a prisoner in Nutter's old prison when this letter was written.

⁶⁰ This letter is printed in full in W. Gumbley, O.P., *Obituary Notices of the English Dominicans 1555-1952*, London 1955, pp. 197-200.

⁶¹ Writing as early as 1611, Alonzo Fernandez informs us that « de los Seminarios de Valladolid y de Sevilla han tornado el hauito de santo Domingo en la Prouincia de Andaluzia estos años casi una dozena de estudiantes Ingleses, y algunos dellos

of the author at present, but so soone as I can possible I will. And for more prooffe of this verity the picture of this holy Martir hath bin of long time putt up in the Cloisters of o^r Convent in Madrid called nuestra santa de Atocha, where he is painted in o^r habitt wth a Relacon in the said picture of all that passed, as where he died and what pane &c. Supposinge now that he was a frier of o^r order (as there is noe doubt in the matter because otherwise how shoud the Spaniard faine such a thing, or to what purpose, there being at that time no English in the habitt, but only fa Paule in S^t Lucar and an other old man in Roome ⁶² who I dare sweare for them both neuer dreamed of any such matter as to faine histories), who doth not see that o^r order is much more honoured wth this one soe glorious a Martir then wth 2 dissolute fellowes who came both of them into England wth out any mission at all, and therefore much better (as you say very well) could not be expected at their handes...

Send me word I pray (as yo' loue mee and o^r order) whether there bee any worthy gentlemen of yo^r Clergy that desireth to take o^r habit there in England, for that they shall neuer neede to leave their country but shall haue it brought them thither because the first that is to come ouer hereafter shall procure taking ouer wth him licence to giue habites there.

[This letter, which is marked "Copia", bears the names of those who signed the original, viz:]

en el Conuento de Xerez » (op. cit. p. 449). He adds that they were being trained for the English mission. Only one name can be recovered from the registers of Valladolid (CRS. XXX, 106). The General Chapter in 1615 commended these English brethren to the charity of the Provincial of Bethica (MOPH. XI, 272), and the Chapter of 1618 deputed the convent of Alcala de los Ganzules in Andalusia for the education of English novices (ib. p. 308). A start seems to have been made before this Chapter. In the Pilgrim Book of the English College, Rome, under February 1617 is the entry:

« Die 26 venit Ludovicus Layster, summersetensis: habuit commendationem a Patribus Dominicanis Anglis in Andelusia-Alcalez in Hispania, quam religionem pretendebat velle se amplectari ».

The scheme evidently failed, for the Master General notes in his register in 1620, in the agenda for the next Chapter: « De Novitiis Anglis recipiendis in Hispania et in omnibus Conventibus Provinciae Bethicae (Arch. Gen. O.P. IV, 61, f. 141). There was evidently enough English activity in Andalusia to account for Fr Paul's visit.

⁶² This is probably Fr. George Thomas Foster, who left the English College, Rome to join the Order in September 1585 (R. 51), was assigned, already a priest, to the college in the Minerva 17 March 1591 (Arch. Gen. O.P. IV, 46, f. 101v), was living at Spoleto in 1597 (R. Persons, A Briefe Apologie, 1602, f. 96), and became a penitentiary at S. Maria Maggiore 8 November 1616, the very year of this letter (V. M. Fontana, Sacrum Theatrum Dominicanum, Romae 1666, p. 486). But there were certainly one or two other Englishmen in the habit at the time of Nutter's death.

Fray Thomas de
Media Villa ⁶³

Nicolas Vinsent alias
Hildinge

fra Paule is not home
but he tould me at his
going from hance I
might firme for him
and so with his Licence I do.

Fray Pablo de Londres ⁶⁴

Fray Gulielme Stapleton ⁶⁵.

XXI

*This is Mr Hares answer touching the Dominicans letter which you lent me,
& which I keep here in my hands* ⁶⁶. (Unsigned, undated). — WCA XXXIII,
no. 212.

*I have perused the Dominicans letter and that w^{ch} he
saith concerning M^r Nutter is news to me: and I
take it to be a flat fable. This is a work of y^e Jesuites
to defame th eir order. It seems to me a man may
see that it is a fable out of this very letter. For by the
letter it is clear that before the writing of it none
of that religion had authoritie heere to receive any into
their habit. For he promiseth to procure authority for
the first that shall he reafter come into this Mission to re-
ceive them here. And therefore before none of them had any
licence thereto. Neit her can I think that any such mat-
ter was e ver dreamed on by them at that time, vz
receive an ie remaining here in England into their
Order. Besides who were here of their Order at that time to
receive*

*Mr Nutter? For besides those that fell I think there
w as not above one more of them at the most, if any*

⁶³ Fr Thomas Middleton cf. Gumbley op. cit. p. 31.

⁶⁴ Fr Paul of London was already a priest in 1597, living in S. Lucar (Persons loc. cit.). He died in the odour of sanctity 9 August 1648 (MOPH. XII, 360).

⁶⁵ Fr William Fowler cf. Gumbley op. cit. p. 32.

⁶⁶ This letter probably belongs to 1626 when Richard Smith, bishop of Chalcedon and vicar-apostolic, was making very careful enquiries into the lives of the martyrs (CRS V, 392 sq.). I cannot identify Mr Hare. A large piece torn away makes it impossible to transcribe this letter in full. Words in italics are conjectural.

at all. But of this matter Mr Hammon⁶⁷ and others can better inform you than I, because it was before my time.

XXII

Catalogus Martyrum qui a principio persecutionis per Elizabetham reginam Angliae contra Catholicos excitatae pro fide Catholica in Anglia passi sunt. Hoc est ab anno Domini MDLXX usque ad praesentem annum MDCXXVIII [By Richard Smith, bishop of Chalcedon and Vicar Apostolic in England 1625-1629]. — Archives of Propaganda, Vol. 347 f. 607^v sq. WCA, Catal. MM. 73 and 127.

1600

Robertus Nutterus natus in parochia de Burnley Comitatus Lancastrensis, Alumnus et Presbyter Secularis Collegii Duaceni Rhemis residentis, et Edwardus Thuingus...

Quod Sacerdotes in Angliam ingressi fuissent ibique permansissent, simul tracti, suspensi exenterati et in partes dissecti Lancastriae vigesimo sexto Julii.

Acta brevia martyrii eorum Angliae edita an. 1600⁶⁸. Worthington⁶⁹ et Wilson⁷⁰ in Catalogis: item Catal: Duacen⁷¹ et Hispanic.

⁶⁷ Probably Fr. Henry Pett *alias* Hammon (WCA IX, no 93). He was ordained in Rome in 1598, and sent to England in September 1599 (CRS X, 9).

⁶⁸ Presumably: A relation of sixtene martyrs glorified in England in twelve monethes... Doway, 1601.

⁶⁹ A catalogue of martyrs in England... unto this year 1608. (Thomas Worthington) Douai? 1608. A unique copy at Oscott College. Reprinted Downside Review 16 (1897) 241-257.

⁷⁰ The English Martyrologe by I[ohn] W[ilson]. St Omer 1608.

⁷¹ Printed in CRS. XI, 530.